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THE
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JANUARY, 1844.

A Holy Zeal for Her "little Children" the present Hope of the Church: a Sermon, &c. By JAMES SKINNER, A.M. London: James Burns.

IN every age of the world, and in every state of society, men are beset by the same dangers, and have to contend with the same difficulties. The forms of temptation may indeed be changed, but the end to be effected is the same; and it must be so, because the power of evil is no blind and senseless energy, unconsciously controlled and guided by external circumstances, but a personal agent, acting with deep and settled design, having a definite end, swerving not one moment from the pursuit of it, and bringing to bear on it the might of an Archangel nature,—fallen, indeed, and shorn of the glory of truth, but still powerful, still wise, still stedfast in purpose; a purpose evil now, as once it was good; the end changed, the means analogous, so far as evil can be analogous to good.

The nature, too, on which he works remains unchanged. Man is man still, be his circumstances what they may. Christians of this generation, are, in their essence, much what Christians of the last generation were. Man's tempter need not look about for his weak points: he knows them well already. Many changes, truly, have we seen in the last ten years: everybody is aware of this; little else is talked about. Oh, blind man! oh, easily deceived, and quickly drawn aside from thyself to things around thee! The mass of men are unchanged: all are unchanged in a sense. Still men love to be at ease; they love to have their own way: they shrink from the narrow road: they love not to swim against the stream: and they are in the world still. The world, too, is unchanged: still it acts upon

the earthly part of those who are in it, and it must be overcome. Nor is that, now, a light and easy task, which was so difficult as to call forth the mighty energy of a regenerate will. That has not become a matter of course, which once required the undivided exertions of a whole life. Ourselves remain the same: in the same world we live, and he who plots against us is the same; though we *can* talk fluently of apostolic succession, and nicely discriminate heresy, and strongly denounce schism, and perceive the beauty of unity, and understand the language of symbols, and take pleasure in Gothic architecture, and rejoice in the solemn unexpectedness of Gregorian tones. Our dangers and difficulties are the same, only more to be dreaded because appearing under a new aspect: we are vulnerable exactly where we always were, but the form of the weapon being changed, we are thrown off our guard.

For this reason we feel ourselves called upon, by our office, as *Christian Remembrancers*, to sound a note of warning against the peculiar dangers to which men are exposed in times like these: not setting up ourselves as above the need of like teaching, but wishing ourselves to learn the lesson of practicalness, whereof we would remind others.

We intend the few remarks which follow on this subject, as an introduction to some thoughts on the influence of Church principles on the education of children.

Now it is plain that the great danger of the semi-puritanical school, from which many have but just escaped, was the substitution of religious feeling for right action and right faith:—trusting to feelings, instead of looking to our Saviour, and cultivating excitement of feeling instead of aiming at strict obedience; and their great error was that they made religion wholly subjective. The Creed had become a lifeless form, because it spoke not of justification in every line: faith was to be exercised upon itself; all other objects were taken away from it. Every thing else but the question, “How is an individual to become interested in the privileges of the Gospel?” was degraded down into the position of a non-essential. Self, self, self, became the all-absorbing object; one’s own faith, one’s own feelings, one’s own comfort, one’s own *experience*, were for ever thrust forward upon the mental vision; all things else were unimportant, part of the “endless genealogies,” and “questions which minister strife,” subjects by all means to be shunned, as inevitably tending to make a person unspiritual. Nay, people trusted to something less substantial than their feelings: they leaned upon the shadow of a shadow—their own perception of their faith, feelings, experience. This was their great ground of comfort, to be conscious of their faith being lively, *i. e.* warm and confident. This led straight to assurance, and all its consequences, bad or good.

Now here were three great dangers: a real turning away from Him whose name was so frequently in their mouths: a false judgment of their own state, depending upon an unconsciously selfish indulgence of natural feelings, instead of fruitfulness in good works; and, lastly, a perpetual verging on heresy, in the great fundamentals of the faith. The articles of the Creed, put as they were in the back-ground, and classed with "non-essentials," would occur to notice sometimes, and draw forth passing observations; and truly the fearful positions which we ourselves have heard maintained by well-meaning persons, were such as make us shudder at the recollection of them. We have heard really good persons—persons, too, who would dread of all things most a derogation from the honour of our Saviour,—state as their belief, what, carried out to its necessary consequences, would lead straight to Tritheism (if such a thing may be) or Arianism: they being unconscious all the while of saying anything awful, or indeed important at all one way or other. Why does one hear such things as these? Of course one does not expect every layman (and lay woman) to be conversant with S. Athanasius or S. Cyril; but one does expect, and ought to expect, that every attentive church-goer shall have been taught that ignorant speculations beside the Creed are highly dangerous: one has a right to expect that educated people should have been taught that the Creed has a meaning, and that only heretics presume to disregard or deny it. We are fully persuaded that ninety-nine out of a hundred "orthodox dissenting" teachers (so called) if questioned on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, would utter rank heresy, and stoutly maintain it; and we greatly fear that many clergymen could be found who would only be restrained from a similar course, by a ready and stringent appeal to the Athanasian Creed.*

* Take the following specimens of the effect of looking upon high doctrines in a merely subjective way. We do not mean to say that Mr. Best intends to be heretical, but surely the reception such language meets in "the religious world," is a very fearful sign of the times:—

"These designations, or characters, [*i. e.* the Holy Names of the Three Persons] are obviously connected with the several offices which are sustained and fulfilled by the several Persons of the Trinity in that arrangement of the scheme of human Redemption which was revealed at the same time. They are intended to give us some important intimations of what each Person is to us, or does for us. They are instructive appellations or titles, not intended to show us any inherent attributes of the Divine Nature—not to point out what God is in His Eternal and Immutable Essence, in which He is incomprehensible and past finding out, [but what if He have revealed Himself?] because there is on earth no likeness to which He can be compared; but they are titles condescendingly and graciously assumed, to give us such knowledge of the relations in which the Triune God stands to us under our dispensation of grace and mercy, as can be conveyed by these earthly similitudes, which God in His wisdom saw to be fittest to set them forth."—*Letters on a Socinian Tract, by Rev. Thomas Best, Perpetual Curate of St. James's, Sheffield, &c.* London, 1840, p. 162.

Again, p. 166:—

"These discriminative appellations of the Persons of the Trinity are characters in which the Triune God has revealed Himself to us, in reference to the Christian Covenant,

Such are some of the dangers of a teaching wholly subjective ; dangers known well enough to most of our readers ; which, however, it is well to touch upon again, for the sake of those who are still exposed to them.

From this form of evil many have happily escaped. By the providence of God, they have come within the range of sounder teaching, and it has had its effect upon them, of one kind or other, most surely : in many instances, doubtless, a sound and healthy effect—we trust in most : and yet it is capable of being taken up (as was foretold) as a beautiful picture, not practically, and in reality ; and then, of course, the effect will be evil, in proportion to the power for good received in vain. This, then, is the danger :—holding the faith in an unreal way : admiring the Catholic system ; but living like the world : talking of doctrines ; but not carrying them out into practice : luxuriating in the frame-work of the Church, all that meets the eye and ear, all that is valued by a refined taste and cultivated intellect, but forgetting that the patient sufferings of the poor, and the self-denials of the meek-spirited, are the priceless gem (in the sight of angels, and of Him who is the Lord of angels,) for which this fair casket was prepared.

And here we may be allowed to say, that we have observed a very great tendency to this fault in the manner in which many of these subjects have been treated, of late, in the columns of some ecclesiastical newspapers. What can be more irreverent, *e. g.* than the off-hand strictures of some juvenile correspondent on the advertisement of a fashionable robe-maker, in which, and in the defensive reply, the symbols of holiest mysteries of the faith (*as such*) are bandied to and fro, perhaps, in somewhat of an angry spirit, just as question might be made about the fashionable *sitting* of a newly-invented cape, in “Townsend’s Book of Fashions and Monthly Magazine?” We do not accuse any of these papers, with which we are acquainted, of positively favouring, or exemplifying, in their responsible articles, the evil of

and to the offices which the Persons of the Trinity severally sustain in the arrangement of Infinite Wisdom and Grace. *We must not suppose that in the Divine Essence there is any such relation as Father and Son.*” The italics are Mr. Best’s own.

And though afterwards he says there is “distinct Personality,” as above “Triune,” yet “they are so represented in order to show,” &c.

At the beginning, too, he constantly qualifies his statements of the Trinity in Unity by some such disparagement of their revealed titles : *e. g.* at p. 32,

“We believe that the one Living and True God subsists in three distinct equal Persons—of one substance, power, and eternity—that one of those Divine Persons took man’s nature . . . whereof is one Christ, revealed to us *as the Son of God* [sic] for the reasons which I may hereafter show,” the reasons, namely, specified in the former quotations. This would look strange by the side of Bishop Pearson and his authorities ; S. Cyril of Jerusalem, for instance, *Τὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ φύσει, καὶ οὐ θέσει, γεννηθεὶς ἐκ Πατρὸς.*—Catech. xi. § 7.

And S. Athanasius, *Ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος μόνης ὁ Πατὴρ κυρίως Πατὴρ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐπὶ ὧν καὶ μόνων ἔστηκε τὸ Πατὴρ ἀλλ’ Πατὴρ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ Τίς ἀλλ’ Τίς εἶναι*—Cont. Ianos, I. 21, p. 426.

which we complain. But we could wish, very seriously, that they would exercise a more severe censorship over the *correspondence* which is made public by their instrumentality. These hasty productions, it may be said, are as light, and fall as harmless, as straws or feathers: but straws and feathers mark which way the wind blows, and the fructifying seeds of many noxious plants are scattered far and wide on wings of lighter materials than straws or feathers.

But this is an evil soon perceived, and for that reason more easily checked or remedied than another and more subtle development of the danger which accompanies the revival of long-dormant principles. It appears as though, not the *visible* framework only of the Catholic Church, and her external decorations, were calculated to please the natural taste; but her whole system, liturgical and doctrinal, being, as it is, the most perfect embodiment of the principle of beauty, is endowed with an attractiveness which draws to herself all that is not absolutely corrupted, of our unearthly nature. Thus arises a danger, great as her Perfection is intellectually satisfying, of admiring, and loving (in a sense) that which is not exercising its due moral and spiritual influence upon the beholder. We know not how any one, once blest with the vision of her celestial glory, naturalized as it were upon earth, can turn away and be satisfied with anything less lovely. It seems impossible. And if this be so, men who remain inwardly unchanged, continuing to glory in that greatness which has subdued their intellect, will be led to act, speak, write, for her after a carnal fashion: to carry on her warfare with unsanctified weapons, and by this means, while the good cause is injured, they are settling themselves down, unsuspectingly, in an evil condition. This conclusion is confirmed by the following remarks of Archdeacon Manning, in one of his most magnificent sermons:—

“There are about us . . . the loud schemings of men who, under the name of the Church, would serve themselves of the Church as a contrivance for civilising mankind: but they are not God's kingdom. There is under the badge of religion, a strife and struggle for mastery, among men who bear the sacred name which the saints first bore at Antioch: but God's kingdom is not in their heady tumult: there are the visible hurrysings to and fro of a Jehu-like zeal for the Lord: *and there are the plottings of earthly Christians—for men may plot for Christ's Church as well as against it.* The same earthly and faithless temper of mind which sometimes resists God's will, may also insinuate itself into His service.”—*Serm. xiii.*

It seems, then, that as the great error of the defective system, of which we have spoken before, was making religion wholly subjective, so the tendency now to be guarded against by many individuals, is that of making it too exclusively objective. The most fundamental doctrines of our holy Faith, even that of the Ever-blessed Trinity, and the mystery of the Incarnation, *were* brought down to earth, there to be irreverently viewed (not in

their own intrinsic majesty, but) in *relation* to the condition of the individual inquirer: so viewed *only*, and considered quite unimportant, as articles of faith, except in that view. We cannot be too thankful for better teaching and sounder belief on this point: but there does seem to be danger of erring the other way, and of being satisfied to hold doctrines simply, without regard to the personal relation in which the individual stands to them. And it seems to us this error is especially inexcusable in the doctrines of the visible Church, and communion of saints. The articles of the Creed which precede these are revealed subjectively only by a wonderful act of Divine condescension. Their glory were all-perfect if man were not. He may, indeed, rejoice that the Divine Nature in each Person is for him—on his side: but chiefly he must adore the Majesty which is without, beyond, above him: he must look upon the Form of the Perfect Man and see in It the Incarnate God. But (if we may say such things,) the visible texture of the living Church seems to have been woven together, for the very purpose of enclosing within itself the individual being of each immortal Person. It would seem as if her priesthood, her sacraments, her creeds, her liturgy, were no essential part of the spiritual temple, but rather divinely-authorised accessories, valuable according as they are effective in training up her living sons: and if so, not so much to be gazed upon, as acted up to, and used, by each individual in his own case, for the purpose which (as it seems to us) called them into being. We do not say these things are not to be believed: they must, or we could not act upon them: nor that the Catholic Church is not to be *believed in*; nor that She is not endued with a personality. We hold that, by ineffable union with her incarnate Head, she so becomes His Body that His Personality pervades her wholly; and thus she becomes an object of faith, and through her and in her is seen, and believed, and loved, and worshipped He Who is All in all.

Still (we think) it remains true that her earthly constitution is rather to be felt, and dwelt in, and acted in, and loved as it is known subjectively, than looked upon, and admired from without.

In this view, everything that is beautiful, attractive, and lovely in her system, becomes of immense personal importance to each individual among her members. For they all tend, as home comforts, to attach him to his domestic duties; and to encourage and bear him up when his duties become burdensome. This view should be connected with what our Lord and His true shepherds have always taught about the difficulties of the heavenward road; and thus a beautiful concord will appear to exist between the personal condition of an individual Christian, and the state to which he is called as a member of the Christian Fellowship. Tribulation to be endured: difficulties to be contended with: self-discipline to be practised: this is his portion.

He is placed in the midst of a world abounding in things pleasant to the eye, and things to be desired—not that he may enjoy them, but that he may turn away from them, and wait for his portion in an unseen world, when all that he has been led by nature to desire shall have passed away. He is endued with affections capable of being gratified, if not satisfied, with objects immediately presented to them; but not that he may indulge them. On the contrary, he is bid to fix them elsewhere on invisible objects, for which they have no *natural* affinity. And he is to wait (with patience) for a future day, when faith and sight shall coincide. But nothing is more plain than that a future hope is not, by itself, sufficient to uphold most men in a continued course of exertion. This is seen in the every-day business of life. Few leave the station in which they were brought up. Few *endeavour* to rise above it. Not that most men despise wealth, or honour, or station, or power. On the contrary, there are hardly two opinions on these points, when the question is, whether they be desirable for a man's self or no. Every one (speaking in a general way; alas! that it should be so in a christian country,) thinks it would be a fine thing to be rich, or powerful, or honourable: and yet they don't try to become so. Why? Because the hope of a distant good is not sufficient to stir them up to the needful course of exertion. They would rather be at ease, and go plodding on in their accustomed way, than undertake a great work to obtain what they value very highly, if they could have it now. But to live in the meantime on the hope of it:—it is not worth the sacrifice. And they who do become great, and rise above their fellows, are evidently not upheld by the hope of future fame alone, or wealth, or power. They love their very labour. They have fellows in their pursuits, and they progress together, upheld by party feeling, the excitement of business, and the daily little foretastes of what they look forward to as the end. This is eminently the case with persons engaged in literary pursuits. Not only do they take pleasure in their employment, enjoy the society and intercourse of those who are like-minded, and feed in secret upon the consciousness of being (and becoming daily more so,) men of learning, but they have an affection for their very books; enduing them in fancy with a sort of personality, and then loving them. We have heard that Southey, when the powers of his energetic mind were completely broken up, was accustomed to take down, now and then, one of his books, look at it, *kiss it*, and return it to its place. A most remarkable instance this of the incidental, homely, every-day little enjoyment, which had contributed its share of encouragement in a wearisome life of study, outliving its more energetic and obvious coadjutors.

Not a whit different is it with *the* great work of a self-denying Christian. He cannot live on hope alone: he needs a present

earnest of his hope. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick, and to cure or alleviate this sickness, some present remedy is required. Frail man cannot be ever on the wing, like that bold raven who went to and fro above the earth, until the waters of the flood were dried up. Like the more timid dove, he requires a present rest for the sole of his foot: and that rest *is* provided for him in the ark of Christ's Church. Shut up, even when the wearying restlessness of the world seems to be rolling over his unprotected soul, within her unseen bounds, he is conscious of a present blessedness. And in this consciousness he rejoices amid toils and troubles, not lazily and apathetically, but laboriously and patiently, because he knows that the blessedness of his condition depends upon his diligence and watchfulness. He is conscious of being one of a family high in their Father's loving favour, and this thought upholds him in a childlike obedience, though it be for the present, and through transitory circumstances, very irksome.

This subjective view of Church-fellowship we think of wonderful importance in the case of children. Indeed, we believe its full practical force can never be wholly realized by any, but those who have been trained from their very childhood to *live in* it—to *live on* it, as the natural atmosphere of their spiritual life. Human hearts are not flexible enough to adapt themselves to a new home, with the fond feeling with which memory clings to the home of childhood. Full-grown imagination cannot throw such a lovely, mellow, glowing, peaceful light, as once beamed on her dwelling, around a second home. Just so no up-grown man or woman, instructed never so well in the theory of Church doctrine, can so realize the Church as the home of a self-denying discipline, as a child can. It is when the heart is tender, and the will flexible, and the affections quick, and faith implicit, that they can be so made consciously one with her, that they never *will* go out from her. And this alone (when it is remembered that hers are the promises,) might be enough to show the great importance of early training in this and kindred truths.

But far more than this: we hold that the doctrine of Church-fellowship is absolutely and primarily necessary to a religious education: that it occupies *the* prominent place among all revealed doctrines, (and we shall soon show that we are not speaking on our own private judgment, or unsupported by authority,) in the training of the infant mind. This we hold to be the first abstract religious truth which a child can realize. It is, we know, (as has been remarked in one of our late numbers,) extremely difficult to get children to realize spiritual truths. In one sense they are more subject to the visible and tangible than grown persons. It is all but impossible for them to lay hold on the unseen. The distant future is unreal mistiness to them. It eludes their grasp, and fades away from their eye. And so of other hidden things;

they form but a fleeting image of them all. But, if there is one truth which belongs to them especially, (as the fifth commandment of the ten is theirs,) it is that of which we speak—the Fellowship of the Saints, the bond of Spiritual Brotherhood. This coincides with all they know, and have realized, of things that now are. This speaks to their experience.

For what do children know? In the abstract nothing: not even themselves. They know themselves only relatively. They do not contemplate themselves. Good children do not think about themselves: they do their duty naturally: they are obedient, kind, affectionate, without knowing it: they act with cheerful readiness at the bidding or wish of another, without the consciousness of acting: they live in the consciousness of others. Others know them by name; they know themselves by name, only because others call them so. This is not their real notion of themselves: leave them alone and they will class themselves by relationship. For instance; we meet a little child in the lanes of Dorsetshire. We ask, "Who are you, little girl?" the answer comes, "Please, sir, I'm John Smith's little maid." It is not the great point to her that she is, by herself, Emily, or Bessie, or Mary, individualized: she is her father's "little maid," and as such she describes herself. The conscious existence of such children is as members of a family: they know very little of themselves, and still less of the world in which they live; but they do know the mother that bare them, and in her smile they are happy; they do know the father that supports them, and in his favour they rest satisfied: their brothers and sisters they know, and double all their joys by sharing them with them; and all their little duties are instinct with the life of love from these home influences: they cannot stand alone, and treat with independent persons: they cannot make a compact: no, they are children first, and then obedient, loving, trustful: first brothers, then kind and unselfish brothers.

Such is their chosen position—chosen for them by unerring Wisdom; one every way suited, with all-admirable tenderness, to their infant capacities. What can be more fearful, then, than that the very first step in spiritual knowledge should put them in a position contradictory to all the feelings which their (providential) training has fostered?—if stripped by the unnatural cruelty of a cold-hearted system of spiritual brethren, and torn with ruthless presumption from the home of their Heavenly Father, they are told of *conditions* of reconciliation. Thus are they constituted independent insulated individuals; and bid to make terms for themselves. Unaccustomed and unable to contemplate self, they are bid to look for the evidence of faith, *i.e.* if they are supposed to have it. Otherwise they are bid to believe, and they do not know what it means. It is explained: that only turns ignorance into perplexity. How can it be

otherwise, with such explanations as make faith be both everything and nothing? Then they are told fearful things about their own wickedness (hating good things, *e. g.*) which they know to be false; and thus again are they led to contemplate themselves in search of this monstrous chimera. So it turns out that a good, amiable, sweet, simple-minded child's first directly religious instruction is often its first step towards moral ruin. All the heavenly instincts which constitute childhood a type of christian perfection, are suddenly checked by the rude violence of an uncongenial doctrine. They were being gradually developed under the appointed system of domestic discipline; but just when they should be exalted and purified by being exercised on higher and holier objects, they are suddenly cut across; miserably thrown back and stunted, if not wholly destroyed. If any life is left it must put forth its vigour in collateral branches only: the main shoot is industriously pruned down. Those traits of character which in every-day life imperiously claim admiration and love, are thought to be no index of latent spiritual capabilities; and teachers sigh over the thought of so much amiability and "seeming goodness" being compatible with a state of simple guilt and condemnation, when they have never once endeavoured to develop what they love and cherish, into the divine virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity. If any children happily escape the stunting, deadening effect of such a system, it is because they follow (not wilfully, but by higher guidance) their inward instinct for truth rather than a false outward teaching.

But let a child be *first* instructed in the doctrine of Church Fellowship, and not only will those evil consequences be escaped, but his natural faculties, and especially those which have already been drawn forth by domestic relationship, will be harmoniously developed, and led upward from the known and familiar, to the unseen and awful realities of the spiritual world.

First, let him be conscious of a new relationship, and then he may come to understand to whom he is related. Teach him that he is a child; and then, with the keen spiritual perception of love, he will set himself to learn his Father's mind and will. Teach him freely concerning "the brotherhood,"—the word will fall with no strange inharmonious sound upon his ear; the thought it clothes will come home to his heart as a familiar guest. He will fall naturally into the ways of "the household;" will feel himself to be one of them; will claim his portion in their knowledge, faith, hope; and take his share of their duties of labour and patience. This, it seems to us, is the only order of teaching by which the mind and heart of children can be religiously developed. It is, as we have seen, the order which nature suggests; and, of course, the susceptibility of her suggestions, with which man is endued, sufficiently indi-

cates the duty of following them. But it is, moreover, the order which the Church lays down for her teachers. *She* has put first the doctrines of membership and adoption, and led her learners up, through them, to the higher mysteries of the Faith. *She* has given a chart for the guidance of Infant Pilgrims along the heavenly road; and, if men would more humbly and quietly ask of her, there would not be so much doubt and perplexity among the diffident, nor such fearful error among the self-confident, about the first beginnings, or after course, of those committed to their care.

It cannot be an unimportant fact, that, in the second (it may be almost called the *first*) answer of the Catechism, children are taught to know themselves as "*members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven.*" No sooner has the infant catechumen responded to that name, which indicates him to belong to the christian household, than he is at once led to a full declaration of his membership, its manner, its object, its end. And, what is particularly to our purpose, he is not taught the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and the Communion of Saints, *abstractedly*, as they are put in the creed, but relatively to himself,—"*wherein I was made a member of Christ, a child of God,*" &c. He is gently transplanted (if we may be allowed the expression,) into a new home; or rather he is taught that he has another Father, other Brethren, a heavenly, spiritual, home; for neither is he torn away from his former home, nor is that *new* home, to his understanding, really new: he has grown up in it from the day of his spiritual birth, but now first the sweet consciousness of his higher relative condition flows in upon him. He has two homes; and the blessed duties, affections, energies, and hopes of the one are gently and gradually transferred to the other, there to live and grow for ever, when the endearing ties of earthly unities shall be dissolved. Those pure instincts which came from heaven, were not intended to be wholly drawn forth, wearied, exhausted, on the changing objects of a transitory world. They will be satisfied with nothing short of a heavenly end, an Object Immutable, Everlasting. But pure and heavenly they are even when exercised on (appointed) earthly objects. By the temporary discipline of domestic rule, they are being trained for their ultimate and ever-enduring purpose.

Such is the order of the Church's teaching in the Catechism, and so teaching she does but follow the example of our Lord Himself, who has taught us to begin our petitions by a recognition of relationship to "*Our Father*" in heaven. This holy prayer she bids her little ones first learn; to breathe that tender Name as their first offering to Him that sitteth in Heaven; then to confess their belief in Him as "*the Father Almighty*;" then to learn their duty to Him.

If parents and teachers would but follow this order, we believe that to convey directly religious instruction to children would not be found nearly so difficult as many persons now imagine it: but then it must be done honestly and fully. There must be no lowering down of the high and confident language of the Catechism to the faithless fears so natural to persons brought up in an almost heretical system. And, again, it must be no mere theory. Children are very quick in discovering any approaches to sham: they are better logicians than men give them credit for; if they see the necessary consequences of formal teaching neglected and despised, they will soon begin to think the premises are some unreal expressions, taught to them, but not true to those who know better. And this will hold, whether the inconsequence is seen in the conduct of others, or felt in the training to which they themselves are subjected: if (*e. g.*) they are treated like irresponsible beings, (not now in a state of salvation from which they may fall by sin,) or as if they were less responsible than grown persons for real exercise of will; as if (*i. e.*) there were any other limit to their responsibility than their more restricted knowledge, and less vivid consciousness of acting. (We use the word in the strict Butlerian sense of an "action.") Once taught that they are children, let them be led to expect that the conduct of children is required of them: and once instructed in the doctrine of "the Brotherhood," let them be taught to love it, and to rejoice in every outward symbol of the unseen Fellowship; to look upon all that binds Christians together, all that unites brother with brother, the living with the dead in Christ, as tokens of a great reality. So will their spiritual knowledge grow with their natural growth; and they shall behold the land that is very far off, not with the dim uncertainty of intellectual conjecture, but by the substantial evidence of a sacramental faith.

On this subject, the author of the pamphlet, whose title stands at the head of this article, has the following remarks in his very interesting Appendix:—

"In the comforts and benefits of the Daily Service, it is believed that, in whatever parishes it has been restored, the 'little children' have been regularly permitted to share. This is an important point. An interest in the service, a part in its celebration, and let us hope, some witness to their pure hearts of God's sanctifying presence;—these are early lessons which will never be lost. They will tell on their character when the artlessness of childhood has passed away.

"And so also with the fasts and festivals of the Church; wherever their due observance is being restored, our 'little children' are happily permitted to share in the privilege and the blessing . . . The loss of these sacred days to the Church, is a loss to her strength and power. To her 'little children' it is a loss of that first gentle guidance, which trains them, unconsciously, to higher and deeper perceptions of their spiritual being. To children and novices in religion, they minister the first occasions to ask and inquire after God. Whereupon, if there follow but so much piety as hath been mentioned,

let the Church learn to further imbecility with prayer. 'Preserve, Lord, these good and gracious beginnings, that they suddenly dry not up like the morning dew, but may prosper and grow as the trees which rivers of waters keep always flourishing.' Let all men's acclamations be "Grace, grace unto it," as to that first-laid corner-stone in Zerubbabel's building; for who hath despised the day of those things which are small? *"—Appendix, p. 36.

We are sorry to say, that we have cause to know that the matter of fact asserted at the beginning of this extract is not strictly true. There are instances of a restored daily service where the children do not attend. We fear an impression is not uncommon that children would weary of the sameness of a daily service, and that even on Saints'-days regular attendance would be irksome to them. In truth, such a thought is an injustice to them; in this cold, earthly, business-like age they are dealt with unfairly. It is forgotten that the world has not yet laid hold on them; that they have come fresh and pure from the laver of regeneration; and that their unstained minds are capable of receiving a heavenly impression with a gentle readiness of which world-stained hearts have no conception. We know one parish where the children, of their own free-will, assemble every evening, from a widely-scattered village, to join with heart and voice in the vesper services; and we are intimately acquainted with the children of another parish, who certainly know not of any enjoyment so great as attendance at the Sunday and other feast-day services of their village church. True it is, in both these instances, they have their vocal share in the services; but should it not be so? Is it *possible* that they should be able even to endure two hours attentive *listening*? No, surely: however willing the spirit might be, the flesh would be weak. But give them so much share in the music and responses as shall avert bodily weariness, and (we speak from experience,) their attention and devout reverence will put to shame the great body of adult worshippers.

Such worship as this, so entered into, must tend to strengthen and deepen their consciousness of spiritual relationship within the Household of faith; and it will train them up to that subjective view of Church Fellowship which will be a ruling principle of their lives. It should be remembered, too, that, for a while, this is the only token that they have of their interest in the mystical fellowship, since they are not permitted to approach the table of the Lord until after confirmation.† If they are not allowed to partake, in the most blessed way, of the Communion of Saints, surely they should not be stinted of such love-tokens, and effectual means of fellowship, as they may share in. This seems to us a very strong additional argument (if such were needed,)

* Hooker Ecc. Pol. v. 71, 2.

† And may not this among others form an argument against the faithless practice in some dioceses, unsanctioned and unauthorized by the Church, of compelling children to defer confirmation till the age of sixteen years.

in favour of the daily service,—both as a means of present blessedness to willing-hearted children, and as the best preparation for their future approach to the Lord's table.

Not to enter upon the question of their exclusion from Communion, which is treated of very instructively in the Appendix to Mr. Skinner's sermon, we gladly help to circulate his practical conclusion, of the great importance of bringing the young of Christ's flock very early to confirmation, and at once from the hands of the Bishop to that holy Ordinance which is the pledge and means of their continuance in the home of their renewed nature:—

"It is a conviction, the solemnity and force of which increases daily, that if our Church is to be saved from desolation, she must 'stir up the gift that is in her;' put forth her own arm and gird up her loins to the battle. O! what an armory is within her, if we were only worthy to go in and clothe ourselves! But of all offerings on her altar, the heart of the young and guileless is the most acceptable, and strongest for mighty deeds; and such offerings must be abundant, if we are resolved to prevail. Let parish priests persevere, therefore, in their efforts to bring their confirmed children to the altar.

"1. That our communions may be more largely attended; for the Master of the Feast desires that His house may be filled.

"2. That one step may be gained towards a more frequent and more unintermitting celebration of the holy mysteries.

"3. That children taught to be obedient to their blessed Lord, and brought up from their infancy to a renewal of them, may have a deep sense of their baptismal bonds.

"4. That the sons and servants of the Church may be brought early under wholesome discipline, and their spiritual rulers have reverence and respect at their hands.

"5. That being brought up from infancy in the *full* communion of the Church, the parents of children may submit their education to the authority and influence of their pastors.

"6. That general Church discipline may be recovered.

"7. That divisions and animosities, and parties may cease."—*Appendix*, p. 47.

But it is rather beyond our purpose to speak of the training which the young should have at the hands of their priests, as a preparation either for Confirmation or Holy Communion. The first lessons of heavenly wisdom should come from the revered lips of a beloved parent. It is the mother's task to teach the little ones of their new birth, and their new home; and they may undertake their task with a cheerful alacrity, because they will find in them already the types and earnest of the Christian graces:—

"Children are chiefly distinguished by a temper of faith. Men doubt what is not the subject of exact knowledge: they require things to be proved: children believe whatever is told them.

"Again: men are suspicious: they fear that people have their own ends to serve, when they seem inclined to do a kindness. Children trust every body: they never suspect evil design when there are kind professions.

"Again: men are anxious about future events: they lay up in store, and

are careful and troubled. Children receive thankfully to-day's supply, and lie down to sleep without a distrustful thought of the morrow.

"Yet further: men depend upon themselves: they are, perhaps, clever in their business, or they have property of their own, and they dislike to be indebted to others—they are of independent spirit. Children trust others for everything: in all their little trials, in all their wants, they look up to those for help who have ever been kind to them.

"To take a last example: men place their happiness in endeavours to better their condition: they despise what they have already, and think if they could only lay hold on what they see before them they should be happy. Children make their pleasures for every hour as it comes, and are content to enjoy the present. All these feelings are characteristic of children: if they have them not, we say they are not like children. Now in all these points, three dispositions appear more or less clearly; some in one, some in another:—Faith—Dependence—Contentment. And all these belong to the Christian character."

If the contrast were carried farther, no doubt the germ of other Christian graces would be discovered in the character of Children, as such; and if so, what more hopeful, what more holy employment can a parent have, than cherishing, guiding, and training upward dispositions already partially developed, to their rightful and only satisfying Object?

Twelve Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion. Delivered in Rome, by NICHOLAS WISEMAN, D.D.
Second Edition. London: Dolman. 1842. 1 vol. 8vo. Pp. 448.

IN our review of these interesting Lectures in our number for August, we advanced no further than the first two, which are devoted to tracing the connexion between Revealed Religion and the Comparative Study of Languages, or Philological Ethnography. The subject of the third and fourth Lectures may not unaptly be styled Physiognomical Ethnography; being the Natural History of the Human Race. Dr. Wiseman's object is to prove, from the science itself, the unity of the human race and its origin from one stock, notwithstanding the great physical differences which distinguish men in the various regions of the globe.

"The Word of God hath always considered mankind as descended from one parent; and the great mystery of redemption rests upon the belief that all men sinned in their common father. Suppose different and unconnected creations of men, and the deep mystery of original sin, and the glorious mystery of redemption, are blotted out from religion's book. Is it not then important to answer their reasoning, who maintain that it is impossible to reduce the many varieties of human families into one species, or to trace them to one common progenitor; who assert that natural history doth show such deeply-entrenched divisions between the physical characteristics of different nations, as that one could never have been derived from the other; and that no conceivable action of causes, either instantaneous or progressive, could have ever altered the European's shape and colour into the negro's, or caused the 'Ethiopian to change his skin', and produce the Asiatic race? And how shall this confutation be obtained? Assuredly by no other means than that I have already suggested to you, and intend often yet to inculcate and exemplify—*by the deeper study of that very science which has engendered the objection*,—by the collection of yet

better evidence than has already been produced,—and by a well-digested classification of phenomena, whence satisfactory conclusions may be drawn.”—P. 96.

The more marked divisions of the human race are too broad and deep to escape the notice of even the least observant. The difference, for instance, in features, colour, and hair, between the European and the negro, is instantly obvious. These distinctions were noticed by the ancients. Aristotle speaks of three nations as differing from each other and from the Greek standard, in appearance and manners; namely, the Egyptians, Thracians, and Scythians. We have here, then, a division of mankind into four distinct classes or races; constituting, observes Dr. Wiseman, the very first step in the history of a science every day growing in interest and importance; and therefore worthy of a tolerably minute discussion.

By the Egyptian race of Aristotle, Dr. Wiseman understands the Negro race; and after citing two passages from Aristotle, in which that naturalist confounds the Egyptians and the Ethiopians, he observes,—

“Here then arises a complicated and interesting inquiry; were the ancient Egyptians really so formed upon the Negro type, that the two could be confounded together? The testimony of Aristotle is undoubtedly strong in favour of the affirmative, and becomes doubly so from the agreement of almost all the classics, especially that of the sagacious and accurate Herodotus. For, speaking of the Colchi, he says they are proved to be descendants of the Egyptians, *ὅτι μελάγχροίς εἰσὶ καὶ οὐλότριχες*, ‘because they are black and woolly-headed.’ Here, as in the philosopher, we have the two most definite characteristics of the Negro race attributed to the Egyptians.”—P. 100.

Now all the monumental remains of the Egyptians are opposed to these statements of Aristotle and Herodotus. These always represent the bodies of the natives painted of a red or tawny colour, with long flowing hair; while the Negroes beside them are painted of a jet-black colour, with frizzled hair, and the well-known peculiar features of the modern negro. Dr. Wiseman proposes the following solution of the difficulty:—

“I should think the best solution is, that Egypt was the country where the Greeks most easily saw the inhabitants of interior Africa, many of whom doubtless flocked thither, and were settled there, or served in the army as tributaries or provincials, as they have done in later times; and thus, they came to be confounded by writers with the country where alone they knew them, and were considered a part of the indigenous population. Some such hypothesis must be adopted to reconcile writers among themselves; for Ammianus Marcellinus writes that the Egyptians were only dark and blackish; ‘*homines Ægyptiū plerumque subfuscū sunt et atrati*.’

“Thus much, however, is perfectly certain, that by the Egyptian variety, which he places first among those of the human species, Aristotle means the black or Negro race.”—P. 102.

The next upon Aristotle's list are the Scythians. These, says Dr. Wiseman, could not be tribes belonging to what is called the Mongul race, which now occupies the country included in ancient Scythia,—a tawny or olive-coloured race,—but must have been the Germanic tribes. The Scythia of Herodotus was not, like the Scythia of Ptolemy, confined to Northern Asia, but also included Dacia, Mæsia,

and all the country north of Thrace: and the inhabitants of these regions were unquestionably Germanic. Herodotus has distinguished two races as occupying the wide regions of Asiatic Scythia,—the Germanic, according to the ancient classification; and the Mongul.

"This dispersion of Germanic tribes over the whole of Scythia, appears to me," says Dr. Wiseman, "a very interesting fact; and after having thus endeavoured to trace them by the aid of Greek writers, it was a great satisfaction to me to find the fact confirmed by a lamented orientalist, from sources of a different class. 'How much soever this assertion may appear a paradox,' says Abel-Rémusat, 'I think it will be proved that the family of the Gothic nations once occupied large tracts of Tartary, that some of its branches inhabited Transoxana, and even reached the Altai mountains; and that they were well-known to the people of Eastern Asia, who could not fail to be struck with the singularity of their languages, their light hair, blue eyes, and white complexions; traits particularly remarkable in the midst of men dark-coloured, and with brown eyes, and dark hair, who have in the end occupied their place. When I shall have given the proofs I have collected, it will be seen whether my assertion is too rash.' These proofs he did not, I believe, live to publish; but the learned and sagacious Ritter has most satisfactorily unravelled the complicated history of the population of Central Asia, so entangled by the confusion of names transferred from one nation to another. He considers tribes of the Indo-European or Indo-Germanic race, to have been the first inhabitants of the central plateau of Asia, who are represented by all Chinese writers as having red hair and blue eyes. In the second century before Christ, some remains, which had been driven westward by the Hiong-un, were still in force on the shores of Lake Bhalkush, and the river Hi, under the name of Uisun or U-sun; but being afterwards weakened, they were driven to the west, in the fourth century, and probably then fell into the stream of northern inundation, then beginning to move towards the south."—P. 106.

The third race enumerated by Aristotle is that of the Thracians. Dr. Wiseman is of opinion that these were the Monguls; and supports this conjecture by a passage from Julius Firmicus,* where that writer says:—"If by the mixed influence of the stars the characters and complexions of men are distributed; and if the course of the heavenly bodies, by a certain kind of artful painting, form the lineaments of mortal bodies; that is, if the Moon makes men white, Mars red, and Saturn black, how comes it that in Ethiopia all are born black, in Germany white, and in Thrace red?" By this it would appear, says Dr. Wiseman, that the copper or olive colour was the characteristic of the Thracian family, and consequently that it corresponded to what we now should call the Mongul race.

But without dwelling longer on this early classification, it will be enough to observe that,—

"For many ages, the same obvious classification of mankind, formed upon the prevalent complexion in different parts of the world, was followed without much discrimination, so that the human race must be considered as divided, like the earth which it inhabited, into three classes or zones; the very white occupying the colder regions, the black possessing the torrid, and the fair the temperate regions."—P. 109.

In the hands of Leibnitz, Linnæus, Buffon, Kant, Hunter, Zimmerman, Meiners, Klügel, and others, this principle grew into

* *Astronomicum*, lib. i. c. 1. ed. Basil. 1551, p. 3.

systems of various degrees of complexity, occasioned by the discovery of many intermediate shades in the colour of nations. A new basis for this important study was propounded by Governor Pownall,* who suggested that the shape of the skull should be observed, as well as the colour of the skin. But we are indebted to Camper for the first exact rule for making this comparison of the skulls of different nations, so as to arrive at definite and characteristic results. This rule consists, first, in measuring what Camper called "the facial angle." Take a skull in profile, and draw a line from the entrance of the ear to the base of the nostrils. Then draw a second line from the most prominent part of the forehead to the extreme border of the upper jaw, where the teeth are rooted. The intersection of these lines will form an angle, called by Camper the facial angle. This forms, in Camper's system, the specific characteristic of each human family. We shall not follow this system further, since it has been superseded by that of Blumenbach. Dr. Wiseman has concisely described this latter system, illustrating his description by plates. But even without the plates, the following outline is sufficiently intelligible.

"Blumenbach places the skull in its natural position upon a table, and then looks upon it from above and behind, and the relative forms and proportions of the parts thus visible give him what he calls the vertical rule, or *norma verticalis*. Following this, he divides the entire human race into three principal families, with two intermediate ones. The three leading divisions he calls the Caucasian, or central; secondly, the Ethiopian; and thirdly, the Mongul, or two extreme varieties. . . . In the Caucasian, or, as others have called it, the Circassian variety, the general form of the skull is more symmetrical, and the zygomatic arches enter into the general outline, and the cheek and jaw bones are concealed entirely by the greater prominence of the forehead. From this type the other two depart in opposite directions, the Negro by its greater length and narrowness, the Mongul by its excessive breadth. In the Negro's skull we may see the remarkable lateral compression of the fore part of the skull, by which the arches aforesaid, though themselves much flattened, yet come to protrude much beyond it; and the lower part of the face comes forward so much beyond the upper, that not only the cheek-bones, but the whole of the jaw, and even the teeth are visible from above. The general surface of the skull is also remarkably elongated and compressed.

"The Mongul cranium is distinguished by the extraordinary breadth of its front, in which the zygomatic arch is completely detached from the general circumference; not so much, as in the Negro, on account of any depression in this arch, as from the enormous lateral prominence of the cheek-bones; which, being at the same time flat, give the peculiar expression of the Mongul face. The forehead, too, is much depressed, and the upper jaw protuberant, so as to be visible when viewed in the vertical direction.

"Between the Caucasian variety and each of the two others, is an intermediate class, possessing to a certain degree, the distinctives of the extremes, and forming a transition from the centre to them. That between the Caucasian and Negro families is the Malay; the link between the former and the Mongul is the American variety."—P. 113.

These families are further distinguished by their complexion, and the colour of their hair and eyes. The Caucasian is white, the Negro

* New Collection of Voyages, Lond. 1767, vol. ii. p. 273.

black, the Mongul olive or yellow, the American copper-coloured, and the Malay tawny.

"The colour of the hair and of the iris follows that of the skin in a sufficiently obvious manner. Even in the fair or Caucasian race, to which we belong, persons with very fair or ruddy complexions have always the hair red, or light-coloured, and the eyes blue or of a light shade; and this has been called the *xanthous* variety of the white race. In persons with a brown skin, the hair is invariably black, and the eye darker, and these are all called the *melanic* variety. This conformity of colour in these different parts was well known to the ancients, who observed it strictly in their personal descriptions. Thus Ausonius, in his *Idyll* on Bissuta, who belonged to the first class, says of her :

"——— Germana maneret
Ut facies, oculos cœrula, flava comis."

"And in another fragment he gives her the corresponding complexion :

"' Puniceas confunde rosas, et lilia misce,
Quisque erit ex illis color æris ipse sit oris."

"So Horace describes (*Od.* lib. i. 32) a youth of the second variety,—

"' Et Lycum nigris oculis, nigroque
Crine decorum."

"From these remarks you will easily understand, that in both the Negro and Mongul races, in which the skin is dark, the hair will be black and the eye dark. The hair, too, besides its colour, has a peculiar character in each race; in the white it is flexible, flowing, moderately thick and soft; in the Negro, very thick-set, strong, short and curly; in the Mongul, stiff, thin, and straight."—P. 114.

From these distinctions in the human race, infidel writers have ventured to assert the derivation of men from stocks originally distinct and independent. Thus, according to M. Bory de Saint-Vincent, referred to by Dr. Wiseman, there are fifteen such stocks. The Adamic family, or descendants of Adam, constitute, he says, only the second division of the Arabic species of man, the *homo Arabicus*; while we, the English, belong to the Teutonic variety of the Germanic race, which is again but the fourth fraction of the *gens braccata*, or small-clothes wearing family of the Japhetic species, the *homo Japheticus*, who is divided into the above mentioned class, and another called the *gens togata* or cloak-wearing family. Dr. Wiseman also refers to Lamarck's brutal theory, that man's bodily organization has sprung from a modification of that of the baboon; and that the spiritual features of the human mind are but superior developments of the faculties of brutes. This disgusting hypothesis has been completely refuted by Mr. Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology*. Dr. Wiseman has not here applied his own principle so directly and effectively as he might have done. He ought to have shown more distinctly, that this "slight and ill-supported" assumption, as he justly calls it, of Lamarck, violates the fundamental canons of inductive reasoning. Science itself is sufficient for its own confutation whenever it maintains positions inconsistent with right interpretations of the word of God: and Dr. Wiseman would have arrived at clearer results, considering the imperfect state of this particular science, if he had set himself to show that the theories of the original

plurality of races, or of the derivation of men from monkies by gradual transformation, have not been proved by those who have advanced these propositions; even when tried at the bar of inductive philosophy alone, without removing the cause into any higher spiritual court. He has, however, preferred to show that the science in question affords arguments in favour of the unity of origin of the human race; and our duty, accordingly, is to follow him along that line of argument which he has preferred to trace.

"The great problem to be solved is, how could such varieties as we have seen, have taken their rise in the human species? Was it by a sudden change, which altered some portion of one great family into another; or are we to suppose a gradual *degradation*, as naturalists call it, whereby some nations or families passed gradually through successive shades, from one extreme to the other? And, in either case, which is to be considered the original stock? It must be owned, that the present state of this science does not warrant us in expressly deciding in favour of either hypothesis, nor, consequently, in even discussing the last consequence. But independently of this, it has arrived so far as to leave no reasonable room to doubt the common origin of every race."—P. 122.

The following points, says Dr. Wiseman, embracing all the elements of the proposed problem, have been satisfactorily proved.

"First, that accidental, or, as they are called, sporadic varieties, may arise, in one race, tending to produce in it the characteristics of another. Secondly, that these varieties may be perpetuated. Thirdly, that climate, food, civilization, &c., may strongly influence the production of such varieties, or, at least, render them fixed, characteristic, and perpetual.

"I say that these points, if proved, embrace all the elements of the proposed problem, which is, '*Could* such varieties as we now see in the human race have sprung up from one stock?' For if this is demonstrated, we have removed the grounds whereon the adversaries of revelation deny the unity of origin which it teaches."—P. 123.

Dr. Wiseman first glances at the enormous variety and multiplication of plants; as tending to prove, first, that each species takes its rise from some common centre, whence it has gradually been propagated; and, secondly, that outward circumstances exert a constant and powerful influence, giving birth to almost innumerable varieties.

But the most striking analogies are furnished, as might be supposed, by the animal world: and Dr. Wiseman has adduced several pertinent and interesting illustrations. We have not space for more than three or four of the more striking and conclusive. The skull of the wild boar, as Blumenbach has observed, does not differ less from that of the tame swine, its undoubted descendant, than those of any two human races from one another. Every attempt to produce wool in the West Indies has hitherto failed, because sheep, if transported thither, entirely lose their wool and become covered with hair. The dogs and horses, as Bishop Heber has informed us, which are carried into the hills from India, are soon covered with wool, like the shawl-goats of that climate. What a contrast there is between the slow, massive, long-horned ox, which traverses the streets of Rome, and the small-headed, clean-limbed breed which an English grazier most

prizes. European dogs, says Bosman, soon degenerate to a strange degree on the Gold Coast : their ears grow long and stiff, like a fox's, to the colour of which animal they also incline ; so that they grow very ugly in three or four years, and in as many broods their barking turns to a howl or yelp : and these are the characters, says Barbot, of the native dogs. Not only are sporadic or accidental varieties thus produced, but they may be propagated. Dr. Pritchard has brought forward the *ancon*, or otter breed of sheep, as a remarkable example of this fact. It sprang from an accidental deformity in one animal, which communicated its peculiarities so completely to its progeny, that the breed is now completely established ; and, being highly valued on account of the shortness of its legs, which does not allow it easily to get through fences, is likely to become perpetual. The enormous Durham ox, again, has been produced by cross breeding, the basis being the kyloc, or small Highland breed.

From these, and similar facts, it appears evident that diversities in the form of the skull, the colour and texture of the hair, and the general form of the body, do affect animals of the same stock ; and that these diversities, though often springing from some accidental circumstances, are capable of becoming fixed and characteristic. May we not then, asks Dr. Wiseman, consider it as highly probable, that in the human species, the same causes may similarly operate, and produce no less lasting effects ? In answer to this inquiry, Dr. Wiseman brings forward examples of the sporadic tendency to produce in one human family the characteristics of another.

“ For example, red hair is considered to be almost exclusively confined to the Caucasian family ; yet individuals exist in almost every known variety with this peculiarity. Charleroi observed it among the *Esquimaux*, Sonnerat among the *Papians*, Wallis among the *Tahitians*, and Lopes among the *Negroes*. This is no more surprising than that amongst ourselves individuals should be found with frizzled hair ; and, I think, those who have paid attention to such things, will have often observed in such persons a tendency towards some other characteristics of the *Ethiopian* family, as a dark complexion and thick lips.”—P. 129.

Dr. Wiseman further brings forward the case of the *porcupine man*, whose strange peculiarities, greater than any of those which distinguish the several families of the human race, were transmitted through three generations. Another variety, and not an unusual one, is that of the *Sedigiti*, as they were called by the ancient Romans ; that is, persons possessing supernumerary fingers. This peculiarity has run in the same family for four generations.

“ Thus, far, then we have proved, both from analogy and from direct examples : first, that there is a perpetual tendency, I might say a striving, in nature, to raise up in our species varieties, often of a very extraordinary character, sometimes approximating in a marked manner to the peculiar and specific distinctives of a race different to that in which they arise ; and, secondly, that these peculiarities may be communicated through successive generations, from father to son. A strong presumptive evidence is thus obtained, that the different families or races among men, may owe their origin to some similar occurrence ; to the casual rise of a variety which, under the influence of

favourable circumstances—the isolation, for instance, of the family in which it began, and its consequent intermarriages,—became fixed and indelible in succeeding generations.”—P. 132.

Still the great question remains—Have we any instance of whole nations having been so changed? Dr. Wiseman closes with this question in his fourth Lecture; and sets himself to prove that a transition must, some time or other, have taken place in entire nations, from one family to another. For this purpose he calls in the assistance of the comparative study of languages. No one, he observes, can doubt that nations speaking languages with a strong affinity between them, must originally have been somehow united.

“If two nations speak, and have spoken, as far as history can reach, dialects of the same tongue, we must conclude them to have had a common origin; unless one of them, at least, can be shown to have changed its language, an hypothesis always requiring the strongest evidence. For, experience proves the extraordinary tenacity with which even small communities keep hold of their original language. The *Sette Comuni*, a small German colony, established beyond the reach of historical documents, in the north of Italy; the Greeks of *Piana dei Greci*, near Palermo; the Flemish clothiers in Wales, settled there for many centuries; all retain dialects, more or less impure, of their mother tongue, and afford some of the many proofs which might be brought how difficult it is to root out any language.

“Having thus established one fixed and unalterable element, it affords a certain test whether the other has remained unchanged; or, to speak more plainly, if identity of speech infallibly proves two nations to have been originally one, and yet they differ from one another in physical characteristics to such an extent as to be now classified in different races, these characteristics are thereby proved liable to change, for one of the two nations must have lost its original type. Now, I think it can be proved, that the boundaries of the two-fold classification of men, according to language, and according to form and feature, no longer coincide; and as they must have once run together, and as that of language has remained unvaried, we must conclude that the other has undergone a change. Nay, I think we shall be able to go even farther; for while no instance has yet been brought, nor ever will, nor can be, of any people, either by gradual transition, or by voluntary impulse, transferring its language from one family to another, we may perhaps surprise nature in her other order of classification, at the moment of effecting a transition from one family to another, by discovering examples of an intermediate state between any two, or of the processes whereby it has sometimes been produced.”—P. 139.

Dr. Wiseman adduces in proof of his position the connexion between the Hungarian and the Finnish, Lapponian, and Esthonian languages; which also embraces the Tchermisses, Votiaks, Ostiaks, (As-jacks,) and Permians, tribes now inhabiting the banks of the Oby, and even more eastern parts of Siberia. Now, while all these tribes are proved by the affinity of their languages to belong to one family, their physical traits are singularly distinct. While several of these Uralian or Tschudish tribes, as the Laplanders, Tchermisses, Woguls, and Hungarians, have black hair and brown eyes; others, as the Finns, Permians, and As-jacks, have red hair and blue eyes. Again, the languages of the Tartars (or rather Tatars) and Monguls, are placed by all the best ethnographers in the same family. But the physical characteristics of the two people are broadly different.

The prevalence, yet again, of a language, essentially the same, from India to Iceland, proves that the intermediate nations have a common origin; yet the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula differ from us, in colour and shape, so materially as to be classified in another race.

Dr. Wiseman then proceeds to show, by a collection of facts, that a change of the colour of the skin from white to black is possible, and that it may become permanent by descent. These facts do not appear to us to warrant so decided a conclusion as Dr. Wiseman's main proposition requires him to draw from them; but they are sufficient to show that in the present imperfect state of physiology, those who pursue it are not warranted in denying on physiological grounds the unity of origin of the human race. But let our lecturer speak for himself. He thus gathers up all the evidence he has collected, and recapitulates the connexions of the different races, and the insensible shades whereby they seem to blend one into another.

"The white race, which I consider as the central one, connects itself with the Mongul through the Finns and Asjacks, who have its complexion, hair and iris; likewise through the Tatars, who insensibly pass through the Kirghis and Yakuts into the Mongul race; and, thirdly, through the Hindoos, who communicate with us through the Sanskrit language. With the Negro race it is connected through the Abyssinians, who have a Semitic language and European features, and through the Arabs of Suakin, who resemble the Noulas; then come the natives of Mahass, then the Foulahs and Mandingos, and so forward to the Congoese, the complete Negroes, and the Hottentots. These last, again, are closely allied to the mountaineers of Madagascar, they to those of Cochinchina, the Moluccas, and Philippine Islands; in all which are a race of black woolly-headed mountaineers, differing in language from the other natives. These again join the New Hollanders, and the natives of New Caledonia, and the New Hebrides, who are farther connected by similarity of customs, religion, and partly by physical traits, with the New Zealanders, and other natives of Polynesia, and so in fading tints, till we almost return to the Asiatic families.

"The population of these islands deserves a more particular attention. I have observed, that through the innumerable islands of Polynesia, there are two distinct tribes or families. Forster, in fact, proves this point incontestably. While the inhabitants of Tahiti, and New Zealand, the Marquesas, Friendly and Society Islands, speak but dialects of the same language, as is proved by his comparative tables, those of the New Hebrides, especially Malicollo, New Caledonia, and Tanna, speak barbarous dialects, quite distinct, and, to all appearance, unconnected. Their physical characteristics are likewise very different; approaching to the Negroes of the more western islands.

"But what I wish principally to remark is, how the tribes belonging to the first race, the unity of which no one will deny, have varied, on one side, in form and complexion, to such an immense extent; and how those of the other have likewise departed so much from their original type, that the two have blended together, so as to be hardly distinguishable, except by their languages. 'Each of the above two races,' says Dr. Forster, 'is again divided into several varieties, which form the gradations towards the other race; so that we find some of the first race almost as black and slender as some of the second; and in this second race are some strong athletic figures, which might almost vie with the first.' . . .

"Dr. Pritchard reasons very forcibly upon this gradation within the race or family. 'If,' says he, 'we view these races (the Papuan and Polynesian) together, they appear to furnish sufficient proof, that the utmost physical diversities presented by the human frame in different nations, may and do arise

from a uniform stock. They enable us to produce actual facts as examples of this deviation. We cannot, indeed, go back all the steps at once, but we can go the whole of the way by degrees. If a few of the fairest New Hollanders were separated from the community, and placed on an island by themselves, they would form a race of lighter colour than the New Zealanders. Under favourable circumstances, would not this stock deviate into still lighter shades, as the race of New Zealand, or its kindred in the Society Isles, has done? . . .

"The existence of such gradations, almost from one extreme to the other in the same race, is not peculiar to these tribes. The Malays exhibit a similar variety . . . The difficulty of accounting for such diversities is rather favourable than opposed to the consequences we have been drawing: for, the fact being thus established, that in a race acknowledged to be one, such varieties have sprung up; the difficulties of tracing them to a uniform cause, show that there are agencies we have not yet discovered; or a complication of causes whose elements we have not yet mixed in the prescribed proportions, so as to understand its action."—Pp. 158—161.

And after observing that the same series of modifications exists in the family to which we ourselves belong; that the varieties therein, when once produced, are indelible; and that the subdivisions, however blended by every civil and moral union, will continue, like the united waters of the Rhone and Saone, to flow together in one stream, but with distinguishable currents; Dr. Wiseman concludes that—

"Even the smallest varieties, once produced, are never again obliterated; and yet not, therefore, are they marks of independent origin. Even families may transmit them; and the Imperial house of Hapsburg has its characteristic feature. And whence arises this indelibility on natural processes, of varieties by natural processes introduced? This should seem to be one of the mysteries of nature; that we may on anything compel her to place her signet, but we know not how again to force it off. Man, like the magician's half-skilled scholar, so beautifully described by the German poet, possesses often the spell whereby to compel her to work, but has not yet learnt that which may oblige her to desist."—P. 162.

Dr. Wiseman's fifth and sixth Lectures consist of an application of his argument to the Natural Sciences; from which, however, he has selected two only, Medicine and Geology. The first of these is somewhat artificially brought in; and Dr. Wiseman's method of treating the awful mystery of our Saviour's death, for the purpose of proving its reality from medical considerations, is so very painful, that we will not even glance at it further than to enter our most earnest protest against all such irreverent investigations. With regard to his observations on Geology, he has not kept pace with the advance of that science, nor availed himself of the recent lights which have been thrown upon the interesting question of the aspect of geological discoveries and theories toward current interpretations of the Book of Genesis. Having treated of this subject already, we will not pursue it further on the present occasion.

On the relation of the natural sciences in general to the subject of his Lectures, Dr. Wiseman observes,—

"It would of course be impossible to bring every branch of the natural sciences so completely into contact with sacred studies, as these whereof we

have treated, nor can it be necessary to do so. For there is one way in which they all can be made subservient to the interests of religion, by viewing them as the appointed channels by which a true perception and estimate of the Divine perfections are meant to pass into the understanding; as the glass wherein the embodied forms of every great and beautiful attribute of the Supreme Being may best be contemplated; and as the impression upon the mind of the great Seal of creation, whereon has been engraven, by an Almighty hand, mystical characters of deepest wisdom, omnipotent spells of productive power, and emblems most expressive of an all-embracing, all-preserving love. And even as the engraver, when he hath cut some way into his gem, doth make proof thereof upon the tender wax; and if he find not the image perfect, is not thereby disheartened, so long as it presents each time a progressive approach to its intended type, but returns again and again unto his peaceful task; so, if we find not, that, at once, we bear upon ourselves the clear and deep impress of this glorious signet, we must not fear to proceed with our labours, but go on, ever striving to approach nearer and nearer the attainment of a perfect representation. A few years will probably bring forward new arguments for the great facts whereof we have treated, which will render all that you have heard but of small value. Those that come after us will, peradventure, smile at the small comprehension granted to our age, of nature and her operations;—we must be content, amidst our imperfect knowledge, with having striven after that which is more full.

“For, if the works of God are the true, though faint image of Himself, they must, in some way, partake of His immensity; and as the contemplation of His own unshadowed beauty will be the unsating, everlasting food of unembodied spirits, so may we say, that a similar proportion hath been observed between the examination of His image reflected on His works, and the faculties of our present condition; inasmuch as therein is matter for meditation ever deeper, for discovery ever ampler, for admiration ever holier. And so God, not being able to give to the beauties of His work that infinity which is reserved to the attributes they exhibit, has bestowed upon them that quality which best supplies and represents it; for, by making our knowledge of them progressive, He has made them inexhaustible.”—P. 241.

In the succeeding Lectures, Dr. Wiseman has collected a number of examples from Early History, Archæology, and Oriental Literature, of objections drawn from these subjects, and urged against the correctness in some particular of Holy Scripture; and has shown how completely these objections have in every instance recoiled upon those by whom they have been urged. In the twelfth and last Lecture, he describes the character of the confirmatory evidence which has been obtained through the entire course, as arising from the variety of tests to which the truth of religion has been submitted. This review, which also serves to show the general drift of those Lectures to which we have merely referred, is too long to be extracted entire; and we must be content to exhibit the general results which Dr. Wiseman has arrived at, in a more compendious form, partly in his language, partly in our own.

The general purpose of these Lectures has been to mark the relation between the evidences of Christianity and other pursuits; and to trace the influence which the necessary progress of these must have upon the illustration of the former. The object and tendency of the investigation has been to examine the different phases which revealed religion presents, from the reflected light of so many various

pursuits; to see what are its aspects under the influence of such diversified powers, and thus ascertain how far it is capable of resisting the most complicated assay, and defying the most obstinate and unfriendly examination. No book has in this respect so completely laid itself open, if untrue or incorrect, to detection and exposure, as the Bible.

"In it we have recorded the earliest and the latest physical revolutions of our globe; the dispersion of the human race; the succession of monarchs in all surrounding countries, from the time of Sesostris to the Syrian kings; the habits and manners and languages of various nations; the great religious traditions of the human race; and the recital of many marvellous and miraculous events, not to be found in the annals of any other people.

"Had the tests whereby all these different ingredients were to be one day tried, existed when they were compounded together, some pains might have been taken to secure them against their action. But against the future, no skill, no ingenuity, could afford protection. Had the name of a single Egyptian Pharaoh been invented to suit convenience, as we see done by other oriental historians, the discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet, after 3000 years, would not have been one of the chances of detection against which the historian would have guarded. Had the history of creation, or of the deluge, been a fabulous or poetical fiction, the toilsome journeys of the geologist among Alpine valleys, or the discovery of hyænas' caves in an unknown island, would not be the confirmations of his theory on which its inventor would have ever reckoned. A fragment of Berossus comes to light, and it proves what seemed before to be incredible, to be perfectly true. A medal is found, and it completes the reconciliation of apparent contradictions. *Every science, every pursuit, as it makes a step in its own natural onward progress, increasess the mass of our confirmatory evidence.*"—P. 423.

And thus we are led to regard religion as the queen of truth; the light that scatters doubt and misconception; the link that binds together the visible and invisible worlds; the harmony of the universe; the resolution of every problem; the resting-place of the soul when wearied by its impotent excursions into the regions of speculation. It appears as the olive, the emblem of peace, described by Sophocles, (*Œdip. Col.* 694)—a plant not set by human hands, but of spontaneous and necessary growth in the great order of creative wisdom; fearful to its enemies, and so firmly grounded, that none, in ancient or later times, has been able to uproot it.

Φύτευμ' ἀχείρωτον, αὐτόποιον
Ἐγγέων φόβημα δαίων.
Τὸ μὴν τις οὔτε νέος οὔτε γῆρα
Σημαίνων ἀλιώσει χερὶ πίρσας.

History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortez. By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. 3 vols. London: Bentley. 1843.

The Despatches of Hernando Cortez, translated into English, from the original Spanish, by G. FOLSOM. Wiley and Putnam.

NOTHING is more easy than to depreciate the services of Cortes and his companions in the conquest of Mexico. The genius and heroism of the conquerors may be rendered apparently doubtful by the critic, by dwelling upon the acknowledged superiority of European civilization, contrasting the inequality of the Indian maquatlil, with its edges of flint, to the Toledan blade of the Spanish cavalier, or the unerring matchlock of the foot-soldier; by enlarging on the terror experienced by the Indians at the wondrous hippocentaur, the Spanish knight, whom they deemed a part of his horse, or worship the steed as the avatar of the war-god, and to compare the mail of the Christian with the plaited cotton of the disciple of Huitzilopotchli. Grant, then, all these qualifying circumstances, make the most of the assistance rendered by the brave natives of Tlascala, the hereditary enemies of the Aztec,—give all the weight that is due to the reverence with which the white men were received by the Indian, as those descendants of the God who were to return from beyond the ocean to rule again in Anahuac,—and the expedition of Cortez still remains a wonder. With little more than five hundred Europeans, with but a few light guns, and sixteen mounted cavaliers, Cortez commenced the conquest of a country that numbered its warriors by hundreds of thousands. Without an Indian to aid him, with his men clothed, not in mail, but quilted cotton, he encountered on the plains of Ceutha the thousands of the warriors of the Tabascan nation. Cramped and crowded in upon every side by the crowds of dusky warriors, the artillery of the Christians was of little avail, and the tide of battle was gradually circling round and sweeping backwards the small band of adventurers, when the meagre cavalry of Cortez broke in upon the flank of the Indians. The victory was instant,—the Tabascans were soon changed from bitter enemies to friendly allies. With about four hundred foot and fifteen horse, half-a-dozen light guns, and thirteen hundred Indian warriors, Cortez marched from the capital of his Totomac friends to engage the heroic Tlascalans—the republicans who had so long and so successfully warred with the numerous forces of the Aztec emperor. The Tlascalans were no puny warriors to be frightened by horse, or fire from the cannon's mouth. In the very first skirmish they strove to tear the lances from the grasp of the cavaliers, and to drag them from their horses; to them the accustomed terror of the mounted soldier seemed unknown; they might indeed be astounded at the report of fire-arms,

and at the secret destruction wrought by this Christian weapon, but they were not intimidated. In the first great battle with the invader, they fought hand to hand with the horsemen, and bore with unflinching bravery the fire of the matchlocks; and when at length eight of their principal chiefs had fallen, the Tlascalans drew off from the field of battle, a defeated but not routed body,—as a well-disciplined army, not as a panic-struck mob of barbarians. Great, of a truth, was the assistance rendered to Cortez by these brave republicans in the wars which he waged against the Aztec empire; but how severe were the battles by which he compelled these warriors to become his friends! Bear in mind the horrors of the Noche Triste, and the maniacal attempts of the Aztecs to storm the palace camp of the Spaniards. Some hundreds of Christians fell in those conflicts,—but a trifle in modern warfare, but an almost unbearable loss when amounting to half the invader's force, and that too in a foreign land, far, far away from his resources. Again, how dreadful was the siege and storm of Mexico when defended by Guatemozin; the long causeways broken up into dikes and canals; the water swarming with Indian canoes, whence the dusky warriors leaped fearlessly on the causeways, and strove to draw their enemies into the waters of the lake, regardless alike of wounds and death; the gradual destruction of the buildings, each day's progress marked by the smoking ruins of the city and the festering corpses of Christian and Indian! How closely allied are history and romance!

We wish not, however, to dwell on the military horrors of the conquest, content rather to realize to the minds of our readers the difficulties overcome by Cortez, by following Mr. Prescott in his learned and interesting disquisitions on the state of civilization of the nations of Anahuac; for we feel that by the discovery of every new symptom of civilization among the inhabitants of Mexico, we go further in enhancing the difficulty overcome by the Spaniards, than in multiplying or recounting the numbers of their armies or the prowess of their warriors.

About the middle of the seventh century a nation came from out the north, and entered the land of Anahuac, establishing their capital at Tula, to the north of the valley of Mexico. Whence they came from, and whither, after a residence of four centuries, they disappeared to, is a mystery; they came and went silently, and passed from out the land in secret, leaving the mighty cities they had raised a prey to the next horde of barbarians. It has oft been conjectured that in the ruins of Palenque, and the deserted cities of Yucatan, we look upon the works of the shadowy Toltecs. The Chichimecs, their successors in the valley of Mexico, soon fell before the new flood of invaders of higher civilization, yet in all probability of the same race as the Toltecs, who, as Aztecs or Mexicans, and Acolhuans or Tezcucans, founded the monarchies of the two great cities of the lake of the valley of Anahuac. The Tezcucans were comparatively mild in their religion and manners, until corrupted by the

habits of the fierce and rude Aztecs. They gradually amalgamated with the relics of Chinchemecs, and brought them to the standard of their own civilization; and as their numbers increased, their empire was extended over the ruder tribes of the north, and their capital demonstrated in its populousness and its elegance, the progress of the nation towards civilization.

The fate of the Aztecs was not so happy as that of the Tezcuicans. Impelled by their natural ferocity, and opposed by the neighbouring tribes on account of their cruelties, the Aztecs wandered for many years around the valley of Mexico, ere they established themselves in any permanent residence. At length, in the year 1325, as they approached the south-western shore of the lake, they beheld a royal eagle of extraordinary size and beauty, settled on the stem of a prickly pear, that sprang out from a rock encompassed by the waters of the lake. In its beak it bore a serpent, and basked with its opened wings in the rays of the rising sun. The omen was accepted, and the first pile of the new city was soon driven into the low marsh that bordered on the lake. In light houses of reeds and wood, they lived on the waters of the lake, and brought a precarious subsistence from the fish that swam beneath their dwellings, the wild fowl that resorted to the marshes, and such vegetables as they could raise on the little gardens that floated round the new city. From the omen of the rock and the cactus, they called this nest of reed-huts *Tenochtitlan*; as dedicated to their war-god *Mexitli*, the new city was known as *Mexico*. The progress of the young monarchy was at first slow; internal dissensions caused a separation from their small party, and thus divided, it was long before the Aztecs could secure to themselves possessions on the mainland. Gradually they increased in numbers and in power, and their name became terrible among their neighbours. The subversion of the kingdom of *Tezcuco*, by the *Tepanecs*, was the beginning of their greatness. The Aztecs lent their aid to the dethroned prince, and the *Tepanecs* were defeated, their country seized and given to the Aztecs as their reward, and a triple alliance entered into between the restored crown of *Tezcuco*, the emperor of the Aztec, and the small state of *Tlilacopac*, that bordered on the great lake to the north of Mexico. The allies worked well together, and the progress of the three states was proportioned to their unanimity in council and in action. The capital gave evidence of the prosperity of the nation, the houses of reeds and wood gave place to palaces of stone, and causeways measuring miles in length connected the island city with the shores of the lake. Old feuds were healed, population increased, year after year new provinces were added to the united empire, and when the Spaniards landed at *Vera Cruz* the Aztec dominion reached from sea to sea. From a wandering tribe, fighting for life amid numerous other tribes of cognate races, the Aztecs were become a great and terrible nation. From a village of reed huts, *Tenochtitlan* was a city of palaces, of which the conqueror could thus write in his despatches to his master,

but a few months before he levelled it with the ground. We cite from Mr. Folsom's translation of the despatches :—

"The great city of Temixtitlan [Mexico] is situated in this salt lake, and from the main land to the denser parts of it, by whichever route one chooses to enter, the distance is two leagues. There are four avenues, or entrances to the city, all of which are formed by artificial causeways, two spears' length in width. The city is as large as Seville or Cordova; its streets, I speak of the principal ones, are very wide and straight; some of these, and all the inferior ones, are half land and half water, and are navigated by canoes. * * * * The city has many public squares, in which are situated the markets and other places for buying and selling. There is one square twice as large as that of the city of Salamanca, surrounded by porticoes, where there are daily assembled more than sixty thousand souls, engaged in buying and selling; and where are found all kinds of merchandise that the world affords, embracing the necessities of life, as, for instance, articles of food, as well as jewels of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, precious stones, bones, shells, snails, and feathers. There are also exposed for sale wrought and unwrought stone, bricks burnt and unburnt, timber hewn and unhewn, of different sorts. * * * * Every kind of merchandise is sold in a particular street or quarter assigned to it exclusively, and thus the best order is preserved. They sell everything by number or measure; at least so far we have not observed them to sell anything by weight. There is a building in the great square that is used as an audience house, where ten or twelve persons, who are magistrates, sit and decide all controversies that arise in the market, and order delinquents to be punished. In the same square there are other persons who go constantly about among the people, observing what is sold, and the measure used in selling; and they have been seen to break measures that were not true. This great city contains a large number of temples, or houses for their idols, very handsome edifices, which are situated in the different districts and the suburbs; in the principal ones religious persons of each particular sect are constantly residing, for whose use, besides the houses containing the idols, there are other convenient habitations. All these persons dress in black, and never cut or comb their hair from the time they enter the priesthood until they leave it; and all the sons of the principal inhabitants, both nobles and respectable citizens, are placed in the temples and wear the same dress from the age of seven or eight years until they are taken out to be married; which occurs more frequently with the first-born, who inherit estates, than with the others. The priests are debarred from female society, nor is any woman permitted to enter the religious houses. They also abstain from eating certain kinds of food, more at some seasons of the year than others. Among these temples there is one which far surpasses all the rest, whose grandeur of architectural details no human tongue is able to describe; for within its precincts, surrounded by a lofty wall, there is room enough for a town of five hundred families. Around the interior of this enclosure there are handsome edifices, containing large halls and corridors, in which the religious persons attached to the temple reside. There are full forty towers, which are lofty and well-built, the largest of which has fifty steps leading to its main body, and is higher than the tower of the principal church at Seville. The stone and wood of which they are constructed are so well wrought in every part, that nothing could be better done, for the interior of the chapels containing the idols consists of curious imagery, wrought in stone, with plaster ceilings, and wood-work carved in relief, and painted with figures of monsters and other objects. All these towers are the burial-places of the nobles, and every chapel in them is dedicated to a particular idol, to which they pay their devotions."

No wonder that the mind of Cortez misgave him, when, from the city of Iztalapan, he gazed upon the royal city, but a few miles distant, and looked across the blue waters of the lake,

"Where Azthan stood upon the further shore;
Amid the shade of trees its dwellings rose,
Their level roofs with turrets set around,
And battlements all burnished white, which shone
Like silver in the sunshine; I beheld
The imperial city, her far circling walls,
Her garden, groves, and stately palaces,
Her temples mountain size, her thousand roofs."

The Government of the Aztecs was an Elective Monarchy from the members of one family. Prowess in war was the main requisite, and the priestly office was no disqualification, however it might influence the four noble Electors in whom the selection of a sovereign vested.

"The new monarch was installed in his regal dignity with much parade of religious ceremony; but not until, by a victorious campaign, he had obtained a sufficient number of captives to grace his triumphal entry into the capital, and to furnish victims for the dark and bloody rites which stained the Aztec superstition. Amidst this pomp of human sacrifice he was crowned. The crown, resembling a mitre in its form, and curiously ornamented with gold gems and feathers, was placed on his head by the Lord of Tezcuco, the most powerful of his royal allies. The Aztec princes, especially towards the close of the dynasty, lived in a barbaric pomp, truly oriental. Their spacious palaces were provided with halls for the different councils, who aided the monarch in the transaction of business. The chief of these was a sort of privy council, composed in part, probably, of the four Electors chosen by the nobles after the accession, whose places, when vacant by death, were immediately supplied as before. It was the business of this body, so far as can be gathered from the very loose accounts given of it, to advise the king, in respect to the government of the provinces, the administration of the revenues, and, indeed, on all great matters of public interest."—*Prescott, Cong. Mex.* pp. 22, 23.

The body guard of the King comprised the first nobles of his realm, and many among this powerful class, which held the most important offices in the capital and in the provinces, could trace their descent to the founders of the monarchy. Setting aside the exaggerated accounts of Torquemada and Herrera, and taking with somewhat of a discount the thirty great chiefs, each numbering an hundred thousand warriors in his train, it is clear that there was a numerous and powerful Aztec nobility, many of whom, if not all, lived and acted as independent princes, regarding the Emperor as rather *primus inter pares*, than as actually supreme over their order. In the tenure by which this noble class held its estates, we recognise the features of the feudal system, though falling far short of the harmonious system by which feudal service was regulated in Europe.

"Their estates," says Mr. Prescott, "appear to have been held by various tenures, and to have been subject to different restrictions. Some of them earned by their own good swords, or received as the recompense of public services, were held without any limitation, except that the possessors should not dispose of them to a plebeian. Others were entailed on the eldest male heirs, and, in default of such, reverted to the crown. Most of them seem to have been burdened with the obligation of military service. The principal chiefs of Tezcuco, according to the chronicler, were expressly obliged to support their prince with their armed vassals, to attend his courts, and aid him in the council. Some, instead of these services, were to provide for the repairs of his buildings,

and to keep the royal demesnes in order, with an annual offering, by way of homage, of fruits and flowers. It was usual, if we are to believe historians, for a new king, on his accession, to confirm the investiture of estates derived from the crown."—*Conquest of Mexico*, p. 25.

In both Mexico and Tezeuco, the legislative power was rested in the monarch, not so, however, the judicial; each town or district had its resident judge, appointed for life, from whose judgment, as well in civil or criminal cases, there was no appeal, even to the King. Below him again, were three inferior judges of concurrent jurisdiction, subject to appeal to the one high judge of the province, whilst below these were a kind of local magistracy elected by the people themselves, whose power was confined to smaller and less important cases. Here, too, was the Anglo-Saxon tithing or hundred system, relieved from the penalty of mutual responsibility. So many families were subject to the surveillance of one among them, appointed to watch over their lives and to report on their conduct to the higher authorities. In Tezeuco the judicial system was more refined; besides the gradations already mentioned, all the judges, great as well as small, held a meeting in the capital, every eighty days, forming a court of error from inferior authorities, as well as council to the King, who sat as their president, and having original jurisdiction in such cases as from their importance might be referred to them.

With judges maintained in independence for life, forbidden, under the most awful penalties, to be guilty of collusion with any suitor, with all the proper apparel to command respect, and apparatus to enforce order, the case came before the judges without the ingenious ornaments or apologies of counsel, and the oath of the accused was not excluded its influence, *pro tanto*, in the decision on the case. The great step had been gained in fencing round the judicial authority with the sanction of the law, and rendering the interference of the monarch in the judges' courts an act of unconstitutional tyranny. Their penal code took its colour from their religion; death was the general punishment, even for the murder of a slave; for the Aztec, though he tolerated slavery, and hesitated not to sacrifice to his gods the slaves he had taken in battle, regarded the murderer of the slave, as he would the slayer of one of his own proud race. Death was awarded to the adulterer, the unjust guardian, the man who removed another's landmarks, who tampered with the established measures, who wasted his means in riotous living. To the young who lapsed into intemperance was awarded death, to the elder, loss of rank and of property. Marriage was honourable among them, guarded by religious rites, and legal defences. One court alone confined its attention to that subject, and it was only after long and patient hearing that those who had been united before their gods could be separated by the sentence of this court. Their slavery could not have been other than of the mildest form, when we know that freemen, rather than endure poverty, would sell themselves into bondage. The services to be enacted were strictly defined by law,

and the slave could acquire property equally with his master, and have his slaves to perform his labour; nor was the sanctity of his family to be violated with impunity, or his children born to servitude. The Aztec revenue was raised by a tax on agricultural and manufacturing produce as well as from the crown lands, the fiscal system was most complete, and the postal communication by couriers carried news from one to two hundred miles within the day. The Aztec, fierce and fond of blood as he was, was not unmindful of the sick and the wounded. It was reserved to Christianity to teach the whole world their duty in providing for the sick and needy, and affording some alleviation of the chastisements which the Almighty awards to us in this world of trial. The Aztec was ignorant of Christianity, but not so of one of its beneficial fruits. Every chief city boasted of its hospital for the sick, its permanent refuge for the disabled soldier, where, as the native chronicler records, "they did not protract the cure in order to increase their pay."

The Aztec was a warrior by birth. Everything in the constitution of his country tended to foster the desire of military prowess. The crown was awarded to prowess in battle; the great god of his people was the war god, who would bear away the soul of the soldier that fell in battle to the mansions of the Sun. The declaration of war came rather from the god than the emperor—was a crusade rather than a campaign. Beautiful was the warrior's dress as he marched to battle. The silver helmet, with its *panache* of bright feathers; the white cotton vest, or the cuirass of three plates of gold or silver, and the surcoat of gorgeous feather-work,—

"The feathery breastplates, of more gorgeous hue
Than the gay plumage of the mountain cock,
Than the pheasant's glittering pride,"—

rendered the battle array of the Mexicans as imposing in panoply, as it was powerful in numbers. Their tactics were far from *scientific*. Songs, war-cries, brisk charges, ambuscades, and all the sudden attacks and retreats of guerilla warfare, were their usual resources. "It was a beautiful sight," says one of the Spanish writers, "to see them set out on their march, all moving forward so gaily, and in such admirable order." They sought rather to make prisoners than to slay, for the god honoured him the most who brought most victims to his altar, and the voice of the people ratified the dictum of the god's priest.

Religion was so closely interwoven with the public and private life of the Aztec, that, however unwilling to pause on the honours of the Aztec worship, we must perforce devote a few lines to that system, which never failed in uniting against the conquerors the spirit of the nation, amid the greatest sufferings, the severest reverses. The very incongruous mixture of the bloody ritual of the Mexican Mars with the mild worship of the Air god, seems to render it probable that the latter deity was a relic of the mythology of the Toltecs, the former the natural god of the ferocious tribe that came into their seats. As the Aztec nation rose to the supremacy, the worship of their god

became dominant; the Air god was reported to have fled from the land to his home across the great sea, to return at some future period and reclaim his lost supremacy. When the Spaniards first appeared, with light complexions and flowing hair, as the Air god was figured, the Indians believed the prophecy was completed, and were prepared to accept the rule of the White gods. But the White god of old was a god of mercy, and the cruelties of these new White gods soon proved to the Aztecs that the Spaniards were no sons of Quetzalcoatl.

The pious missionaries, who recognised in the virgin mother of the Mexican Mars the counterpart of the Virgo Deipara, identified the Apostle Thomas with the meek and benevolent Quetzalcoatl. The halcyon days which are assigned to his duration on earth, when it teemed with fruits without the labour of culture, and the ear of corn formed a sufficient burden for a strong man, and the mild form of religion which he inculcated, might, with but little exaggeration, be regarded as the confused tradition of the teaching of Christianity, and the social benefits consequent on its introduction. Nor was this conjecture lessened when the cross was found among their sacred emblems—when, in more than one of their forms of prayer, Christian morality was found almost in the words of the Gospels, and the lips and bosom of the new-born infant were washed and sprinkled with consecrated water, whilst the priest prayed that “the Lord would permit those holy drops to wash away the sin that was given to it before the foundation of the world; so that the child might be born anew.” To this deity, or rather to the teacher, who, for his good acts and better words was raised into a god by his grateful followers, we may attribute all those evidences of higher civilization we have already spoken of, as well as the refined character of the future state believed in by the Aztecs, where the absence of physical suffering in the punishments of the wicked, and of martial sports and sensual gratifications in the heaven of the warriors, is contrary to the habits and thoughts of the ferocious Aztec.

“The sacerdotal order,” says Mr. Prescott, “was very numerous; as may be inferred from the statement, that five thousand priests were, in some way or other, attached to the principal temple in the capital. The various ranks and functions of this multitudinous body were discriminated with great exactness. Those best instructed in music took the management of the choirs; others arranged the festivals according to the calendar. Some superintended the education of youth; and others had charge of the hieroglyphical paintings, and oral traditions; whilst the dismal rites of sacrifice were reserved for the chief dignitaries of the order. At the head of the establishment were two high priests, elected from the order, as it would seem, by the king and principal nobles, with reference to birth, but solely for their qualifications, as shown by their previous conduct in a subordinate station. They were equal in dignity, and inferior only to the sovereign, who rarely acted without their advice in weighty matters of public concern. The priests were each devoted to the service of some particular deity, and had quarters provided within the spacious precincts of their temple—at least, while engaged in immediate attendance there; for they were allowed to marry, and have families of their own. In this monastic residence they lived in all the stern severity of conventual discipline. Thrice during the day, and once at night, they were called to prayers. They were frequent in their

ablutions and vigils, and mortified the flesh by fasting and cruel penance; drawing blood from their bodies by flagellation, or by piercing them with the thorns of the aloë. The great cities were divided into districts, placed under the charge of a sort of parochial clergy, who regulated every act of religion within their precincts. It is remarkable, that they administered the rites of absolution and confession. The secrets of the confessional were held inviolable, and penances were imposed of much the same kind as those enjoined by the Roman Catholic Church. There were two remarkable peculiarities in the Aztec ceremony. The first was, that as the repetition of an offence, once atoned for, was deemed inexpiable, confession was made but once during a man's life, and was usually deferred to a late period of it, when the penitent unburdened his conscience, and settled at once the long arrears of iniquity. Another peculiarity was, that priestly absolution was received in place of the legal punishment of offences, and authorized an acquittal in case of arrest. Long after the Conquest, the simple natives, when they came under the arm of the law, sought to escape by producing the certificate of confession."—*Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 60—62.

The ceremonies of absolution, and the words used by the priest, present a strange medley of semi-Christianity and heathenism. God is addressed as conscious of the secrets of the heart, and besought to "let his forgiveness and favour descend like the pure waters of heaven, to wash away the stain from the penitent's soul." The son of the confessing person is assigned, "not to his free will, but to the influence of the sign under which he was born." Minute ceremonies and severe penances are enjoined, and a slave for sacrifice is demanded as absolutely necessary; whilst, at the same time, he is exhorted to clothe the naked, and feed the hungry, even to his own privation, "because their flesh is like his, and they are men like him." It must have required all the powers of the priesthood, through the means of the schools over which they were supreme, and in which they were the only authorized teachers, to reconcile so incoherent a system of faith and practice to the minds of the people. They had, indeed, young and plastic minds to work upon, and power to enforce obedience; for terror, not emulation or love, was the main spring of Mexican education.

Turn we now from the dark mysteries of the religion of the Aztec—from its burdensome ceremonial, its bloody sacrifices, its cannibalism of its victims, to the great struggle of the nation to emerge from its natural barbarism, and by cultivating the seeds which the more refined and milder Toltecs left behind them, to assume a positive rank in the scale of civilization. No one can read of the religion of the Aztec, and not perceive its near relation to that of the ancient Egyptians; the resemblance is even more striking as we open up the scientific knowledge.

The nearest approach of hieroglyphical writing to the alphabet, is the system of phonetic representation, in which signs represent sounds of either entire words, or parts of them; the farthest off is the series of the picture-writing of actual events. The Mexicans were conversant with the latter form; the Egyptians most given to the former kind of hieroglyphical writing. The Aztec relied more on the figurative than either the symbolical or phonetic variety of hieroglyphics; at least, this is Mr. Prescott's opinion.

"In casting the eye over a Mexican MS., or map, as it is called, one is struck with the grotesque characters it exhibits of the human figure; monstrous overgrown heads on misshapen bodies, which are themselves hard and angular in their outlines, and without the least skill in composition. On closer inspection, however, it is obvious that it is not so much a rude attempt to delineate nature, as a conventional symbol to express the idea in the most clear and forcible manner, in the same manner as the pieces on the chess-board of similar value, while they correspond with one another in form, bear little resemblance, usually, to the objects they represent. Those parts of the figure are most distinctly traced that are most important. So also the colouring, instead of the delicate gradations of nature, exhibits only gaudy and violent contrasts, such as may produce the most vivid impression; 'for even colours,' as Gama observes, 'speak in the Aztec hieroglyphics.' But in the execution of all this the Mexicans were much inferior to the Egyptians. The drawings of the latter, indeed, are exceedingly defective, when criticised by the rules of art; for they were as ignorant of perspective as the Chinese, and only exhibited the head in profile, with the eye in the centre, and with total absence of expression. But they handled the pencil more gracefully than the Aztecs, were more true to the natural forms of objects, and, above all, showed great superiority in abridging the original figure by giving only the outline, or some characteristic or essential feature. This simplified the process, and facilitated the communication of thought. An Egyptian text has almost the appearance of alphabetical writing, in its regular lines of minute figures: a Mexican text looks usually like a collection of pictures, each one forming the subject of a separate study. This is particularly the case with the delineations of mythology, in which the story is told by a conglomeration of symbols, that may remind one more of the mysterious anaglyphs sculptured on the temples of the Egyptians, than of their written records."—*Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 84, 85.

With all due deference to the learned author of the *Conquest of Mexico*, we cannot but think that he underrates the hieroglyphical skill of the Aztecs, in assigning to them the lowest scale among the nations who were conscious of representative records. When we remember the acknowledged accuracy with which they represented to Montezuma the white strangers, who had arrived on his shores, astonishing even the Spaniards themselves, not only by the accuracy of the delineation of their general appearance, but by their attempts—and successful attempts—at individual portraiture, we must assign to them, at least, a very high scale in mere picture-painting. But why must we confine their knowledge to mere picture-painting, this lowest kind of writing? Had they not symbols for such things as were difficult of such representation? The years, the seasons, the elements, had their appropriate symbols, too often arbitrary in the individual writer, as Mr. Prescott says, but still sufficiently alike to admit of general interpretation. The tongue always represented speech; the print of a foot, motion. Again, there was an approach to phonetic signs;—we admit but an approach, confined chiefly to proper names. But when we disparage the Mexican for not carrying out his knowledge of hieroglyphical writing, and superseding the vague and rude picture by the phonetic sign, we should remember that the kingdom of the Aztec lasted but a few centuries, and yet showed signs of progress in this, as in every other science, and that the Egyptian monuments show no greater infusion of phonetic

characters, we allow no mean proof of scientific progress during nearly two thousand years. But it is said the Egyptians had been familiar with hieroglyphics from their infancy, and the rude paintings suited the illiterate. The same excuse may be assigned for the Aztec. With the example of the wondrous nation of Egypt, we need not deem it strange that the Mexican failed in breaking down the thin boundary between the lowest and highest series of writing.

Again, consider how few specimens are now existing of Mexican manuscripts. The conquerors rivalled the wantonness of Omar in the destruction they wrought on the records of the Mexicans. The first prelate of Mexico piled the picture paintings of the Aztecs, as many as he could gather together from every side of the great square of Tezcuco, and set fire to this "mountain heap" of national archives. The civil rulers rivalled the ecclesiastical in their ravages. The governor of Mexico, Zavala, sold the documents of the Mexican archives to the apothecaries to wrap drugs in, and to the pyrotechnists to form into rocket-cases. And even of the few MSS. now remaining, the Borgian, having escaped the search of the conquerors, and the bigotry of the Roman priests in later days, fell into the hands of the children of the servants of the Guistiniani family, in whose possession it was, and only escaped calcination from the thickness of the doeskin on which the figures were emblazoned.

Besides the great destruction and consequent scarcity of Mexican MSS., there are many reasons which combined to render the interpretation and deciphering of them even more obscure and difficult than of the hieroglyphics of Egypt. It was not until some years after the conquest, that some few Spanish antiquaries endeavoured to rescue from destruction, and bring to light, the few MSS. still remaining in the country; and when they, in their desire of interpreting these picture paintings, applied to the natives for assistance, they found they had to contend as well with the old feeling of devotion to their departed faith and kingdom, which prompted them to conceal their distaste of disclosing the secrets of the Aztec nations to their conquerors; as with that newer feeling imported and encouraged by the more bigoted and illiterate of the missionaries, that these were works of the evil one, superstition, as well as fear of punishment, restrained them from admitting any knowledge. Some few of the MSS. have a native interpretation written with them, but how this can be depended on is difficult to be decided. We are clearly too ignorant of the system of Mexican picture painting, to give more than very general dicta on the subject. The Mexican Calendar presents so many difficulties in the way of a clear explanation, that we shall merely refer to Mr. Prescott's chapter on the subject, almost prepared, when we read and re-read his account, to agree with Father Sahagun in its unhallowedness, "as founded neither on natural reason, nor on the influence of the planets, nor on the true course of the year; but plainly the work of necromancy, and the fruit of the compact with the devil;" the approved

method among the early writers of characterising the mysteries of the faith and knowledge of the Aztec.

Astrology is too natural to the uneducated mind, especially when the science of astronomy is gradually developing its wonders, not to find a chief place among the Mexican sciences. There is so much beauty in the belief in astral influences, that were it possible to separate it from the fatalism to which it leads, we might even now regard it with respect. Coleridge in his translation of *Wallenstein*, has seized its fairest point:—

“ It is a gentle and affectionate thought,
That, in immeasurable heights above us,
At our first birth, the wreath of love was woven,
With sparkling stars for flowers.”

The Aztec, however, was no mean astronomer—it was the highest of his sciences, as far as we can now judge, and there are fewer relics of astronomical instruments, than even of picture paintings. The great Mexican Calendar-stone alone remained a witness to their scientific attainments as astronomers. The want of stones for a furnace prevented the preservation of some further fragments at Chapoltepec, and deprived Gama of the means of elucidating somewhat more on the subject; it was no mean attainment in this science that enabled their priests to adjust their festivals by the movements of the planets, and fix the length of the year with marvellous accuracy, an accuracy to be attained only by patient and long investigations. We will not here delay to meditate on the origin of this knowledge. This is our author's description of the great festival of the renewal of the world's term of life; the birth of the new cycle.

“ I shall conclude the account of Mexican science with that of a remarkable festival, celebrated by the natives at the termination of the great cycle of fifty-two years. We have seen, in the preceding chapter, their tradition of the destruction of the world at four successive epochs. They looked forward confidently to another such catastrophe to take place, like the preceding, at the close of a cycle, when the sun was to be effaced from the heavens, the human race from the earth, and when the darkness of chaos was to settle on the habitable globe. The cycle would end in the latter part of December, and, as the dreary season of the winter solstice approached, and the diminished light of day gave melancholy presage of its speedy extinction, their apprehensions increased; and, on the arrival of the five unlucky days which closed the year, they abandoned themselves to despair. They broke in pieces the little images of their household gods, in whom they no longer trusted. The holy fires were suffered to go out in the temples, and none were lighted in their own dwellings. Their furniture and domestic utensils were destroyed; their garments torn in pieces; and every thing was thrown in disorder, for the coming of the evil genii, who were to descend on the desolate earth.

“ On the evening of the last day, a procession of priests, assuming the dress and ornaments of their gods, moved from the capital to a lofty mountain about two leagues distant. They carried with them a noble recluse, the flower of their captives, and an apparatus for kindling the *new fire*, the success of which was an augury of the renewal of the cycle. On reaching the summit of the mountain, the procession paused till midnight; when, as the constellation of the Pleiades approached the Zenith, the *new fire* was kindled by the friction of the sticks placed on the wounded breast of the native. The flame was soon

communicated to a funeral pile, on which the body of the slaughtered captive was thrown. As the light streamed up towards heaven, shouts of joy and triumph burst forth from the countless myriads who covered the hills, the terraces of the temples, and the housetops, with eyes anxiously bent on the mount of sacrifice. Couriers, with torches lighted at the blazing beacon, rapidly bore them over every part of the country; and the cheering element was seen brightening on altar and hearth-stone, for the circuit of many a league long before the sun, rising on its accustomed track, gave assurance that a new cycle had commenced its march, and that the laws of nature were not to be reversed for the Aztecs."—*Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 113, 114.

And now, when, to adopt the words of Southey in his *Madoc*, the blaze had sprung up from its living altar to herald the sun of the new century, and the fire was restored to temple and house, then began the Aztec carnival, then the people put on their gayest apparel, and the houses were restored to their gay appearance, and the people danced and sang before their idols, whilst the priest gathered in the costly offerings of a nation grateful for a renewal of their existence. Like the *ludi seculares* of the Romans, no man could hope to see the close of the cycle but once, to bear but once his part in those games, "quos nec spectasset quisquam, nec spectaturus esset."

Agriculture was greatly patronized among the Mexicans; the soldier and the high noble were alone exempt from the labours of husbandry, and the weaker sex bore their part in the lighter labours of the field alone; the Aztec, if he traced his race to the Egyptian, had thrown off the effeminacy of his forefathers, preferring the labours of the field, to the driving of the shuttle, and marking his distinctness from the more northern tribes in his own continent, in not only relieving the Mexican female from severe labour, but in raising her to the rank of a companion, a sharer in all his joys, in all his miseries. In his intercourse with his wife and family, the fierce Aztec establishes his claim to a high rank in civilization; the obligations of the marriage vow were made under the sanction of religion, and observed under the fear of temporal and eternal punishments; modesty was inculcated as the virtue of the female, implicit reverence for her husband as the best ornament of the wife. The science of working in the precious metals was carried to a great height among the Aztecs; and though furnished with tools of soft bronze alone, yet by the aid of the dust of flint stones, they rendered their tools sufficiently hard and sharp to work not only metals, but precious stones. They were but rude sculptors, but compensated for beauty and of design and execution in the number and size of the statues they carved. Mexico was crowded with statues—according to Clavigero, these relics formed the quarries for the great stones required for the foundations of the new city, when it rose from its ruins under Cortez. The cathedral in the *Plaza Mayor* stands on sculptured stones, and hardly a cellar is dug, or a foundation excavated within this, the Aztec forum, without disclosing some fragment of Mexican sculpture. The hand of the destroyer, and the exhortations of the bigot, have swept these records away. Up to the middle of the

last century, the great bas-reliefs of the unfortunate Montezuma and his sire, cut in the solid rock, stood among the groves of Chapoltepec; they are gone, broken and defaced by the order of the government of the time.

Such was the Aztec in his religion, his polity, and his manners. Towards the eastern end of the great lake, lay the kingdom of Tezcuco, the firm ally of the Mexican, superior in every respect to the other races of Anahuac. The Acolhuans and Tezcucans were of the same great family as the Aztecs; but, either from the greater mingling of their race with that of the Toltecs, or from the severe lessons which misfortune and subjection to the cruel Tepanecs taught them, the Tezcucans surpassed the Mexicans in intellectual culture and social civilization, as much as they rivalled them in power; and were then inferior in military ferocity. The Tezcucans had settled little more than a century in their new abode, when the Tepanecs came up against them, slew the king of the nation, drove his young heir into exile, and subjected the people to a bitter tyranny. For a time the young prince sought refuge among a few powerful friends from the power of the conquerors; he was, however, soon seized, his life indeed spared, through the intercession of the Aztec monarch, and cast into a dungeon; an old servant effected the rescue of his prince at the expense of his own life; and Nezahualcoyotl at length found refuge in Mexico, there to pursue, for eight years, his necessary studies. On the death of the tyrant, the prince hastened to tender his obedience to his successor. The refusal of his small presents, and the warnings of his friends, admonished the prince to fly from the power of King Maxtla. He retired to Tezcuco. The tyrant sought to entrap him at a banquet, and failed; then he threw off his disguise, sent his soldiers after the young prince, and set a price upon his head. Troops of armed men traversed the country in search of him; and a heap of merchandise or aloe stalks were not unfrequently the only safeguard to the prince, as the soldiers searched the place of his temporary refuge. His people were true to their prince, and despised the bribes of the tyrant.

"Here (near Tlascala,) he led a wretched, wandering life, exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, hiding himself in deep thickets and caverns, and stealing only at night, to satisfy the cravings of appetite; while he was kept in constant alarm by the activity of his pursuers, always hovering on his track. On one occasion, he sought refuge from them among a small party of soldiers, who proved friendly to him, and concealed him in a large drum, around which they were dancing. At another time he was just able to move the crest of a hill, as his enemies were climbing it on the other side, when he fell in with a girl who was reaping *chian*, a Mexican plant, the seed of which was much used in the drinks of the country. He persuaded her to cover him up with the stalks she had been cutting; when his pursuers came up, and inquired if she had seen the fugitive, the girl coolly answered, "She had," and pointed out a path as the one he had taken. Notwithstanding the high reward offered, Nezahualcoyotl seems to have incurred no danger from treachery; such was the general attachment felt to himself and his house. "Would you deliver up the prince, if he came in your way?" he inquired of a young peasant, who was unacquainted

with his person. "Not I" replied the other; "What, not for a fair lady's hand, and a rich dowry besides?" rejoined the prince; at which the other only shook his head and laughed. On more than one occasion, his faithful people submitted to torture, and even to lose their lives, rather than disclose the place of his retreat."—*Prescott*, Vol. i. pp. 149, 150.

Few among the great nobles of the nation adhered to the fortunes of their prince, and the sufferings of such as accompanied him in his wanderings, only added to his distress; at last relief came. The neighbouring nations began to fear the power of the Tepanecs, and long for the mild rule of the Tezucan princes. The allies joined their forces, and the prince at the head of his new friends drove out the conquerors, and recovered his kingdom, and his people their liberty. Then came the triple alliance of Mexico, Tezcuco, and the little state of the Tlacopan, on the extreme western shores of the lake; an alliance, remarkable from the different resources and power of the contracting parties, from the fidelity with which its terms were observed, and the entire absence of disputes as to the respective portions of such territories as the three powers conquered together, to be assigned to the three victorious allies. The restored prince brought with him a general amnesty to those of his people who had bowed to the usurper during his misfortunes; his object was not to revenge himself on his people, but to restore them to their own estate; and no part of the government of his kingdom was omitted in the new code of laws he composed for its regulation. We have already noticed the leading features of the Tezucan government. We need here merely allude to the share given to the people, along with the nobles and professional dignitaries, in the judicial tribunals, and the great council of advice, where the chiefs of the fourteen great orders sat to counsel their prince in the government of his kingdom; his greatest work was the Academy of Tezcuco.

"Lastly," says Mr. Prescott, "there was an extraordinary tribunal, called the Council of Music; but which, differing from the import of its name, was devoted to the encouragement of science and art; works on astronomy, chronology, history, or any other science, were required to be submitted to its judgment, before they could be made public. This censorial power was of some moment, at least, with regard to the historical department, where the wilful perversion of the truth was made a capital offence to the bloody code of Nezahualcoyotl. Yet a Tezucan author must have been a bungler, who could not elude a conviction under the cloudy veil of hieroglyphics. This body, which was drawn from the least instructed persons in the kingdom, with little regard to rank, had supervision of all the productions of art, and of the nicer fabrics; it decided on the qualifications of the professors in the various branches of science, on the fidelity of their instructions to their pupils, the deficiency of which was severely punished, and it instituted examinations of these latter. In short, it was a general board of education for the country; on stated days, historical compositions and poems, treating of moral or traditional topics, were recited before it by their authors. Seats were provided for the three crowned heads of the empire, who deliberated, with the other members, on the respective merits of the pieces, and distributed prizes of value to the successful competitors."—*Conquest of Mexico*, Vol. i. p. 151.

It is curious to remark how the Tezcucan legislator seems to have adapted the extended sense of the word music, so prevalent among the Greek philosophers, and not to have conformed to the mere artistic combination of sound and rythm, which it now means. It is marvellous to find the taste for a purely literary luxury so early developed among the Southern Indians; and see the revenues of the country contributing, not merely to the sensual gratification of architecture, or skill in handwork, or pride of dress, but to what argued the existence of a taste in the nation itself. Those who so readily postpone every useful discovery, until after the Baconian development of practical induction, may hardly credit how much they owe to the men of old, and even to those whom they characterise as savages; we have quite enough of our own to allow a little to our predecessors. Among the bards who bowed to the decision of this Academy of the Athens of Anahuac, was the royal legislator himself. His descendant, the historian Ixtlilxochitl rendered one of his ancestor's poems into Castilian, of which we draw the following English version, from the appendix to Mr. Prescott's book. Thus, then, sang the royal poet of Tezcuco, before the foot of the white man had trod on the soil of the new world.

1.

Now would I sing, since time and place
Are mine, and oh! with thee,
May this my song obtain the grace,
My purpose claims for me.
I wake these notes on song intent,
But call it rather a lament;
Do thou, beloved, now delight,
In these my flowers, pure and bright,
Rejoicing with thy friend:
Now let us banish pain and fear,
For, if our joys are measured here,
Life's sadness hath its end.

2.

And I will strike, to aid my voice,
The deep, sonorous chord;
Thou dancing, in these flowers rejoice,
And feast Earth's mighty Lord.
Seize we the glories of to-day,
For mortal life fleets fast away;—
In Octlehacan, all thine own,
Thy hand hath placed the noble throne,
Which thou hast richly drest;
From thence I argue, that thy sway
Shall be augmented day by day,
In rising greatness blest.

3.

Wise Oyotzin! prudent king!
Unrivalled prince, and great,
Enjoy the fragrant flowers that spring
Around thy kingly state.

A day will come, which shall destroy
Thy present bliss,—thy present joy,—
When fate, the sceptre of command,
Shall wrench from out thy royal hand,—
Thy moon diminished rise;
And as thy pride and strength are quenched,
From thy adherents shall be wrenched
All that they love or prize.

4.

When sorrows shall my truth attest,
And this thy throne decline,—
The birds of thy ancestral nest,—
The princes of thy line,—
The mighty of thy race, shall see
The bitter ills of poverty.
And then shall memory recall
Thy envied greatness, and on all
Thy brilliant triumphs dwell;
And when they think on bygone years,
Compared with present shame, their tears
Shall to an ocean swell.

5.

And those, who, though a royal band,
Serve thee for crown, or plume,
Remote from Culhuacau's land
Shall find the exile's doom.
Deprived of thee,—their rank forgot,
Misfortune shall o'erwhelm their lot;
Then Fame shall grudgingly withhold
Her meed to greatness, which of old
Blazons and crowns displayed;
The people will retain alone
Remembrance of the triple throne
Which thus our land obeyed.

6.

Brave Montezcuma's Indian land
Was Mexico the great,
And Nezahualcoyotl's hand
Blessed Culhuacan's state.
Whilst Toloquil his portion drew
In Acutlapan, strong, and true;
But no oblivion can I fear
Of good by thee accomplished here,
Whilst high upon thy throne;
That station, which, to match thy birth,
Was given by the Lord of earth,
Maker of good alone.

7.

Then Nezahualcoyotl,—now,
In what thou hast delight,
And weave around thy noble brow
Life's garden blossoms bright;
List to my lyre and my lay,
Which aim to please thee, and obey.

The pleasures which our lives present,—
 Earth's sceptres, and its wealth, are lent,—
 Are shadows fleeting by;
 Appearance colours all our bliss,
 A truth so great, that now to this
 One question makes reply.

8.

What has become of Cihuassa
 Quantzintecomtzin brave,
 And Conahuatzin, mighty man;
 Where are they? in the grave!
 Their names remain, but they are fled,
 For ever numbered with the dead;
 Would that those now in friendship bound,
 We whom love's thread encircles round,
 Death's cruel edge might see.
 Since good on earth is insecure,
 And all things must a change endure
 In dark futurity.

The reign of the poet king was the golden age of Francesco; the trophies of the warriors told of the prowess of the Tezcucans in battle; the records of their historians, and the verses of their poets found favour throughout Anahuac; the long and lofty piles of temple and palace recorded the wealth and magnificence of the lords of the land, whilst the running crowds, covering the fields at harvest-time, and the villages and towns that sprung up where once had been and now again is desolation, witnessed to the general prosperity of the Tezcucan people. We cannot now delay to describe the palace of the king that towered amid the lofty buildings of the capital, or of the numbers of the *teocallis* that stood within the walls of Tezcuco. They have both become the quarries whence the latter inhabitants have erected their present dwellings. Neither care we to delineate the glories of the country palace of Nezahualcoyotl, its hanging gardens, and porphyry steps; or the lofty arches of the aqueduct that bore over hill and valley the waters for its sparkling fountains. Three times in every year the king was reminded that he was but a man, and the lesson was read him with all the imposing ceremonial, and without the courtly style which characterised the similar usage among the Egyptians, when the priest attributed to the king all his virtues, all his good fortune, and cast upon his advisers the vices and the errors of the sovereign. Dressed in the coarsest garments, the whole royal household listened to the words of the preacher, as he spake of their duty to the gods and to their fellow-mortals, and warned them of the effect of their example. The vices of any among them were boldly laid open, and the monarch himself bowed in all humility to the holy man as he recounted his errors, and warned him of the duties as well as the privileges of his station. Like Haroun Al Raschid, the king of Tezcuco loved to wander in disguise among his subjects, and to glean from their own words some counsel for the future. The native historian records many stories of the benevolent interest the king

took in the concerns of his subjects, and the desire he felt of rewarding merit, however humble.

"On one occasion, when attended by a single lord, he met a boy who was gathering sticks in a field for fuel. He inquired of him, 'Why he did not go into the neighbouring forest, where he would find a plenty of them?' To which the lad answered, 'It was the king's wood, and he would punish him with death if he trespassed there.' 'What kind of man is your king?' asked the monarch. 'A very bad man,' answered the boy, 'who denies his people what God has given them.' Nezahualcoyotl urged him not to mind such arbitrary laws, but to glean his sticks in the forest, as there was no one present who would betray him; but the boy sturdily refused, bluntly accusing the disguised king, at the same time, as a traitor, and of wishing to bring him into trouble. The king, on returning to the palace, ordered the child and his parents to be summoned before him. They received the orders with astonishment; but on entering the presence, the boy at once recognised the person with whom he had discoursed so unceremoniously, and he was filled with consternation. The good-natured monarch, however, relieved his apprehensions, by thanking him for the lesson he had given him, and at the same time commended his respect for the laws, and his parents for the manner in which they had trained their son. He then dismissed the parties with a largess, and afterwards mitigated the severity of the forest laws, so as to allow persons to gather any wood they might find on the ground, if they did not meddle with the standing timber."—*Prescott*, vol. i. pp. 170, 171.

The mind and temperament of Nezahualcoyotl were naturally averse to the cruel and sordid superstitions of the great Aztec family; and he ceased not in his endeavours to recall his people to the mild religion of the Toltecs. At length the time came that the Aztec priests had renewed power of the prince: he had married late in life, had slain the husband to enjoy the wife, and the curse of David was upon him; he was childless by her. The priests called for blood, and would appease the anger of the gods by renewed sacrifices. The prince yielded, and again the altars were polluted with human flesh. But the king saw his error, and was conscious of the feebleness of his gods—he made the sacrifices to cease, and retired to weep with prayer and fasting before "All-powerful, unknown God, the Creator of the universe." His prayers were heard; the same day brought him a son and victory over his fiercest enemies.

"Greatly strengthened in his former religious convictions, he now openly professed his faith, and was more earnest to wean his people from their degrading superstitions, and to substitute a nobler and more spiritual conception of the Deity. He built a temple in the usual pyramidal form, and on the summit a tower, nine stories high, to represent the nine heavens; a tenth was surmounted by a roof painted black, profusely gilded with stars on the outside, and encrusted with metals and precious stones within. He dedicated this to 'the Unknown God—the Cause of causes.' It seems probable, from the emblem on the tower, as well as from the complexion of his verses, that he mingled with his reverence for the supreme the actual worship which existed among the Toltecs. Various musical instruments were placed on the top of the tower, and the sound of them, accompanied by the ringing of a sonorous metal, struck by a mallet, summoned the worshippers to prayers, at regular seasons. No image was allowed in the edifice, as unsuited to 'the invisible God;' and the people were expressly prohibited from profaning the altars with blood, or any other sacrifices than that of the perfume of flowers and sweet-scented gums."—*Prescott*, *Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 174, 175.

Day after day, as the king meditated in the groves of Tezcotintzo, on his immortal destiny, he became more and more a follower of the unknown God, and when at length he died, full of age and honours; and on his death-bed gave the royal robes to his youthful heir, and sage counsel for his future guidance, he besought him not to neglect the worship of the "unknown God," and bewailed how that his own sins had prevented him from knowing the great and true God. "He was wise, valiant, and liberal," says the historian, his descendant; "he had few failings himself, and rigorously punished them in others. He believed in one God only, the Maker of heaven and earth, by whom we have our being, who never revealed himself to us in human form, nor in any other; with whom the souls of the virtuous are to dwell after death, while the wicked will suffer pains unspeakable." When the Spaniards entered the land, the golden age of Tezcuco was matter of history, for, though during the reign of the young prince, the worship of the unknown God had not been abolished, yet he yearned after the bloody rites of Huitzilopotchli and the sacrifices that accompanied his burial were the heralds of the return of the superstitions and rites of the Aztecs.

The greatest contrast to the Tezcucans were the natives of the little republic of Tlascala, the fiercest enemies of the Mexican alliance, and the only tribe that had successfully resisted the armies of the "triple throne." When the Spaniards first entered their lands the Tlascalans were their most dangerous and unceasing enemies, but when the bond of union was once between them for the destruction of the empire of their ancient enemy, they never swerved from the standard of Cortez, and contributed, through their bravery, to the subjugation of the Mexicans, as much as their unextinguishable hatred of the Aztec added to the honour of every battle, "for they rage like wild beasts, sparing none." Of the city of Tlascala, Cortez gives the following description in his despatches—a description nowhere to be realized by the traveller.

"This city is so extensive and so well worthy of admiration, that although I omit much that I could say of it, I feel assured that the little I shall say will be scarcely credited, since it is larger than Granada, and much stronger, and contains as many fine houses and a much larger population than that city did at the time of its capture; and is much better supplied with the products of the earth, such as corn, and with fowls and game, fish from the rivers, various kinds of vegetables, and other excellent articles of food. There is in the city a market, in which every day thirty thousand people are engaged in buying and selling, besides many other merchants who are scattered about the city. The market contains a great variety of articles, both of food and clothing, and all kinds of shoes for the feet; jewels of gold and silver, and precious stones, and ornaments of feathers, all as well arranged as they can possibly be found in any public squares or markets in the world. There is much earthenware of every style and a good quality, equal to the best of Spanish manufacture. Wood, coal, edible, and medicinal plants, are sold in great quantities. There are houses where they wash and shave the head as barbers, and also for baths. Finally, there is found among them a well-regulated police; the people are rational and well-disposed, and altogether greatly superior to the most civilized Indian nation."

“The land of bread,” for such was the meaning of Tlascalala, was the only state of Anahuac in which the government was not a pure despotism. Of the same great family as the Aztecs, the Tlascalans entered the great plateau about the end of the twelfth century, and settled on the western borders of the lake of Tezcuco. A quarrel with the neighbouring tribes brought on a war in which the Tlascalans had to sustain the united strength of a powerful coalition. The victory fell to the weaker party; but prudence dictated to the Tlascalans the necessity of retiring from the neighbourhood of such powerful enemies, while they could so do with honour and in safety. They separated into three bodies, and commenced their migrations. One portion passed to the southward, by the ancient city of Cholula, and sought refuge in the warm and fruitful valleys, which were surrounded by bold and defensible mountains, where the Spaniards found them on their arrival in America. Here the Tlascalans defied even the armies of the “triple crown;” but the contest was unceasing, and, though aided by the fierce Stomies, they must eventually have succumbed to the power of Montezuma had they not allied themselves with the white men, after they had tested their prowess, and felt their superiority. The government of the Tlascalans, denominated by the historians, and even by Mr. Prescott, republican, was a federal aristocracy of four states. Each state had its chief and its own nobles, who ruled within their own territories, and possessing a co-ordinate authority in the great council of the nation, in all matters regarding the interests of the whole state. The four chiefs were merely *primi inter pares*, and sat with their own nobles in their own councils, and with the united body in that part of the nation. Beneath the high nobles, were different degrees of dignitaries, each holding of his superior by a rude feudal tenure, maintaining his state in peace, and following his banner in war. Beneath these, were the people, with as little, perhaps a less, share in the government than even in the despotic state of Mexico, where the lower magistrates were elected by the people, and carefully distinguished by a peculiar garb from the aristocrats. Here, too, was a rude order of knighthood, the reward of military prowess, wisdom in council, and success in trade; for, high as the Tlascalans estimated military prowess, they honoured the counsellor for his wisdom, and the merchant for the wealth and support he provided for the state. Like their language, the Tlascalans were a bold and rough people, and in the main little addicted to the treachery of their enemies, the Aztecs.

Far different from the brave and hardy Tlascalans were the inhabitants of the Mecca of Anahuac, the Cholulans. The inhabitants of the “Holy City” were the great commercialists of the valley of Mexico. They excelled in working of metals, and the weaving of cloths from the fibres of aloe. Their feather work was unrivalled; and the pottery of Cholula might be matched with that of Florence. These habits tended not to raise up either a brave or hardy race of men, whilst the sacredness attached to their city defended them from

the attacks of their neighbours, when their cunning was unable to compete with the courage of their enemies. Cholula dated back to the races that preceded the Aztec tribes,—it was found a great city by them on their incursion, and the lofty pyramid of the “Air god” was standing when the Mexicans entered the valley. In Cholula, the fires of sacrifice never failed, and the blood of the victim was continuously poured out upon her Altars. Hither flocked the devotees from every part of Anahuac, and when from the neighbouring heights they looked upon the great pyramid of Quetzalcoatl, with its eternal fires, apparently in mid-air, the worshipper bowed the knee in fervent prayer, as the crusader when he first gazed on the towers of Salem. Here the Air god had paused on his journey to the coast, and for twenty years taught the Toltecs his benevolent creed. The remembrance of him was still existing, but the worship paid to him was altered; the Aztec gods had raised their temples on every side of him, and blood flowed as freely on his altar as on those of his numerous rivals.

“The Cholulans,” says Cortez, in his despatches, “are better clothed than the Tlascalans in some respects, as the superior classes of citizens all wear cloaks over their other dress; similar in shape, material, and bordering, to those of Africa, but unlike them in being provided with pockets. Since the late troubles they have been and continue true and obedient vassals of your majesty, performing whatever is required of them in your royal name, and I believe they will remain so hereafter. This state is very fertile under cultivation, as there is much land, most of which is well watered; and the exterior of the city is more beautiful than any in Spain, as it contains many towers, and is situated on a plain. And I assure your majesty, that I have counted from a mosque or temple four hundred mosques and as many towers, all of which are of mosques in this city. This city is more suitable for the Spaniards to inhabit than any of the towns we have yet seen, as it has unoccupied lands and water for cattle, which none of the others have that we have seen; and the multitude of people who dwell in the other places is so great, that there is not a hand’s-breadth of land which is not cultivated.”

When we consider the state of civilization in Mexico, as we have endeavoured to sketch it, however conscious we may be of the almost impossibility of working out satisfactorily the great problem of its origin, we cannot repress the desire of making some few researches on the origin of the tribes in America. Most strange have been the speculations of the highest minds on this question. Acosta leads the band who trust to the junction of the continents at the pole, as the bridge over which man passed from one continent to the other; Count Carli would revive again the Atlantis of Plato, the floating island now submerged, that stretched from Africa to the New World; others trust to boats and rafts; whilst Torquemada cuts the Gordian knot, by summoning angels to his aid, assigning to them the management of the ark, and the proper distribution of its living inmates, on the cessation of the deluge. We have already seen the “Air god” assigned to St. Thomas, on the credit of a portion of his name meaning a twin (Didymus); but M’Culloch (the American) gives him to Noah, and Lord Kingsborough, as sharp at a Hebrew root as a dog at a

truffle, discovers the Pentateuch in the Teoamoxtli, the divine book of the Tezcucan doctor.*

Certain it is, that when the conquerors landed in America, they discovered a numerous, powerful, and civilized people, and did not find a single animal they were acquainted with in the old world. The solution of this problem is totally different to that connected with the human species. In America, as late investigations have shown, the similarity between the conformations of the Indians of the New World with at least one, if not more, of the races of the old. This point we cannot take up; it will be sufficient to allude to the certainty of the fact, and to its existence in many other islands, especially in New Holland, and to remind our readers that St. Augustine long since believed that "as by God's word the earth brought forth the living creature after its kind" at the creation, so a like creation took place after the deluge in islands and continents too remote to be reached by the inhabitants of the ark.

Now, the real difficulty as to the colonization of America, is not how mankind passed over from one continent to the other, but whence they came from. The distance to which voyages were prosecuted in very early times, and the leagues that the canoe of the savage has floated, are at hand to solve the difficulty of communication; but their origin remains untouched. There were two races in the New World, with a common complexion, and common physical organization; the one savages, the other semi-civilized. Whence came this refinement? A refinement bearing evident marks of Eastern origin, among a people whose language was so dissimilar. The belief in a certain number of cycles, or ages of the world, as well as in the tradition of a deluge, are so widely spread among western, as well as eastern nations, to admit of any argument from a similar belief among the Aztecs, though the almost accurate resemblance in particulars between the traditions of Tezpi, his ark filled with animals and birds resting at the foot of a great mountain, and the sending forth of the vulture and the humming bird, seem to warrant those who have assigned a Mosaic origin to these traditions.† Now in all these traditions, as well as in those relating to a race of giants who sought to escape the deluge by raising a lofty pyramid, and were, they and their tower, blasted by lightning, we must bear in mind that we have the sole accounts of them from Christian writers too anxious to prove the identity of the Aztec superstitions with a debased form of Christianity, to ensure the accuracy of their descriptions, and not to warrant us in believing that they wrote and saw through glasses of a very Christian colour. Still when we read these traditions, and remember the name by which the first woman was hailed among, "the mother of women," by "whom sin came into the world," "who bequeathed the sufferings

* Teo, says Lord Kingsborough, means "divine," amotl, "paper," and moxtli appears to be "Moses."

† In a previous paper on Norman's Ruined Cities of Yucatan, we extracted at length the Mexican legend of the deluge of Tezpi.—Vol. V. p. 758. *Christian Remembrancer*.

of child-birth to women as the tribute of death," "the serpent woman," we feel the difficulty, (after every allowance for predisposition in the historians,) of rejecting the old opinion of the connexion between the people of Palestine and the Mexicans. And surely there is no reason, because the early Spanish missionaries, struck with the presence of the cross as an emblem of worship, with the consecrated image of the deity made of flour and blood, which the priests eat with "signs of sorrow, and humiliation, declaring that they were eating the flesh of their god;" when they found the rites of baptism and confession, they drove their theory of resemblance further and more particularly than it warrants, surely there is no reason why the general theory of Asiatic origin should be abandoned; an origin quite sufficient to account for such distorted traditions of Mosaic facts, as we meet with, as well from the place of the original of the human race, as from the various captivities of God's people among eastern nations. We need not argue with Torquemada, that the migration of the Aztecs from Aztlan to Anahuac was typical of the Jewish Exodus; or believe, with Herrera, that the devil chose to imitate so accurately in everything the departure of the Israelites and their subsequent wanderings, that the places where the Mexicans halted on their march can be identified with those in the journey of the Israelites. The Spanish fathers discovered in the Mexican hieroglyphics, the passion of the Saviour, the Virgin and her attendant angels; whilst the noble lord who has devoted so much time and money to Mexican antiquities, sees in the name of the chief "Mexi," the leader of the Aztec emigrants, the word "Messiah." Without requiring the aid of an apostolic teacher, or the machinations of the devil, to account for these semblances that certainly did exist between the Mexican traditions and the records of holy writ, we cannot but admit that these coincidences are an argument—*quantum valeat*—in favour of a communication between the East and the American Indians. Add to these the resemblance between the Aztec priesthood and that of the great Tartar family, with their similar rites of penance and confession; the analogy between the bridal ceremony of the Hindoo and that of the Mexican, the burial of the dead, the human sacrifices, of the Mongolian races, and the barbaric state of the court of Montezuma, such as that of the Grand Khan as he is described by Marco Polo.

"A proof of a higher kind," says Mr. Prescott, "is found in the analogies of science. We have seen the peculiar chronological system of the Aztecs; their method of distributing the years into cycles, and of reckoning by means of periodical series, instead of numbers. A similar process was used by the various Asiatic nations of the Mogul family, from India to Japan. Their cycles indeed consisted of sixty, instead of fifty-two years; and for the terms of their periodical series they employed the names of the elements, and the signs of the zodiac; of which latter the Mexicans, probably, had no knowledge. But the principle was precisely the same. A correspondence quite as extraordinary is found between the hieroglyphics used by the Aztecs for the signs of the days, and those zodiacal signs which the Eastern nations employed as one of the terms of their series. The symbols in the Mongolian calendar are borrowed from animals. Four of the twelve are the same as the Aztec. Three others

are as nearly the same as the different species of animals in the two hemispheres will allow. The remaining five refer to no creature then found in Anahuac."—*Conquest of Mexico*, vol. iii. p. 345.

The lunar calendar of the Hindoos, according to Humboldt, who has set these scientific analogies in the strongest light, presents an equally wonderful correspondence; the signs of the serpent, the cane, the razor, the path of the sun, the dog's tail, and the house, are the same in both series, and seem equally arbitrarily selected by both nations. We extracted Mr. Prescott's description of the close of the cycle, and the ceremonies that hailed the rising of the sun. It is curious to learn that, according to Tatius, the Egyptians put on mourning as the sun descended towards Capricorn, but, as the days lengthened, robed themselves with white, crowned their heads with flowers, and held a jubilee like that of the Aztecs. The traditions of the Mexicans seem to favour the theory of an Asiatic origin, in so far as they point to the same spot as the original home of their tribes, as those of Asia, both are believed to have come from the north, and the hieroglyphic maps of the Mexicans, as well as their national traditions, point to the populus north as the prolific hive of their race. Here they placed their ancient Aztlan, and Huchuetapallan, the abodes of their great gods, the Valhalla of their hero deities. The argument from similarity of conformation of features is thus stated by Mr. Prescott:—

"The conclusions suggested by the intellectual and moral analogies with eastern Asia derive considerable support from those of a physical character. The aborigines of the Western World were distinguished by certain peculiarities of organisation, which have led physiologists to regard them as a separate race. These peculiarities are shown in their reddish complexion, approaching a cinnamon colour; their straight, black, and exceedingly glossy hair; their beard thin, and usually eradicated; their high cheek-bones; eyes directed obliquely towards the temples, and narrow foreheads falling backwards, with a greater inclination than those of any other race except the African. From this general standard, however, there are deviations, in the same manner, if not to the same extent, as in other quarters of the globe, though these deviations do not seem to be influenced by the same laws of local position. Anatomists also have discerned in crania disinterred from the mounds, and in those of the inhabitants of the high plains of the Cordilleras, an obvious difference from those of more barbarous tribes. This is seen especially in the ampler forehead, intimating a decided intellectual superiority. These characteristics are found to bear a close resemblance to those of the Mongolian family, and especially to the people of eastern Tartary; so that, notwithstanding certain differences recognised by physiologists, the skulls of the two races could not be readily distinguished from one another by a common observer. No inference can be surely drawn, however, without a wide range of comparison. That hitherto made has been chiefly founded on specimens from barbarous tribes. Perhaps a closer comparison with the more civilized may supply still stronger evidence of affinity."—*Conquest of Mexico*, vol. iii. pp. 353, 354.

We attach far less value to the craniological argument than Mr. Prescott does, from the difficulty acknowledged by every investigator of obtaining true Mexican specimens, or of being able to discriminate between the races to which they may have belonged; add to this, the admission that there are acknowledged differences between the specimens obtained, and those of the Eastern Tartars, with which

they have been compared ; still it is a small grain in the heap of evidence. Another grain is the argument from the architectural remains still existing—not, indeed, in the Mexican territory proper ; but among the thick woods and rank verdure of Central America, in the ruined cities of Uxmal, or Palenque. The wanderings of the conquerors did not lead them into these remote places ; and, therefore, time and neglect have been the only destroyers ; but when the Spaniard came, how little remains of what he found ! The same bigotry which waged war against the books of “ picture-writing,” as the works of a most ingenious devil, assailed every Indian building that partook of a religious character. Palaces became the quarries for modern houses, and now scarcely a vestige remains of the stately edifices that once swarmed with life. But the edifices in Central America were erected by cognate races to the Aztecs, if not by some of their wandering tribes ; so that somewhat of an argument may be drawn from them. The result may be thus stated :—

“ But what are the nations of the old continent, whose style of architecture bears most resemblance to that of the remarkable monuments of Chiapa and Yucatan ? The points of resemblance will, probably, be found neither numerous nor decisive. There is, indeed, some analogy, both to the Egyptian and the Asiatic style of architecture in the pyramidal terrace-formed bases on which the buildings repose, resembling also the Toltec and Mexican *Teocalli*. A similar care, also, is observed in the people of both hemispheres to adjust the position of their buildings by the cardinal points. The walls in both are covered by figures and hieroglyphics, which, on the American, as on the Egyptian, may be designed, perhaps, to record the laws and historical annals of the nation. These figures, as well as buildings, themselves appear to have been stained with various dyes, principally vermilion, a favourite colour with the Egyptians also, who painted their colossal statue and temples of granite. Notwithstanding these points of similarity, the Palenque architecture has little to remind us of the Egyptian, or the Oriental. It is, indeed, more conformable in the perpendicular elevation of the walls, the moderate size of the stones, and the general arrangement of the parts, to the European. It must be admitted, however, to have a character of originality peculiar to itself.”—*Conquest of Mexico*, vol. iii. p. 359.

Now, does this come to anything ? We fear not. The presence of paint in architecture seems to have been universal from north to south, from east to west. The pyramid of America is, in many respects, unlike that of Egypt : indeed, in Mexico, it is assumed, if the Spaniards were correct in their accounts, the form of the retiring stones of the temple of Belus, as described by Herodotus. Hieroglyphics, certainly, are present on the buildings of Central America, as well as on those of Egypt : in both, the representations of the human figure are equally absurd, in our eyes, unless intentionally and metaphorically so ; but in the one, they are raised in relief, in the other, engraved in the stone. To what age are we to refer these remains, which were in ruins when the Spaniards entered the land ? It seems equally difficult to assign to them thousands of years on the credit of the calculated age of the trees which stand among their ruins, or to give them to the race that immediately preceded the Aztecs, when the brief and casual notices of them by the Spaniards are borne in mind. But how much easier is it to pull

down theory, than to supply its place! Everywhere we can see discrepancies in the Asiatic theory,—everywhere we can stumble over difficulties; and yet, with all its faults, we find it difficult to combat the very strong and strange coincidences that meet us at every point, and which force us to entertain the notion of American civilization being dependant on that of the East; and to argue that the discrepancies are only such as carry back to remote ages the era of communication between the east and the west—perhaps to the times when the latter races first poured out from the populous north, assigning such differences as are too stubborn to come under this theory, to peculiar and indigenous civilization.

With help of Mr. Prescott, we have gone through the civilization of America, and have seldom found reason to disagree with his conclusions. The author of the lives of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic, requires no praise from us, other than the assurance that his Conquest of Mexico may not fear to range with its elder brother. Of Mr. Folsom, and his translations of the despatches of Cortez, we may, perhaps, speak at another time. Should we ever undertake the subject of the character of Cortez, his despatches are more valuable for this point, than as historical records, as he seldom objects to disguise the truth, if it interferes with his objects.

[Should the orthography of these detestable Mexican surnames be incorrect, the absence of the writer of the above paper must be pleaded: we are not aware that it is the duty of the Editor of the "Christian Remembrancer" to be acquainted with these transatlantic labials and linguals.]

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1. *The Authority and Use of the Scottish Communion Office Vindicated.* By the Rev. P. CHEYNE, Incumbent of St. John's Chapel, Aberdeen. Aberdeen: Brown. London: Burns. Oxford: Parker.
 2. *A Pastoral Letter, addressed to his Congregation, on the Opening of the New Church of St. James, Cruden.* By the Rev. J. B. PRATT, M.A. London: Rivingtons; Burns. Oxford: Parker.
 3. *A Dissuasive from Schism, addressed to the Lay Members of the Scottish Episcopal Church within the Diocese of Edinburgh.* By C. H. TERROT, D.D. Bishop. Edinburgh: Grant.

In our last number * we illustrated two points, bearing, with no slight weight, on the subject of the Scottish Communion Office,—

* We have to apologize for several errors of the press in our last article on this subject, which lateness in receiving the MS. prevented us from correcting.

Page 645, line 23, for *their* read *the*.

— 645, — 32, for *Her* read *His*.

— 646, the foot note should be omitted.

— 652, line 3, for *re-episcopal* read *episcopal*.

— 655, — 28, for *if it were*, read *it, were they*.

— 659, — 37, [*introits*?] to be omitted.

— 661, — 10, for *affirmative* read *affirmation*.

the independence, both in ritual and discipline, which the Church of Scotland has ever maintained, by virtue of her Catholic privileges, and the sympathy through which, in times past, the Church of England has been identified with her, in their common struggles for the truth. It is no unimportant vantage ground, under present circumstances, for the Scottish Office to occupy, subordinate though it be to the fundamental basis which it claims,—that it is a fair expression of pure Anglican doctrine. It is, of course, more—it is Catholic; but, considering the quarter from which it has been attacked, and the importance, beyond calculation, which it has earned as a witness to those truths among ourselves, which a miserable compromise had rendered somewhat ambiguous in the expression, it becomes a matter of obvious moment to insist upon past tokens of sisterhood and friendship, which are too apt to be overlooked or disregarded. The historical references which we have given, therefore, may not be without their use.

We have observed, that the English Service-book was the only formal Liturgy ever used in Scotland from the “Reformation” to the time of Charles the First. This circumstance was matter of necessity, not of choice. The religious rebellion which had devastated the country rendered the compilation of a national Liturgy as yet impossible, and no other had any authoritative ecclesiastical sanction. The use of the English Service-book was, therefore, a pure accident. But, during this period—from 1548 to 1637—there were no less than four English Books, differing in some considerable respects from each other;—these were, Edward’s First Book in 1549; Edward’s Second Book in 1552; Elizabeth’s Book in 1559; and James the First’s Book in 1603. Whether all these editions of the Liturgy were ever in turn adopted in Scotland, we cannot say; this much is clear,—one had quite as much authority in the Scottish Church as another, and it is quite as probable that James’s Book may have been used from 1603, as it is certain that Edward’s Second Book was ordered in 1557. But the only questions of any importance, in our present inquiry, are, in which of these Service-books are we entitled to look for the purest Anglicanism,* and then, to which of them did the Scottish Church attach herself, when she was at length privileged to draw up a Liturgy of her own? The points are soon decided by mere historical facts. James’s Book had no authority save his own; neither Convocation nor Parliament had any share in its establishment. Nevertheless, it was an advance in Catholicity on its predecessor. It shook off some of the most galling fetters which a foreign interference had imposed, and it breathed a purer spirit. Bishop Overall’s noble testimony

* By “Anglicanism” we must be distinctly understood to mean, the Church of England’s sense of Catholic truth.

to the Anglican faith in the "real presence," as expressed in the Church Catechism, was first exhibited in this Book, as well as other cheering symptoms of returning orthodoxy.

Elizabeth's Book, less Anglican than that of James, was yet more so than Edward's Second. But no act of Convocation seems to have ratified it with an ecclesiastical authority. The Queen and Council, aided by the Parliament, and opposed by the Spiritual Peers, gave it all the sanction which it ever possessed.

Edward's Book of 1552 was a work simply intruded upon the Church of England by foreign Puritans. In its distinctive character, it was thoroughly and essentially un-Anglican. Cranmer had no strength of mind to resist their influence or destroy their arguments, and Calvin, Bucer, and Martyr had it all their own way. One of these zealous but unscrupulous men (Martyr) had the audacity "to give God thanks for making himself and Bucer instrumental in putting the Bishops in mind of the exceptionable places in the Common Prayer."* Irrespective entirely, therefore, of the opinions to which it has been made to yield, it has no pretensions externally to our national deference and respect as English Churchmen. It is a specimen of mere unmixed Protestantism, properly so called, conceived and delivered by foreign Presbyterians. It had, moreover, no other authority than a regal or Parliamentary sanction; it was neither made nor confirmed by the Church in Convocation.

In the First Book of Edward we find—herself being witness—the truest expression of the mind of the Anglican Church. The Committee of Divines which formed it were commissioned not only by the King, but by the Convocation also, and their proceedings were confirmed no less by the Church than by the Parliament. The King, in his answer to the Devonshire rebels, affirmed of the Eucharist, that in this Book "it was brought even to the very use as Christ left it, and as the Apostles used it, and as the Holy Fathers delivered it."† The statute which established it declares that it was "finished by the aid of the Holy Ghost," ‡ and the very act which repealed it calls it "a very godly order, agreeable to the word of God and the Primitive Church, very comfortable to all good people, desiring to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estate of this realm."§ It is a blessing for which we cannot be too thankful to God, that, with the foreign innovations, from which we are in part still doomed to suffer, we have this recorded commentary and protest, uttered from beneath the millstone which our Church was too weak to throw off,—“such doubts as have been raised in the use and exercise of [this Liturgy] *proceeded rather from the curiosity of the Minister, and MISTAKERS, than from any other worthy cause.*”

* Epist. ad Bucerum, p. 81.

† 2 and 3 Ed. VI. cap. 1.

† Foxe's Acts and Monuments, ii. 667.

§ 5 and 6 Ed. VI. cap. 1.

Nor does it involve us in any disparagement of our present Liturgy, as left to us by the divines of 1661, to affirm of Edward's First Book, that it contains a full and free expression of pure Anglican doctrine. This is a matter of fact, not of opinion. Doctrines may become facts, and are provable by the same process. It is, now, a matter of fact that such and such doctrines are professed in the Church of England, just as it is a matter of fact that such and such books are received in the canon of the Holy Scriptures. There is no disloyalty, therefore, in measuring our present Liturgy by the standard of our First reformed Book, and in candidly confessing that so far forth as it is still foreign, it is still un-Anglican. To whatever extent this may be proved,—and it chiefly holds good, as respects expression,—there are considerations peculiar to our history, which amply suffice to reconcile us to it, and to bespeak for its deficiencies our dutiful patience and submission. “There are,” as Mr. Bulley has wisely remarked, “seasons of difficulty which justify reserve on questions in reference to which a more distinct enunciation of Catholic truths might, perhaps, have been looked for; and, certainly, the epoch of the Restoration was of that description. The Church was indeed sufficiently countenanced by the powers that be, to enable her resolutely to assert her own; but still, like the Church of old, “with one of her hands she wrought, and with the other hand held a weapon;” and she was far too wise to yield up even the outworks of her strongholds, but she was also too prudent to throw out fresh causes of provocation and strife.”* But, from the days of Queen Elizabeth, the course with respect to our Liturgy has been one of self-recovery; each review has added something to the movement upwards; the tendency has obviously been out of the Zuinglianism of 1552, towards the Anglicanism of 1549. We are not concerned, therefore, with the charge of disloyalty and undutifulness. Let them see to it who construe our Church's statements through foreign media; who avowedly prefer Bucer, and Martyr, and Calvin, to Laud, and Cosin, and Sanderson; who are so in love with German Protestantism, that they cannot endure English Catholicism.

It is a matter of fact, that the first national Reformed Liturgy in Scotland was formed on an Anglican model. We need not recur to its painful and short-lived history, with which we have at present less concern than with the internal features of its character, and the circumstances of its compilation. But here we possess a valuable testimony, providentially secured for the Church in those troublous times,—a testimony to our own distinctive orthodoxy, which we will never surrender. It is this:—The expressions of Catholic truth, of which three foreign Protestants

* Bulley's “Tabular View,” p. xxvii.

had robbed the Church of England, were restored to our sister and neighbour, the Church of Scotland, by three English Bishops. It was the protest of England against Geneva,—of Laud, Juxon, and Wren, against Calvin, Bucer, and Martyr; it was the indignant assertion of pure Anglican doctrine against foreign scepticism, and the committal of it to our Scottish sister's keeping, until it should please God to give us back our own.

But, reserving our illustrations of this most important fact for the present, let us proceed with the history of Scottish offices.

The Church and Service-book of Scotland were laid low together. Indeed, he must be a great stranger to the history of those times, who does not see that the clamour against the latter was but a pretext for the destruction of the former. From this period (1641) to the Revolution, we hear little or nothing of the Service-book. During the Commonwealth, it is well known that the Book of Common Prayer was superseded by the "Directory;" of the formation of which we have this significant memorial, that it was under deliberation, whether the Creed and Ten Commandments should be retained in it; which, being put to the question, it was carried in the negative, and they were rejected.* At the Restoration, Episcopacy was recovered in Scotland, but no attempt was made for the Liturgy; and the Bishops, by the constitution, had no power to interfere. Beyond the apostolic commission, therefore, the Church had scarcely a note of Catholicism to distinguish her from the sects around her. Doubtless, in many instances, the Apostles' Creed retained its place; and the form of a Liturgy was adopted, so far as circumstances would permit; but in no case were any formularies used—on their only valuable basis—as the Church's voice, and by her command. Individuals conducted the service of the sanctuary as each thought best—or, perhaps, as the state of each congregation required, or rather seemed to require; and as many persons were suffered to exercise an uncommissioned ministry under no bond of authority but the mere civil oath of canonical obedience, there is little wonder that the old Confession of Faith, and the Westminster form, were both preserved in use, and that many uncatholic practices obtained general sanction. It would seem, however, that, at ordinations, and in some private instances, the English Liturgy had been employed: "there never was the solemn consecration of a Bishop, or so much as the ordination of one single Presbyter, in our Church, after the restoration of Episcopacy, but in and by the use of the same [English] Liturgy; and some families of the best quality used it by the advice of their Bishops."†

* See Clarendon, ii. viii. 452.

† Answers to the Queries upon the Address of the Episcopal Clergy, by M. P. Middleton. Printed Edition, 1713, p. 8.

Since making this statement, on the authority quoted, we have seen a letter from Bishop Keith, [given in Lawson, p. 278,] in which is the following:—"I had almost

Thus things stood at the Revolution in 1688, when a radical change, effected by desperate and unprincipled means, and bringing with it sore and searching trials, placed the Church of Scotland in a new position. Since the Restoration, her constitution had been so adulterated by the admixture of worldly and political principles, that but few traces of her distinctive character were left. She had lost her spiritual independence, and all her notes of Catholicism in ritual and in discipline, had fallen a sacrifice to the demands of civil expediency. She was now free. God knows her spiritual privileges were stifled and oppressed by the iron hand of persecution, but persecution could not destroy them, and the most overwhelming severity at the hands of an open enemy, is a less grievous calamity than the tyranny and cruelty of a selfish "protector." From the moment, therefore, that political affairs assumed the decidedly hostile position to the Church, which in Scotland the Bishops courted rather than consent to yield their principles of faith and honour,—the shackles fell from off her limbs. A scourge of bitter cords, indeed, supplied their place,—as an instrument of torture in the enemy's hand,—but the inward conviction of spiritual freedom, which her forfeiture of civil patronage had only made more secure, consoled her in affliction, and lent to her sorrows a soothing spirit of faith, and hope, and patience, which a wretched political economy could neither give nor take away.

The Scottish Church, now freed from the fetters of a capricious regal authority, had it in her power to conduct her own affairs upon the sole footing of primitive and original independence. Among other things, she began to provide for the use of a Liturgy in public worship,—so far, that is, as with safety she could have any public worship at all. And here an evil precedent was admitted (as unavoidable then, it is feared, as it has been unfortunate since) which permitted the use of two Service-books in the same Church. This license was, in itself, neither contrary to primitive practice, nor inconsistent with Catholic unity; but, considering the peculiar circumstances of the Service-books in question, that they are not so much two full impressions as two developments—one in advance of the other—of the one Catholic faith; that, moreover, one had been the national Scottish use, and the other—the national English Liturgy—still in a stage of recovery, it is ever to be deeply lamented, that the Church of Scotland ceded, at any hazard, the privilege of exclusively using her own. But of this license more must not be made than is just. It was evidently, and so far

forgot to set you at rights in a point of fact. All the ordinations of our Scottish Clergymen have not been performed by the English ordinal, since the Restoration of Charles II. For I have in my possession just now, an original act of ordination, performed at Edinburgh, 1680, *Secundum morem et ritum Ecclesiæ Scotticæ*, which act I intend to put into the Royal Register of this kingdom."

unavoidably, a measure to which the Bishops were driven. The English Book was that to which they had easiest access; of their own, there were but few copies extant, and the outcry against it still echoed in their ears; they were watched sedulously by their enemies, and every fresh pretext for persecution was eagerly embraced and unscrupulously used; it was very nearly, therefore, a choice between the English Book and none. There were, moreover, amongst the Bishops themselves, internal divisions of a painful nature,—the frequent result of calamities operating variously upon different tempers;—doubts and difficulties oppressed them on all sides; personal jealousies and high political feelings began to manifest themselves contemporaneously with an extreme, and, in some cases, an unscrupulous zeal for the maintenance of the Apostolic order; and, as men of weaker minds and less reverential tempers were advanced to the Episcopate, party spirit gained influence, and under many a profession of conscientious objections to primitive customs, lurked selfish and unworthy designs. We need not allude farther to what was called the “College scheme,”—the government of the Church by Bishops at large elected by their own body,—than is necessary for our present purpose. Let us just observe, by the way, that as to the legitimate acquisition of spiritual Episcopal jurisdiction, two things recognised in the Catholic Church are necessary—appointment by provincial Bishops, and election by the Clergy and people,—and as the Scottish Collegiate Bishops held office by virtue of neither,—[true and valid Bishops as they were],—the Church of Scotland, as respects Episcopal jurisdiction, from the death of the last ante-revolution Bishop (Rose of Edinburgh) to the year 1731, was simply vacant. For Bishops, in a collegiate capacity, to govern a whole nation as one diocese, there is no precedent in the history of the Church from the age of the Apostles. We read, it is true, of Athanasius and Eusebius of Samosata ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons at large, but it was when the Church was overrun with the Arian heresy. And this is the proper footing on which to defend the same proceeding in Scotland; that country was overrun with heresy and schism; the Church was harassed and distressed, and there was danger lest the Apostolic commission should die out, with the hazardous and precarious lives of the then persecuted Prelates: but they had no right to assume what their letters of consecration, in the first instance, expressly disclaimed—Episcopal jurisdiction: they never had any, until 1731, when the Clergy and people of each diocese proceeded to a formal election, and gave them that pastoral relation to which they had hitherto no title or claim.*

But to return to the Liturgy;—that the trials and temptations

* The Church at Aberdeen, which never was without a regular Ordinary, must be excepted from these remarks, which affect most other dioceses. Bishop Gadderar, of Aberdeen, was all along a Diocesan Bishop. He never submitted to “the College,” nor approved of their proceedings. “The College” was latterly the organ of a

from without and within,—the difficulty of procuring copies of their own, and the old feeling against it, in many cases still unsubdued,—the difference of opinion on many points of detail, and the fear of occasioning a wider breach, were pleas of much urgency for countenancing the admission of the English Book, which had fewer expressed prejudices in its disfavour, cannot be denied. Still, the Scottish Book was not forgotten; it was always regarded as of primary value; it was that to which the Church clung as her own especial ritual, and for which no other could be a lasting substitute, whatever associate the necessity of the times might assign to bear it company. As early as 1713, the Earl of Winton had caused an edition of Charles the First's Book to be struck off; but it is quite uncertain how far beyond his own chapel at Tranent the benefits of it prevailed. This, however, may be proved, that where, in the ordinary Daily Service, the English Liturgy was used,—and this, almost universally, was the extent of its adoption,—in the administration of the blessed Eucharist the Scottish form was brought in to supply its defects. "Above two-thirds of our Clergy," a writer early in the last century affirms, "have always administered the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper by the Scottish Office only; and by far the greatest part of those who do not take themselves to it solely, yet have been in use of consecrating and generally distributing by it. So that the practice, for nearly three-fourths of the time of prescription with us, has been notoriously in favour of our own Communion Office." Nothing could be more objectionable, in respect of order, than this custom of amalgamating the two Books,—a very natural result, however, of an indefinite license, and one which has always, more or less, prevailed in Scotland to this day. We repeat, therefore, that it was a grievous calamity, the effects of which will last in the Scottish Church beyond the limits of human calculation, that any discretionary power in so grave a matter as the use of her national Liturgy, should have been entrusted to her priests.

But let it never be forgotten on what footing the English Service-book was permitted in the Scottish Church, not as intended to supersede her own Office, much less to counteract or oppose it. It was received at first on grounds of pure necessity, and afterwards retained as a witness to those grand principles of unity which distinguish the two British branches of Christ's Catholic Church. Bishop Raitt has solemnly declared himself on this point:—"None of us have ever discharged the use of the English Liturgy, nor can any of the few who administer the Eucharist by it only, say that they have met with any censure or reprimand for so doing, or been otherwise treated by us than as brethren. With respect to using our own Liturgy, I and all

purely political scheme; the parties associated in it were the veriest Erastians; they kept up a regular communication with the Chevalier St. George, and imagined that no bishop could be made without his consent.

my brethren declare ourselves to be of the same mind with the blessed Martyr, King Charles I., and with those great lights of the Church, the Bishops of Scotland and England in his time, who reckoned the authorizing the use of the Scottish Liturgy here to be the establishing and keeping uniformity with the Church of England, and no way a violation of it, with any pure part of the Catholic Church on earth. We insist (as our predecessors did, with approbation) upon our freedom and independency as a national Church, to use our own Liturgy so well approved of, and the only authorized one amongst us; and do declare, that the fault will lie at their door, and not at ours, who shall break communion with us on that account.* Bishop Keith, in the following year, drew up a similar document, the second paragraph of which is as follows:—"We declare that we are in full communion with the Church of England, as a sister Church, and are ready to give outward evidence hereof, on all occasions, like as we expect the same compliance from the members of that Church, when occasion shall offer. May the Church of England long preserve the just esteem and veneration it has gained in the Christian world! May this esteem be always on the increase; and may the gates of hell never be able to prevail either against it or against this Church; and may both Churches ever continue to cultivate union and harmony together, to the credit of our holy religion, and the promoting of true piety and virtue!"† We have said that it is quite uncertain to what extent the use of the original Liturgy of Charles I., as set forth in 1637, prevailed in Scotland after the Revolution. It is very probable, from Bishop Falconer's own practice, and his large influence with the Clergy, that it was much less circumscribed than is generally supposed. It might have been well for the Church, if none other had been either used or sanctioned. As early, however, as 1718, Bishop Collier and others published, at London, a "New Communion Office, taken partly from Primitive Liturgies, and partly from the First English Reformed Common Prayer-book; together with Offices for Confirmation and the Visitation of the Sick." Released, as the English Nonjuring Catholics felt themselves, from political subjugation, it was most natural they should desire to establish, for their own use, as pure and as primitive a ritual as could be devised. In this they received large assistance from the Scottish Bishops, Gadderar and Campbell, but chiefly from Dr. Rattray, (afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld,) who was employed as a sort of mediator between the two contending parties, of which Dr. Hickes and Mr. Spinckes were respectively the leaders. There can be no question—although Mr. Cheyne takes no notice

* This declaration was made by James Raitt, Bishop of Brechin, in his own name, and in the name of Robert Keith, Bishop of Fife, and Primus; R. M. White, Bishop of Dunblane, William Falconer, Bishop of Edinburgh, and John Alexander, Bishop of Dunkeld, assembled in Synod on the 20th August, 1743.

† See Lawson's History, p. 279.

of it—that this Office of the English Nonjurors was circulated and used in Scotland, and that to the revisions of Charles the First's Book, which were made from 1735 to 1764, it largely contributed. When Gadderar came to Scotland, he brought a supply of it with him, and not only adopted it himself, but desired to introduce it into general use. And this it was that drew from the "College" the formula of 1723, whereby they prohibited the introduction of the "usages," but retained the authority of the Scottish Liturgy. In other words, they permitted the Office of 1637, or any reprint of it, but condemned the Office of 1718.

The "usages" objected to were not the commemoration of the Faithful Dead, the Invocation, or the Oblation; for these great doctrinal parts of the ritual were found in the old Service-book, but they were the Mixture in the Eucharist, Total Immersion at Baptism, Chrism at Confirmation, and Unction at the Visitation of the Sick, all of which were expressly enjoined in the Book of 1718, and in no other later Office of which we know. Gadderar was content to cede the "usages," for peace-sake, so long as no compromise of the doctrinal parts of the ceremonial was required from him; and in the following year (1724) the College, in addition to their former expressions in favour of the old Office, gave him permission to use the mixture privately, if he pleased! But the College had no authority over Bishop Gadderar beyond what he was pleased to yield. He had a perfect right to legislate for his own Diocese in the matter of a ritual; and this right he did not scruple to exercise. The order of the old Scottish Liturgy was, in some respects, uncatholic, and he had a desire to alter it. The English Book of 1718 was regarded as a good standard of imitation, and seems to have been adopted accordingly. We have now before us a copy of "The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other parts of Divine Service, for the use of the Church of Scotland, with a Paraphrase of the Psalms in Metro by King James VI., from the copy printed at Edinburgh, 1637," issued in the year 1712. The copy to which we refer has been in the possession of a distinguished Scottish Nonjuror, and is marked privately throughout, not only according to the order of the Communion Office of 1718, but it contains, in MS., all the Prayers and Rubrics of that Office, requisite for the administration of Baptism, Confirmation, and the Visitation of the Sick, according to the "usages" already mentioned. It is much more than probable, therefore, that the Office of Bishop Gadderar was, in the main, the Office of Collier, published in 1718.

Hitherto the old Scottish Liturgy of 1637 seems to have reailed, as the only printed form, but accommodated to the primitive order of celebration (as expressed in the ancient Offices, and upheld thus early in Scotland) by private marks, made, with the authority of the Bishop, by both priests and people.

In the year 1735, however, an "impression" was made of this "marked" Office, under what has been called a false title, the history and cause of which we shall leave Mr. Cheyne to tell :—

"There is, it must be admitted, an appearance of disingenuousness in the title of this Office. It seems to profess to be what strictly speaking it is not—the Office authorized by Charles I. But certainly no deception was intended, as none could possibly have been successful for any length of time. The note on the title-page gave warning that there was, at least, an alteration of arrangement. This title-page has its history.

"The Rev. Andrew Gerard, who was Bishop of Aberdeen from 1747 to 1767, writing to Bishop Alexander in 1744, with reference apparently to this accusation of Dundass, gives the following account of the first publication of the Office in question. 'Bishop Gadderar, on his coming to Aberdeen, caused some hundred copies of that Office (the Scottish of 1637), as it was first published, to be printed for this diocese, and though no manner of alteration was made in those copies, yet he still used it, as did his clergy by his advice and the apparent reasonableness of the thing, in that order of the parts in which the Office complained of appears. All the clergy marking that order on the back of the title-page, with a pen, for their own direction, as did several of the laity their own copies; but those who could not write, and others of the laity, whose memories were not so prompt as to follow and readily join in performing the Office, being thus at a loss, two young merchants, hoping to make a penny by the ready sale of them, caused the new impression to be cast off for the benefit and ease of the laity, and gave it the title it has without consulting with any clergyman in the thing; so that it was a good while ere we knew by whose procurement it was done. But the benefit of it being apparent, the copies were all bought up, and more called for, so that this country is now full of them. The blundering redundancy in the prayer of Oblation, shows that the clergy had no hand in the matter, and the addition in a different character to the first title-page, shows that there is a transposition of the parts, and that these young men had no intention to palm a falsehood on the world. This impression was after Bishop Gadderar's death.'

"The 'impression' referred to was evidently that of 1735, which mentions no place or printer's name, but corresponds to the description given by Bishop Gerard, and to the date which he assigns—'After Bishop Gadderar's death.' That eminent Bishop died in 1733, and it is not likely that there would have been an edition of the Office in the intervening year, followed by another in 1735."—*Cheyne*, pp. 26, 27.

As time advanced, bringing fresh prospects of peace and tranquillity in its train, the Scottish Office, as now re-modelled, gained ground rapidly, and was establishing itself everywhere north of the Forth, in the possession of a prescriptive authority. The demand for copies of it increased, and the craving for some synodical expression in its favour, and for its firmer establishment, became general. Bishop Dunbar, the then Primus, addressed his brethren on the bench, in 1743, to ascertain their sentiments on this subject :—"I know not if it will be convenient, at this time, to enjoin the use of the Scottish Communion Office, though it ought to be recommended. One, more primitive and excellent, which cost Dr. Rattray* much labour,

* The work here referred to is that very learned compilation entitled "The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem," &c. &c., published the year after Bishop Rattray's death, by Bettenham, London. The learned Bishop died on the Feast of the Ascension, 1743. His work is very valuable, and very scarce. Will no one undertake to edit a new edition?

and which he has left in a very fair manuscript, may one day be published, and received with universal admiration." Accordingly, a synod of Bishops was held at Edinburgh in this year, a Code of Canons was enacted, and an express "recommendation, in the strongest terms, of the use of the Scottish Liturgy, in the administration of the Holy Communion," was issued to the Clergy. Soon after this, the English Service-book received its first direct authoritative sanction in Scotland. A declaration was signed by all the Bishops, declaring themselves to be "in full communion with the Church of England, as a sister Church, and allowing the use of the English Liturgy to such of their Presbyters as chose to minister by it."

In 1755 another revision of the Scottish Office took place. The Church had gone through many bitter and searching trials since the promulgation of the last edition. A series of tyrannical edicts and barbarous inflictions of civil penalties, such as disgrace the annals of a Christian country, and will for ever tarnish the reign of George II., had well-nigh suppressed the Church by the violence of mere political animosity. From 1746 to the accession of George III. was the reign of a dark and unclean spirit—proud, persecuting, selfish, intolerant, and intolerable. The world, with all the mean and worthless elements of a plotting, jealous expediency, was at work, and the kingdom of Christ seemed withdrawn from mortal eyes, because of the dark and gloomy cloud wherewith its enemies had veiled it, and the iron arm of oppression, which had crushed its ministering servants. That a new edition of the Liturgy should be necessary, on the arrival of brighter days, need excite no surprise. Of the former issue few, doubtless, remained. The new Book was entitled, "The Communion Office for the use of the Church of Scotland, as far as concerneth the Ministration of that Holy Sacrament. Authorized by King Charles I. anno 1636;" and its variations were very few. The words of Institution were brought in before the Invocation, and the Offertory preceded the Exhortation; but directions were given to begin the Office with the latter, and of the former to read the passage from 1 Chron. xxix. when presenting the Elements and alms on the altar. The Roman form, "may be to us," not the Oriental, "may become," was adopted, and the modern addition was made, "So that we, receiving them according to thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of the same His most blessed body and blood."

We now come to the last revision of the Scottish Book, which brings us to the form in which it exists at present. This took place in 1765, or, as Mr. Cheyne affirms, in 1764:—

"The date assigned to the revision is wrong. It should have been 1761. I have now before me an edition of 'The Communion Office, for the use of the Church of Scotland, as far as concerneth the ministration of that Holy Sacra-

ment. Edinburgh: Printed for Drummond, at Ossian's Head, 1764.' It corresponds in every particular to the Office now in use, which identifies it with the revised edition mentioned by Skinner, and fixes the date of the revision at least not later than that year. A second edition (Leith: Printed and sold by Alex. Robertson, 1765) followed next year, brought out under the inspection of Bishop Forbes, as the former had been under that of Bishop Falconer. The publication of two editions in such rapid succession, shows that the revised Office must have passed into immediate and general use, implying a simultaneous act of authority on the part of the Bishops, at least individually, which implies again that the review had been a deliberately concerted act. The only allusion to previous consultation among the Bishops, that has fallen in my way, occurs in a private letter from the Rev. George Innes, (Bishop of Brechin, 1778) to Bishop Alexander, dated 23d Feb., 1763, in which he says, 'Bishop Gerard bids me tell you that, with regard to what Bishop F[alconer?] proposes about altering or amending the Communion Office, he is not fond of any further alterations, as we have everything essential, and our enemies are so apt to make a bad use of anything of this kind. He said a good deal on this head too long for me to write, but concluded with the Latin observation, "*Incertis de salute pro gloria minime certandum.*"' Now, this extract shows that the revision was no ill-considered act, that it did not proceed without being discussed, and was not so entirely unobserved by enemies as some would have it supposed."—*Cheyne*, p. 22.

The alterations in this Office are very "minute," but not so "unimportant," we think, as Mr. Cheyne has stated. The restoration of the primitive words in the Invocation, and the exclusion of the clause "So that we, &c." have contributed to raise this Office to the highest standard of the early Liturgies. Our Lord spoke His blessed words without any manner of restriction, "This is My Body," and the Catholic Church, except where the Canon of the Mass has prevailed, has invariably prayed that the consecrated bread and cup may be made that Body and Blood, which our Lord called them, without limitation or restraint.

In 1811 a general Ecclesiastical Synod ratified and confirmed the authoritative use of this Office; a second, in 1828, did likewise; and a third was summoned, and met in 1838, the enactments of which form the present code of discipline in the Scottish Church. Among them is the following extract from Canon XXI. "Whereas it is acknowledged by the Twentieth and Thirty-fourth of the Thirty nine Articles, that not only the Church in general, but every particular or National Church, hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying: the (Episcopal) Church in Scotland, availing herself of this inherent right, hath long adopted, and very generally used, a form for the celebration of the Holy Communion, known by the name of the Scottish Communion Office; which form hath been justly considered, and is hereby considered, as the authorized service of the (Episcopal) Church, in the administration of that sacrament; it is hereby enacted that the Scottish Communion Office continue to be held of primary authority in this Church; and that it shall be used, not only in all consecrations of Bishops,

but also at the opening of all General Synods." We here annex a tabular view of the Scottish Offices, as respects the order of service, showing how very slight the later variations have been. By way of test for the three most important points, we place first, the order of—

<i>The Roman, Milanese, and African Liturgies.</i>	and	<i>The Oriental, Egyptian, Ethiopian, Gallican, Ephesian, & Mozarabic Liturgies.</i>
4. Consecration Prayer.		5. Words of Institution.
5. Words of Institution.		6. Oblation.
6. Oblation.		4. Consecration Prayer.

SCOTTISH OFFICES.

<i>Use of 1627.</i>	<i>"Marked" Use of 1637.</i>	<i>Use of 1743.</i>	<i>Use of 1755.</i>	<i>Use of 1764.</i>
2. Offertory.	Same order as use of 1764.	1. Exhortation.	Same as use of 1764.	1. Exhortation.
7. Prayer for the Church.		2. Offertory.		2. Offertory.
1. Exhortation.		3. Sursum Corda.	But directed to be used as	3. Sursum Corda.
9. Invitory.		6. Prayer of Con- secration.		4. Words of Insti- tution.
10. Confession.		4. Words of Insti- tution.	1. Exhortation.	5. Oblation.
11. Absolution.		5. Oblation.		6. Consecration Prayer.
12. Comfortable Words.		The rest same as 1764.	2. Offertory.	7. Prayer for the Church.
3. Sursum Corda.				8. Lord's Prayer.
6. Consecration Prayer.				9. Invitory.
4. Words of Insti- tution.				10. Confession.
5. Oblation.				11. Absolution.
8. Lord's Prayer.				12. Comfortable Words.
13. Prayer of Hum- ble access.				13. Prayer of Hum- ble access.
14. Communion.				14. Communion.

We now turn to the circumstances which have demanded a statement of the preceding facts.

An agitation, as ill-timed and perilous as can well be conceived, in the midst of trials and difficulties which can only be met on the highest ground of the Church's internal resources, her gifts of discipline and a pure faith—an agitation, we say, has been attempted to be "got up," against the Scottish Eucharistic Office, on the twofold plea, alike miserable and weak; 1st. That it is heterodox and unauthoritative; and 2dly, That if neither heterodox nor unauthoritative, it is inconvenient.

Of the two, the latter pretext is the most powerless; it is almost beneath notice; and but for the attention which the personal respect due to some of its abettors may, perhaps, gain for it, it would be simply contemptible. The memorialists of Glasgow, and Ross and Moray, to whom it belongs, have surely forgotten, that, whatever unhappy concessions in times past, a wicked and persecuting state policy may have extorted from the Church; whatever compromise of her high independence, for the sake of peace and rest from persecution, she may have consented to make, in the days of her prostration, the season has gone by when such demands were proposed, or such compliances were necessary. We are, by this time, sick of "expedien-
cies," and a dear-bought lesson has convinced us that, short of the high and manly and straight-forward line of truth and duty, there is no

safe path for us to tread. The "movement" in the Church has taught us little, if it has not opened up this much-forgotten principle of Catholic practice, and impressed it with a deep and unfading reality on our hearts and minds,—that Christ's Church, in her faith, and her ritual, and her discipline, is a kingdom distinct from, independent of, and above the world, with standards and tests of truth unmoved and immovable by earthly weights and measures.

But this conviction, in all its solemn gravity, has arisen, with fresh and awakened energy, in the minds of men; it is making its way, like the flow of a mighty tide, into the hidden places of the Church's empire, and great results are proving its presence. No longer are we content with the shelter of an "Establishment;" mere Protestantism does not satisfy us. Our eyes are raised to the first principle of an apostolic commission; the Church of the State is lost in the Church of Christendom, and Catholic affirmatives supply the place of bare Protestant negations. Men, haply, are not less restless and unquiet; but the spirit that moves them works not with that downward impetus which, not long ago, seemed to be hurrying us into the cheerless wastes of Socinian infidelity, through the comfortable and self-satisfying pastures of Erastian indifference: we are being borne upward; we are making haste to forget ourselves, and our own ease, and our own convenience; we are learning to study; and study is eliciting truth; and truth is bringing forth a sense of our needs; and our needs are sending us to our prayers. We are all craving something which we seem, somehow, to have lost; and the sense of this loss is opening our hearts, and enlarging our affections, and increasing our love and reverence, and veneration for those blessings which we still retain. Our holy mother, the Church, is showing us her gifts, and the more we are listening to her, and witnessing her treasures, the closer we are learning to cling to her side; our courage for her is waxing stronger, our devotion is growing warmer; we begin to be jealous for her honour and integrity, and withal indignant, lest in the hour of trial we should be thought unworthy to fight for her, suffer for her, die for her.

And is this the time to make such an appeal as the Glasgow Petition; an appeal from the Clergy against their Church, not because she is unfaithful and heretical; but because her more primitive and catholic ritual exposes them to personal inconvenience and distress; because it is more expedient, and lucrative, and comfortable, and, it may be, aristocratic, to be in all respects like their neighbour, the "English Establishment," than to stand out, pointed at, and vilified, and misrepresented;—self-denying witnesses to the purity of their own primitive ritual! We know not whether to bewail most the unhappy exhibition of a time-serving spirit, acting (as it would seem, avowedly) against their own convictions of (*per se*) truth, or the unconscious isola-

tion from that higher and better atmosphere of thinking and judging around them, which the memorializing Clergy have manifested. If they had objected to the doctrine of the Office, there would have been a tangible and defensible ground of appeal against it, however, in their case, unjustifiable; but to object, that it is inconvenient, and likely to give increased offence, or diminish the numbers of their congregation, (a pounds shilling and pence consideration,) is so unworthy and lamentable a plea, that it is only equalled by the self-confidence and insensibility to passing events which could venture to risk such an appeal on the judgment of their Bishop and the Church.

We have no wish to point out individuals, or to do other than lament, in earnest sorrow, that such a line should have been taken; but we must acquit the indigenous clergy of Scotland from any participation in its guilt. The Glasgow Memorial was the movement of a few priests of English or Irish ordination, some of them but recently admitted to holy orders; and all of them affording much cause to fear, that though *in* the Scottish Church, they were never *of* it. For the proceedings in Ross and Moray, so far as they are publicly announced, two gentlemen are responsible, one a priest from England, of very extreme views, the other a convert from Presbyterianism, of little more than five years' standing, who may be good, and pious, and earnest individuals, but by no means qualified to impugn the orthodoxy of the Church in which they minister, or to assign the terms on which the divisions within her fold shall be healed.

But another class of objectors are they with whom, if it is more difficult to treat as brethren, it is much plainer and easier to deal as adversaries. We must be allowed to think that they have been at least open and distinct in their ultimate measures, and that, being, without question, the original movers in the agitation, they have, in one sense, a claim on our respect, which their less intrepid followers have failed to establish. Their position has given them this advantage; they are already without the walls of the city; and it is ever easier, because safer, to keep up the attack from without, than to commence it from within. It is difficult—with most men it is impossible—to carry on war in the disguise of a friend, and yet succeed in the effort to seem honest. We do not urge any inference from this difficulty, as implicating parties of whom we have spoken; we simply assert the fact, and maintain that, whilst it is much more single-minded to declare, without reserve, and on its own merits, an enmity which we cannot conceal, than to colour it over with specious pleas of friendship, behind which threats may be detected, the false appearances can never be maintained for long,—an open rupture must come at last.

We are convinced, therefore, that a sore trial of her faith and firmness is in store for the Scottish Church; these “memorials” are harbingers of a season of probation; in our days the ground

of "expediency" is ridiculous, if it were not worse; it cannot be sustained; and as it falls, the real position of those who have taken it will be assumed; they will range themselves with all the others who attack the faith *ab extra*, and the question will be for the Church, not, whether other rites and ceremonies and forms may as well consist with her purity, as the "inconvenient" ones which she possesses of her own; but, whether she has inherent strength and courage enough to maintain the high and honourable post which God has assigned her, as an independent witness to the Catholic faith. Thank God, there is no position from which her enemies may seek to trouble and vex her, on which, if true to herself, she cannot afford to meet them; and we are very slow to believe, that any of her sons are cold-hearted enough to shrink from the contest, if it must needs be endured.

It is a most painful and humiliating fact—over which we, in England, have need to mourn in earnest—that as yet the evils in existence, and in prospect, for the Scottish Church, have proceeded from the lamentable deficiencies in our own practical system, which permits men to go forth, bearing our commission, appealing to our authority, claiming our protection, and yet denying our standards, and contravening the Catholic spirit of our constitution. This is, in part, the result of disciplinary inertness, acting on the privilege of broad and comprehensive formularies; it is impossible but that some degree of irregularity must, in consequence, widely prevail; it is the just cost at which we enjoy our latitude; and while we are permitted—within the same limits—to neutralize the lower by the higher tone, the Protestant negations by the Catholic positions of our Church, we have no right to complain. But, broad as it is, there are bounds even to our license; and the distressing reflection is, that many who have gone from us to our Scottish sister, freed from their subjection to English diocesan authority, have set these bounds at defiance; and, regardless not only of the spirit, but the actual letter of the Prayer-book, have set themselves to defend a heresy in justification of a previous schism!

We have no intention to enter into controversy with these gentlemen; they have placed themselves in such a position that it is impossible for us, consistently with our Christian dignity, to notice them as individuals, did the awful subject itself, and the unhappy spirit in which they have approached it, permit us, on other grounds, to run hastily into a discussion. We are sorry, not more for the miserable man himself, than for the Bishop who is responsible for his parish, that a Mr. Craig (a curate in the Diocese of Peterborough, who has forced himself, uninvited, into the controversy) should have outdone the schismatics themselves in the manifestation of ignorance and irreverence, (we wish we could not say blasphemy) which his pamphlet bears. His ignorance may be his misfortune, not his fault, and we can only pity the bad taste and feeling which could induce him to

inflict it on the public; but his irreverence must be the unhappy result of unbelief, and is a fitting subject for our prayers on his behalf.

With regard to the (so called) arguments of these writers, professing, as they do, to be suggestions of the Anglican faith, in opposition to the Scottish ritual, they may mislead simple-minded people, who have imbibed the mistaken, though not unnatural, notion, that to be Anglican is a better test of purity, than to be Catholic. We have merely to observe, however, and that advisedly, that their professions of Anglicanism are simply fallacious. We cannot recognise them, in any sense, as speaking for the Church of England. They are in the *ab extra* position of independent teachers; maintaining their own systems, against the Church, and only availing themselves of her mild and moderate temper, to give themselves a weight and importance which they cannot create. Their position is identical with that of the Schwenckfeldians in the sixteenth, and the whole body of Puritans in the seventeenth centuries. On the great testing questions of the Sacraments and the Apostolic Commission, it is distinctly antagonistic to the Holy Catholic faith. The historical references which we have before given serve to confirm this statement; we shall strengthen it further by an induction of testimonies.

The (so called) peculiarities of the Scottish Office, which are said to make it heterodox and un-Anglican, are—1. Its doctrine of a sacrifice; 2. Its prayer of consecration. There are other points subordinate to these, but we need not enter upon them at present.

1. Its doctrine of a sacrifice conveyed in the two-fold oblation. This is not the place for us to enlarge, as we might, upon the scriptural evidence for this mysterious truth. All worship ever was, and ever will be performed, as a sacrifice; and the Christian dispensation only differs in this respect from the Jewish, that the bloody prospective sacrifices are taken away, and the unbloody retrospective sacrifice instituted in their stead. The Priest after the order of Melchisedec has come, and all sacrifices, except that of bread and wine, which Melchisedec brought forth to Abraham, have ceased. But the sacrifice remains; else St. Paul's comparison of the Eucharist with the sacrificial feasts of the Gentiles would be unmeaning. We are said to be partakers of the table of the Lord, in respect of the bread and wine, and to eat of the altar, in respect of the oblation.* That the oblation should be twofold, is in no way contrary to Holy Scripture; the first being the offering of unconsecrated bread and wine to

* 1 Cor. x. 20, 21; Heb. xiii. 10. The objection to using altars, if good and solid, holds equally against tables. Mr. Holloway has carefully shown that the heathens had their sacred tables, in imitation of the "Holy Table" in the Mosaic tabernacle, and that this observance was common and general. Hence, as Archbishop Potter observes, we may learn why such veneration was paid to tables among the heathen, and why eating at one table was a sign of friendship.

God, in acknowledgment of His sovereignty and bounty; and the second, the proper Eucharistic oblation, the offering of the sacramental Body and Blood of our Lord in memory of His sacrifice and passion. And this is done, because it is not enough to "show forth our Saviour's death," unless we "show" it in the manner which He commanded. Our Lord offered a sacrifice at the institution, and commanded His disciples to do* what He had done; if, therefore, we only report the oblatory part, without performing it, we cannot be said to do what our blessed Lord commanded us. And the same may be affirmed,

2. Of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, conveyed in the Prayer of Consecration. Our blessed Lord, at the institution of the Holy Communion, blessed the Bread and the Cup,—*εὐλόγησας καὶ εὐχαρίστησας*† and "blessing in the language of Scripture‡ means *praying for a blessing*; but, the blessings of God the Father are conveyed by the Holy Spirit; to "bless" the Elements, therefore, is to pray for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them. Again, St. Paul, speaking of praying in an unknown tongue, puts the question, "Else, when thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen, at thy giving of thanks—*ἐν τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ*."§ This passage Hammond, following the Fathers, interprets of the blessed Eucharist; "blessing with the Spirit," therefore, and St. Paul's other expression—"the cup of blessing,"||—applicable to this Holy Sacrament, can have but one plain meaning,—praying for a blessing to be conveyed by the Spirit. The result of our Lord's "blessing" was the solemn and mysterious assurance—"This is my Body," "this is my Blood"—not, *to you*,—but, without restriction or addition. The Scottish Office is, therefore, more scriptural in its Prayer of Consecration, because it prays simply that the elements may "become" what our blessed Lord at first made them. All the rest is an act of pure, humble, self-forgetting faith.

But it is not intended that we should deduce from Holy Scripture the express words and ceremonies by which even the most sacred parts of our worship shall be conducted; and Scripture being thus silent on details, the consentient testimony of the Church Catholic is our only guide to the mind of Scripture, as it was understood by those who lived in apostolic times. Now, St. Basil has assured us, that most of the mystic, or sacra-

* The word *ποιεῖν* here used signifies "to offer a sacrifice," in the LXX. See Exod. xxix. 36, 38, 39; and x. 25; Lev. vi. 22; ix. 7, 16; xiv. 19, 30; xvii. 8, 9; xiii. 12; 1 Kings viii. 64; 2 Kings x. 24, 25; and so it is used by the early Fathers. Clem. Rom. Ep. i. 40. Just. Martyr, Dial. pp. 219, 215.

† Matt. xxvi.; Mark xiv.; Luke xxi.; 1 Cor. xi.

‡ Numb. vi. 24; 1 Sam. ix. 13; * Joel ii. 14; Mal. ii. 1—3.

§ 1 Cor. xiv. 16. Hammond in loc. || 1 Cor. x. 16.

* Samuel's offering sacrifice is called his blessing it, and thence Sacrifice are called Blessings.

mental worship, was handed down by tradition, which, therefore, is the only real standard of appeal in our present inquiry. To this test the Scottish Office must be brought,—no other can supply its place: to be Anglican is not its ambition; it aims at being Catholic, and aims not in vain.

All the liturgies of Christendom (except the later Roman and the English) conspire to confirm its purity of expression, and its accuracy of arrangement. In their Invocation and Oblation they are identical. The Liturgy of St. James, for the Greeks; of St. Mark, for the Church of Alexandria; the Liturgy in the Apostolic Constitutions; of St. Gregory Nazianzen; of St. Basil; the Syriac Anaphora; the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom; the Liturgy of St. Cyril of Alexandria; and other numerous liturgies which Dr. Brett has not collated. Renaudot, in his Collection (vol. ii. pp. 32—619) mentions no less than thirty-three, which expressly, and in full terms, contain the solemn portions of the service, for which the Scottish Office is now on its defence. We shall only add, on this head, that the learned Dr. Grabe has carefully supplied a catena of Fathers, who, with one consent, bear testimony on the same awful subject,—Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ephrem Syrus, Basil the Great, Gregory Nyssen, Ambrose, and Optatus. Whatever else the Scottish Office may be, therefore, he is a bold man who dares to say it is not Catholic.

But we are ready to show, also, that it is both Anglican and Anti-Roman. We are free to confess, that it is more Anglican than our own, in the proportion by which it more closely resembles our first reformed Liturgy, and has escaped the unfortunate concessions, which were made in words, if not in things, to foreign "Reformers." The best Anglicans, however, have always lamented our departure from that distinct and dogmatic assertion of the truth, which the Scottish ritual conveys,—the surest preservative against Rome on the one hand, and Geneva on the other. They have not been dissatisfied that, in the course of God's providence, a less explicit Office has been committed to them, because their own First Book of Edward—always recognised on the score of its purity—still exists as a source of appeal; but they have never failed to protest against the Zuinglianism, which erects Bucer and Martyr into expositors of our Service-book, and to approve the Catholicism which makes the Scottish Office a witness to the higher ground of our own. We have only room for a very small selection of testimonies of a more particular character. But for a confirmation of the general doctrines, as set forth in the Scottish Office, we refer, besides Edward's First Book, and the Homilies and Canons of the English Church, to Bishops Ridley, Montague, Bilson, Overall, Morton, Andrewes, Sutton, White, Laud, Bramhall, Cosins, Sparrow, Fell, Taylor, Ken, Hackett, Beveridge, Bull, Hickes, Wake, Sharp, Wilson, and Philpotts,—to Hooker,

Donne, Jackson, Mede, Herbert, Hammond, Thorndike, L'Es-
trange, Comber, Johnson, Scandret, Leslie, Brett, Wheatly,
and Grabe; the declared sentiments of whom will be found in
the Appendix to Dr. Pusey's celebrated Sermon. Among direct
witnesses to the Scottish Liturgy, we may call

Archbishop Laud:—

"When the Commissioners urged, the Scottish Book had inverted the order
of the Communion in the English Liturgy, the Archbishop, amongst other
things, replies, 'That the Scottish Liturgy, in this respect, comes nearer the
Primitive Church than the English, and for that reason ought to have the pre-
ference, and for this he appeals to the judgment of the learned. From hence
he infers a great deal of will and weakness in those who call this a new Com-
munion, only because some of the prayers are removed from their former
situation.'"^{*}

Bishop Horsley:—

"I have no scruple in declaring to you, what, some years since, I declared
to Bishop Drummond, that I think the Scottish Office more conformable to the
primitive models, and, in my private judgment, more edifying than that which
we now use; insomuch that, were I at liberty to follow my own private judg-
ment, I would myself use the Scotch Office in preference. The alterations
which were made in the Communion Service, and stood in the First Book of
Edward VI., to humour the Calvinists, were, in my opinion, much for the
worse."[†]

Archdeacon Daubeny:—

"The [Episcopal] Church in Scotland keeps close to the original pattern of
the Primitive Church, and with the Church of England, considering the Sacra-
ment of the Lord's Supper to be a feast upon a sacrifice, to constitute it such,
makes that which is feasted upon, first, a sacrifice, by having it offered up by
a priest."[‡]

He who passed such an encomium upon the Church herself,
cannot be supposed to have overlooked her Liturgy; let us,
therefore, hear

Bishop Horne:—

"He had such an opinion of this Church, as to think, that if the Great
Apostle of the Gentiles were upon earth, and it were put to his choice with
what denomination of Christians he would communicate, the preference would
probably be given to the Episcopalians of Scotland, as most like to the people
he had been used to."[§]

But the fairest way is to take the specific doctrines of the
Office, and show that they may be confirmed by a catena of
Anglicans. Let a few suffice.

1. For the sacrifice in the Eucharist.

Homily concerning Prayer and Sacraments, and Bp. Jewel.

"A constitution of Justinian, wherein the Eucharist is called the Holy
Oblation, is cited with approbation; and in the same Homily is recommended
Justin Martyr's description of the Eucharistic solemnity, 'We offer our Lord's
cup mixt with wine:' upon which Jewel, who had a hand in the Second Book
of Homilies, observes, 'St. Cyprian saith, "We offer the Lord's cup," meaning
thereby the wine contained in the cup. So likewise St. Austin, "The Church

* History of the Troubles of Archbp. Laud, p. 113.

† Private Letter to the Rev. John Skinner.

‡ Daubeny's Guide to the Church, vol. ii. p. 414.

§ Jones's Life of Horne, p. 176.

offereth up the sacrifice of Bread and Wine." Thus saith St. Cyprian, thus saith St. Austin, thus say the godly Fathers of the Church of Christ. 'These are no bones, Mr. Harding, they are the food of everlasting life.' "•

Canon 7th:—

"The Holy Table is, and may be, called an altar by us, in that sense in which the Primitive Church called it an altar."

Laud:—

"At and in the Eucharist, we offer up to God three sacrifices; one by the priest only—the commemorative sacrifice of Christ's death, represented in bread broken, and wine poured out; another, by the priest and the people jointly, and that is, the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for all the benefits and graces we receive by the precious death of Christ; the third, by every particular man for himself only, and that is, the sacrifice of every man's body and soul to serve Him in both all the rest of his life for this blessing thus bestowed on him."†

Hammond:—

"The Protestants of the Church of England believe and reverence, as much as any, the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, as the most substantial and essential act of our religion; and doubt not but the word *Missa* (*Mass*) has fitly been used by the Western Church to signify it; and herein abhor and condemn nothing but the corruptions and mutilations which the Church of Rome, without care of conforming themselves to the universal, have admitted in the celebration."‡

Patrick:—

"It is certain that it was not common bread and wine which the ancient Christians prayed might become the Body and Blood of Christ, but bread and wine first sanctified, by being offered to God with thanksgiving, and presented to Him, with due acknowledgments, that He was the Lord and Giver of all things."§

Bull:—

"They hold the Eucharist to be a commemorative sacrifice, and so do we. This is the constant language of the ancient liturgies. 'We offer, by way of commemoration, *μνησθέντες*;' according to our Saviour's words, when He ordained this holy rite, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' In the Eucharist, then, Christ is offered, not hypothetically, as the Trent fathers have determined, (for so He was but once offered,) but commemoratively only; and this commemoration is made to God the Father, and is not a bare remembering, or putting ourselves in mind of Him."||

Mede:—

"'If thou bringest thy gift unto the altar, and there rememberest,' &c. The ancient Christians took this to be an evangelical constitution, wherein our Saviour implied, by way of anticipation, that He would leave some rite to His Church, instead of and after the manner of the sacrifices of the law, which should begin with an oblation, as they did; and that, to require this proper and peculiar qualification in the offerer, to be at peace, and without enmity with his brother. Hence, also, they may seem to have learned to call bread and wine *ἁγία δῶρα*—the holy gifts—from the word which our Saviour useth."¶

Potter:—

"It is plain, both from the design and nature of the Lord's Supper, and from the concurrent testimony of the most primitive Fathers, who conversed with the

* Quoted in Mr. Laurence's Review of the Bishop of Oxford's Charge, 1733.

† Conference with Fisher, §. 35, p. 305.

‡ Pref. to Disp. Dispatched, p. 164.

§ Christian Sacrifice, p. 77.

|| Answer to Bishop of Meaux, Hickes' Letters, p. 246.

¶ Mede's Works, on the name Altar, sec. 11.

Apostles, or their disciples, that it was reckoned throughout the whole world, a commemorative sacrifice, or the memorial of our Lord offered upon the cross, which, being first dedicated to God by prayer and thanksgiving, and afterwards eaten by the faithful, was, to all intents, the same to them as if they had really eaten the natural Body and Blood of Christ, which are thereby represented."*

2. For the Prayer of Consecration.

Morton :—

"The first transgression of the (now) Church of Rome, in contradicting Christ, His canon, is collected out of these words, 'and he blessed it;' which concern the consecration of this sacrament. First, of the bread, the text saith, He 'blessed it.' Next of the cup, it is said, 'when He had given thanks;' which words, in your own judgments, are all one, as if it should be said, He blessed it with giving of thanks. By the which word 'blessing,' He doth imply a consecration of this sacrament."†

Thorndike :

[Christ's command] "is executed, and hath always been executed, by the act of the Church upon God's word of institution, praying that the Holy Ghost, coming down upon the present elements, may make them the Body and Blood of Christ."‡

Jeremy Taylor :—

"Have mercy upon us, O heavenly Father, according to thy glorious mercies and promises; send Thy Holy Ghost upon our hearts, and let Him also descend upon these gifts, that, by His good, His holy, His glorious Presence, He may sanctify and enlighten our hearts, and He may bless and sanctify these gifts, that this bread may become the Holy Body of Christ—Amen; and this chalice may become the life-giving Blood of Christ. Amen."§

L'Estrange :—

"I must adhere in judgment to those learned men who derive consecration from the word of God, and PRAYER. The words of invocation of God's blessing, jointly with those of Christ's institution, constitute the consecration."||

Bingham :—

"The form of consecration was always composed of a repetition of the words of institution and prayer to God to sanctify the gifts by His Holy Spirit."¶

Bishop Fleetwood :—

"The Church of Christ did heretofore pray that the Holy Spirit of God coming down on the creatures of bread and wine, might make them the Body and Blood of Christ."**

Waterland :—

"Why this part [Invocation] was struck out in the review, (1552) I know not, unless it was owing to some scruple, which, however, was needless, about making the memorial before God, which, at that time, might appear to give some umbrage to the Popish sacrifice, among such as knew not how to distinguish. However they were, we have still the sum and substance of the primitive memorial remaining in our present Office; not all in a place, but interspersed here and there in the exhortations and prayers," &c.††

Wilson :—

"Most merciful God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, look graciously

* Church Government, p. 264, &c.

† Sermon on the Institution of the Sacrament, p. 9, §. 3.

‡ Thorndike, *Just Weights and Measures*, p. 94.

§ Collection of Offices, 1658.

|| Alliance of Divine Offices, p. 205. 1699.

¶ Bingham, *Antiq.* xi. c. 3.

** Reasonable Communicant, pp. 12 and 13.

†† Brett's Remarks on Waterland's Review, p. 42.

upon the gifts now lying before Thee, and send down Thy Holy Spirit, that He may make this bread and this wine the Body and Blood of Thy Christ," &c.*

Testimonies, such as these, might be multiplied without end, were it necessary; and the fact may be proved, by the strongest evidence, that he is not a *good* Anglican, if Anglican at all, who cannot appreciate the purity of the Scottish Office. The witnesses, however, whom we have called, may suffice for the present.

"But it has been said," observes Mr. Cheyne, "that the present Office used in Scotland differs as well from Edward's First Book, as from the Second, and that by the different arrangements of its parts, and the insertion of a very remarkable and significant expression, in the Invocation, ['become,' instead of 'be to us'], it has become essentially Romish, and is intended to teach, and does in fact teach 'the' or at least 'a doctrine of Transubstantiation,'†—so loosely do men speak on the most sacred subjects."

It is truly pitiable to hear of such combined ignorance, irreverence, and frivolity. Verily, one may cease to wonder at any lengths of disobedience and rebellion, and self-seeking, to which unhappy men are driven, who suffer themselves to handle thus roughly, and at random, the deepest and most awful mystery of our redemption. But we repeat it, the Scottish ritual is fundamentally anti-Roman,—much more so than our own. To prove it, Dr. Brett's words are better than ours:—

"Now I confess those words ['be to us'] are in the Canon of the Mass, and in the first Liturgy of King Edward, which was plainly taken from that Canon, and differs very little from it except in the Rubrics, but they are in no other ancient Liturgy. For in all the Greek and Eastern liturgies, as well as in the Gallican, Gothic, and Mozarabic liturgies, which were the ancient liturgies of the Western Church, before they gave place to the Roman Canon, there is no such word as *nobis*—unto us, in this petition for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the elements; they all, as has been shown, ran in these words: 'Make, or, let Him make, this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ,' without any manner of restriction, and in as express terms as are in this prayer. Whether the Cardinals Du Perron or Bellarmine could ever desire more [than the insertion of 'to us'] is a question not very difficult to answer. But this is certain, and I have already proved it, that the Cardinals Bessarion and Bona, and Arcadius and Goar, as zealous Transubstantiators as either Du Perron or Bellarmine, have pleaded as hard for those words 'unto us,' as this gentleman or any of his friends can do. A sure argument that those words 'unto us' did not, in their opinion, in anywise tend to overthrow the doctrine of Transubstantiation, nor that the leaving them out did in any measure tend to support that doctrine. I am persuaded this learned answerer had not duly considered what advantage he gives the zealous Transubstantiators by maintaining such an assertion, that to pray to God to send the Holy Ghost to make this Bread the Body of Christ, and this cup the Blood of Christ, without restriction, is as much as they can desire. For this is as much as to say, that all who use such a prayer maintain, or at least countenance, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, otherwise the zealous Transubstantiators can have no desire gratified by it. If so, then they have a better argument for that doctrine than I thought they had. They have the concurrent sense of the primitive Church from the Apostles' days downward,—of the whole Catholic Church,—of all the Churches but their own, (theirs being the only Church which has the restriction), both Eastern and Western for eight hundred years at least, and of all the Greek

* *Sacra Privata*, Works, vol. ii. pp. 51 and 211.

† See Mr. Drummond's pamphlet.

and Eastern Churches to this day, to countenance this their absurd opinion. So that they must have antiquity, universality, and consent, to support their doctrine of Transubstantiation, if the objection here made against this prayer be of any weight. Whereas, for my part, I took the doctrine of Transubstantiation to be modern, first started by Paschasius in the ninth century, when the Roman Canon only had prevailed in all the Churches of the West, and excluded those liturgies, in those parts wherein this prayer was used in the form, order, and words which this worthy person is pleased to condemn as teaching that doctrine. But if to call the consecrated bread and wine the Body and Blood of Christ, or to pray that they may be made so by consecration, is to teach the doctrine of Transubstantiation, (and if it be not, the objection is made to no purpose;) then what shall we say to our Saviour's own words—"This is my Body," "This is my Blood," which were spoken by Him without any restriction. He does not say this is my Body unto you, This is my Blood unto you. Cardinal Du Perron and Bellarmine, and the most zealous Transubstantiators, say that, they are as express as they can desire, which is more than many of them have said of this prayer; which if they had thought so very much to their purpose as is now pretended, they would not have been so zealous in the Council of Florence, to get an interpretation of it, by the words unto us—the very words which the learned answerer blames us for leaving out."*

And now, the Scottish Office being thus Catholic, Anglican, and anti-Roman, we demand the reason why its use should be laid aside. Has it not authority sufficient? If it has not, we know of no Liturgy in Christendom that ever had. Compiled by some of her most learned Bishops,—hallowed by usage and prescriptive right,—established by synodical sanction, and confirmed by a formal canon, it possesses the highest authority which the Scottish or any other Church could possibly impart. No Liturgy ever had a higher. Kings and princes may ratify the determinations of councils and synods, and acts of parliament may approve and enforce the spiritual enactments of the Church; but their authority over the faithful is none the higher for it. The authority of the Church is with us, and the Church is with its authority, though in a wilderness or hiding-place, deserted by the high and mighty of the earth, and persecuted by the princes of the people. The government and discipline of the Church is inseparable from its essence, intrinsic to herself, and not the grant and constitution of any secular prince or state. Christ is appointed by His Father to be King and Lawgiver to His Church; He has left power and authority to His own representatives for the execution of His laws: Churches may be planted, established, and sustained, therefore, where there is not only no assistance, but enmity, and opposition, and violence, at the hands of kings and secular councils.

Thus, when the Scottish Church, by God's permission, enjoyed no longer civil protection, but kings and parliaments conspired together against her, "to take away her life," and "root her out from among the nations," so far from sacrificing any of her intrinsic privileges, she was cast entirely upon them; she became, like the infant kingdom of her Master, a despised, persecuted,

* Brett, *Dissertation on Liturgies*, pp. 161, 162.

contemned Church, but still the rather vigorous and healthy, in that her synodical and episcopal decisions had their authority with godly persons, without any imperial sanction, and in spite of all the opposition and rage of kings against them. She was and is on the footing of the ante-Nicene Church, and all her acts claim the same pure ecclesiastical authority;—if not the strongest, (as parliaments count strength) yet the highest and most sacred that can bind the souls of men.

Scotch Catholics have by this time learnt, too dearly, that the Church, following “the prize of the high calling in Christ Jesus,” turning her hopes and thoughts to a better home, does not enjoy earthly goods, but only uses them,—dwells not here, as in her own country, but wars in it, as a foreigner. She has her “conversation,” her franchises, and her freedom “in heaven.” They can afford, therefore, to bear the scoffs and scorings of worldly men; they can pray for and pity (we will not say despise) that unhappy hardness of heart, and cruel irreverence which can make a jest* of their poverty and obscurity, as if such visitations had no sacramental meaning; or as if any branch of Christ’s Church were secure against them; they can comfort themselves with the thought that,—while no well-informed Christian, much less right-minded Catholic, will charge upon their misfortunes and troubles an invalid authority for their liturgical offices,—their confessing Bishops and priests have been deemed worthy to follow in the footsteps of the twelve Patriarchs of the Israel of God, who were accounted as the “scum of the world, and the offscouring of all things.”† Were it a Christian wish, we would express it, that on those who make light of the Church’s sufferings, and joke upon them, as tests of her imbecility, God’s chastening hand may never fall to humble and bring them down: rather may we hope that a wholesome experience will one day teach them that the Church owes its birth to the Cross, its glory to ignominy, its light to the darkness of error, its progress to the attacks of enemies, and its stability to losses and disasters.”‡

But if the Scottish Office *is* authoritative in the Northern Church, so is the English; and it is undesirable to keep up a distinction, marring the uniformity which might otherwise exist. We have no objections whatever to uniformity, provided any thing is gained by it. But it is not necessary to unity; national Churches may intercommunicate freely and cordially without it; and, therefore, we have strong objections to it, if anything is lost by it. If we must have uniformity, let it be with gain. Let the Church of England adopt the Scottish Office, which is more Catholic and primitive, and even [in a sense] Protestant, than her own; and by so much she will be a gainer, the Church of

* See Mr. Craig’s pamphlet.

† 1 Cor. iv. 13.

‡ Saying of Pius VI.

Scotland remaining as she is. But let it not be with loss. Let not the Church of Scotland make herself less Catholic and less primitive, because, by sacrificing her Communion Office, she might assimilate herself more literally to the Church of England.

Meantime, the Scottish Liturgy is of "primary authority;" the English Office is only permitted; and there is no good reason why it should be otherwise, unless that the English service would be better away. "This was the ancient way of preserving peace in the Catholic Church," says Bingham,* "to let different Churches, which had no dependence in externals upon one another, enjoy their own liberty to follow their own customs without contradiction." "There is no harm," said Gregory the Great† to Leander, a Spanish bishop, "done to the Church Catholic by different customs, so long as the unity of the faith is preserved." "All ecclesiastical traditions," says St. Jerome,‡ "are to be observed in such manner as we have received them from our forefathers, and the custom of one Church is not to be subverted by the contrary custom of another; every province may abound in their own sense, and esteem the rules of their ancestors as laws of the Apostles." "If," says St. Austin,§ "we dispute about such matters, and condemn the custom of one Church by the custom of another, that will be an eternal occasion of strife and contention, which will always be diligent enough to find out plausible reasonings, when there are no certain arguments to show the truth." And this is the principle upon which the Church of England professes to act. It is quite foreign to her temper and spirit to take up, or to seem to take up, that monstrous Roman position by which so many parts of Christendom are now enslaved, that communion with her can only be purchased by receiving her yoke, and abandoning every independent right and privilege. The communion of Christians is a communion of brethren, upon brotherly terms; not of captives, who must submit to any terms, or bear what hardships and encroachments soever may be imposed. And good Bishop Raitt answered well, when he told certain "memorialists," in his day, that "no man was properly a member of any Church but that to which his birth and residence confined him, and that our relation to the Church of England was that of brotherhood to a sister Church, and not of membership."

We had hoped to conclude our remarks with a twofold appeal to Scottish and to English Churchmen, as alike interested in this important question; but, many and interesting as are the topics which suggest themselves, peculiarly momentous to ourselves, our limits warn us to be brief, and we must be content with a few words of earnest but respectful call to those whose

* *Antiquities*, vol. v. p. 427.

† Hieron. *Epist.* xxviii.

‡ Greg. *Epis. ad Lean.* xii.

§ Aug. *Epist.* 86, ad Casulan.

direct concern and responsibility is apparent. We are not insensible to the difficulty of our task, as exposing us to much misrepresentation at the hands of those who seek for ground of cavil; but we are fully persuaded of our own singleness of purpose, no less than of the entire forgetfulness of personal considerations, which our sense of duty demands. Painful circumstances cannot be passed over without the risk of giving pain in the comments which they suggest; but we desire to avoid all bitterness of feeling or severity of language, and aim at nothing more than a faithful and sincere expression of our solemn convictions. Above all things, we desire to be reverential and respectful when handling such a topic as the present.

The appearance of three such pamphlets as those which form a heading to our article is a subject of real congratulation to the Scottish Clergy. In tone and principle they take the highest line, and suggest more deep and solid materials for great practical purposes than any other Scottish writings have furnished for the last thirty years. They are the first instalment of that good which God is ever pleased to work out of evil; they are the first, let us hope, of a course of wholesome prescriptions, for bracing and strengthening and purifying the practical religion of Scottish Churchmen. That such a course is needed, none who are conversant with the state of things in Scotland will deny. It is not that the real system of the Church is defective, or her resources few, or her elements of strength insufficient, but her limbs have been paralyzed, and now, though the shock is over, she has lost trust in their supporting power, and fears to lean upon them with all her weight; she has lost her power of active development; she is without the energy which gives life and being and reality to the beautiful theory which she teaches. God forbid that we should cast at her one word of irreverent censure! our own sad and humiliating and unjustifiable faithlessness as an "Establishment" have had too large a share in producing that timidity and fearful caution which we deplore; but, in proportion to our thankfulness to God, for whatever increased zeal, and earnestness, and reality He has been pleased to work in ourselves, we are jealous for our beloved sister, and deem it a debt due to her, to lend our prayers and exertions towards the full development of her Catholic system. For mere proselytes—new adherents of "respectability"—she need never be anxious; she can afford to look down upon the divisions of "those who are without," with neither hopes nor fears for her own numerical strength; she may, she must have "great thoughts of heart for the schisms of Judah;" but her concern has but one legitimate outlet,—in warmer love and keener zeal for the children whom God hath given her. She must open up her treasures, and give them that gold which corrupteth not; she must feed them without grudging, that they faint not; she must clothe them from her armoury, in full suits of strong mail, that

they be not overcome. In a word, she must act, not theorize; she must work, not scheme; she must bestow in things what she exhibits in words.

That was a humbling truth which Hooker told, when he said, "Upon the Church there never yet fell a tempestuous storm, the vapours whereof were not first noted to rise from coldness in affection;" and who shall say that the present evils and future trials which perplex the souls of Scottish Churchmen are not the natural result of a feeble and infirm assertion of their own great gifts and privileges. To our minds, the simple adoption of a sectarian denomination, is significantly painful, as indicating a contentedness with a lower position than God has assigned. "Baptists" [as they call themselves], are they, who fancy they have attained the only true notion of baptism; "Unitarians," similarly, of the unity of the Godhead; so also "Presbyterians" of the second; and "Episcopalians" of the first order in the ministry. But these are distinctive titles, of which the Catholic Churchman, who is indeed one and all—Baptist, Unitarian, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian, knows nothing. They cannot be adopted without a loss; whoever, therefore, is a mere Episcopalian or Presbyterian, he is so much less a Churchman, "*Ubi Episcopus ibi Ecclesia*;" and if THE CHURCH of Scotland calls herself anything but THE CHURCH, she is wilfully descending from her eminence, and bringing judgments upon her own head.

The past has been of God's ordering, and we dare not scrutinize too deeply into its ends and causes; but it is neither irreverent nor unjust to assert as a mere fact, that as, upon practical indecision and apparent indifference in the matter (for instance) of the Eucharistic Office, has followed irregularity in its administration, and the admission to the Church of many Priests, from other quarters, of questionable orthodoxy; so, had the Clergy been resolute either in the maintenance of their own Office, or in the construction of ours according to its standards,—or, again, in the fulfilment of the rubrical orders,—the daily prayer, the public use of baptism, and the disciplinary provision for the season of Lent,—they would have shut the door against many intrusions which now perplex them; they would have earned the attachment if of a less numerous, yet of a more faithful and steady people. Grace breeds grace, and it is impossible but that with the increase of its means, its good results would have been commensurate. Firmness and zeal in the defence of truth is the only antidote to error, and it is impossible but that by the exercise of them, in the maintenance of the Church's teaching, the disturbers of the Church's peace would have been scared away. We say nothing of pleas and extenuations, which may or may not exist; and therefore we say nothing in the spirit of censure, we simply assert the fact; and this, not only, we fear, as respects the past; for while we write we are credibly informed that in the restoration [for the first time since the revolution] of the Church

at Jedburgh,—a glorious opportunity, therefore, for taking the highest ground,—the old Scottish Office is to be sacrificed to the present uncatholic outcry! However this may be, we only seek to ground our appeal upon it, in the discharge of our present duty. We are thankful to Mr. Cheyne for his able testimony to the truth of this, our position—a testimony enhanced and consecrated (if we may say it) by the deep thoughtfulness and earnestness of spirit, the reverence, and kindness, and solemn sense of duty which prevades his tract; and we pray, from our inmost soul, that Scottish Churchmen may realize its force, and occupy it in faith and firmness.

“We have been trusting to our own wisdom, and following our own ways too long; let us now try those of the holy Church. Let us give up the miserable system of seeking to increase our numbers rather than our purity; and if we do wish, as it is our duty to endeavour, to bring men over from the ways of error, let their first lesson be that of obedience to the laws of the Church, instead of allowing them, as hitherto, to prescribe their own terms of communion; let them know that there is but one door of entrance for rich and poor—that all must enter the sanctuary as suppliants, by bowing the head under the consecrated hand of the bishop—and that none are fit or worthy to enter there who do not become like little children in docility. He gives but poor promise of fidelity to the Church, who enters by an act of disobedience; and the priest shows himself ill qualified for the conversion of souls, who acts in contempt of the rule and ‘discipline of Christ,’ which he pledged himself to follow. If we had paid somewhat stricter and more uniform attention to our own laws of discipline than we have done for a series of years, our churches might perhaps have exhibited diminished numbers, but we should have had fewer of those elements of confusion which now threaten to rend us in pieces. We have neglected to make men feel practically, that admission to the Church is a transcendent privilege, which they cannot claim or take to themselves; and thus, instead of receiving humbly the Catholic faith from its appointed teachers, they have made their own private judgment the test of truth, and now demand that the Church should modify her doctrine to suit their loose or heterodox opinions.”—*Cheyne*, p. 48

The late decisive exercise of authority by the Bishop of Aberdeen, honourable to himself and wholesome to the Church, is an earnest of better things. It is cheering also to witness how silently, yet surely [we would hope], the sense of past deficiencies is growing upon Scottish Priests, and nerving them up for present exertions. Let Mr. Pratt’s excellent Pastoral Letter testify that the day is not far distant when the Church of Scotland will act upon this Catholic conviction; that, under God, the full development of ALL her gifts and privileges, is her only source of strength and power. But she must put forth all her elements of vigour; she must, at the very least, use the arm which she possesses. There must be no shrinking from the self-denying duties which the exercise of her gifts imposes. It may be well enough for noble Lords,* who, with all their good intentions, have not yet divested themselves of a certain patronizing air towards the Church of their fathers, as if, in at last condescending to become her “friends,” they were doing her

* See the Report of the Church Society Meeting at Edinburgh.

honour,—it may be well enough for such Churchmen, who have not yet realized what their real responsibilities are, to throw out sopps to the “Establishment,” and disclaim, for themselves or their “Communion,” a temper of proselytism and aggression. But woe to that branch of Christ’s Church which, as a branch, shall forget its position in the world, as the living Representative of Him who came, not to bring peace but a sword,—as the very personification, therefore, of the spirit of “aggression” on the one hand,—of sin and disobedience, and the spirit of “proselytism,” on the other, to the rest and peace of Christ’s kingdom. So long as sin remains in Scotland, be its form social or religious, the common vices of our nature, or the crimes of heresy and schism, so long the Church in Scotland must make aggressions, and seek proselytes. To do otherwise, in hope of any bribe the world can give, or for love of any peace the world can take away, would be to sell her birthright for a mess of pottage, or to bury her talent in the earth: in either case, it would be to yield her energy, her vigour, her life. At any personal cost, then, the Scottish Clergy must use all the elements of vitality and health which the Church has committed to their husbandry. And here we must observe, that we are at a great loss to account for Mr. Cheyne’s personal practice, contrasting, as it does, with his manly and earnest defence of the Scottish Office. He does not use it. What reasons may exist for this course we know not; but sure are we, that in no church in Scotland could its privileges and high Catholicity be more appreciated than in that, where the benefit of such teaching as Mr. Cheyne’s is from day to day enjoyed. Howbeit, these are not times when the Church can afford to lose one practical witness, and we most respectfully submit, that no argument can supersede the all-prevailing force of example. What benefit, *e.g.* is there in pleading for the daily service, if it is not celebrated; or, if to the Priest’s own mind, an insufficient congregation is a warrantable plea for neglecting it? What good can come of commending a frequent Communion, if all the practical result of this teaching is its administration six times a year? What real advance in the principle of obedience is gained by merely stating the law of the Church, if the Priest himself does not make its fulfilment a matter of conscience?

These questions are for Mr. Pratt’s consideration. To our own minds the answer is clear, that on such momentous points as the Eucharist and Intercessory Prayer, nothing can satisfy the Church’s needs but the unstinted and liberal provision which the Church herself has made.

And if the case be, as we have represented it,—if, (for it comes to this,) all our future hopes and destinies, as members of Christ’s family, depend on the security of our visible inheritance at Baptism, and the grace and strength and spiritual energies which it conveys,—what shall be said of our responsibilities,

our awful and tremendous charge to preserve God's truth inviolate! God's truth is to each Church that deposit of faith and practice which it has received from Catholic sources, and handed on from age to age; so that the unity of Christ's Church can only be maintained upon Catholic principles and Catholic practices. To each individual Christian, the Church of his baptism, or [it may be] of his confirmation, or ordination, or adoption, [in any legitimate sense,] is the interpreter of Scripture, and oracle of holy things. We must follow religion, and not make religion to follow us. The Church declares and prescribes her terms of Communion to her members, not the members to her; if, therefore, we will be members, we must come up to her terms, and abide by her decisions. What, then, can be so sacred as the Church's testimony to God's truth? What so dear and precious to our souls? Let Apostles, and Saints, and Martyrs answer, whose confessions of it before men, not threats, nor penalties, nor tortures, nor exile, nor death, could silence. All the pains, and perils, and sufferings, in this world, had no effect on the Catholic confessors of old. The Church's voice was to them the voice of their Lord and Master; and well had they weighed the solemn assurance, "Whosoever will confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever will deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven."

To Scottish Churchmen, their Communion Office—thrice solemnly confirmed, as the teaching of the Church, in the deepest and most essential article of faith which a Christian is required to believe—is as the voice of their Lord. A spirit of violence is abroad. It has been threatened and attacked; it may be stifled and put to silence. Will they suffer such a result? Will they yield their glorious liberty? Will they deny their Lord, by denying the tradition which they have received from Him? Will they be "as the Children of Ephraim, who, being harnessed and carrying bows, turned themselves back in the day of battle?" God forbid: for who shall measure the consequence of such apostasy, both now and in generations to come! Let them "be strong," and "like men." Let them not slumber at their posts, whilst our Nadabs and Abihus load the altar with unhallowed fire. Let not Korah and his company delude the faithful with the pretence of purity and edification, into that rebellion and apostasy which is as the sin of witchcraft and idolatry. "Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." Let the Church be reminded, in time, of "the invaluable loss that is consequent, and the danger of sin that is appendant, to the destroying such forms of discipline and devotion, in which God was purely worshipped, and the Church was edified, and the people instructed, to greater degrees of piety, knowledge, and devotion," and she is safe.

Long may she enjoy those blessings, which the sainted Taylor

so beautifully enumerates, as "the pleasures of the temple; the order of her services; the beauty of her buildings; the sweetness of her songs; the decency of her ministrations; the assiduity and economy of her Priests and Levites; the daily sacrifice; and that eternal fire of devotion that goeth not out by day nor by night;" the very memory of which were to him "as antepasts of Heaven, and consignations to an immortality of joys!"

We have only just time to acknowledge a valuable letter from Mr. Alexander, of Edinburgh, printed elsewhere, with proposals for a new church in that city, which indicate a better spirit; but we are afraid that the Laity are scarcely worthy of their privileges. The scheme is the more valuable; as Mr. Alexander proposes, for the first time in Scotland, to carry out the Prayer-Book.

A Day in the Sanctuary, with an Introductory Treatise on Hymnology. By the Rev. R. W. EVANS, Vicar of Heversham, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Rivingtons. 1843.

WE reckon this one of the most important books on ritual matters which we have lately seen. It consists of an experiment in Hymn writing, and is preceded, as its title-page declares, by an introductory treatise on the subject; of which latter, before expressing any opinion ourselves, we must give our readers some account.

Mr. Evans begins by remarking on the popular misconceptions of the essential nature of a Hymn. "It is supposed," he says, "to be necessarily a composition in metre; and full nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand would be surprised to learn, if indeed all would submit to learn, that, so far from there being any authority for such a composition deducible from Eph. v. 19, and Col. iii. 16, the whole practice of Scripture, both as to Old and New Testament, is against it, without a single exception." In those passages Mr. Evans considers the word Hymn as probably denoting those short snatches of sacred song, or choruses, which occur in Isaiah vi. 3; Luke ii. 14; Rev. iv. 8. Spiritual songs, he thinks, must have been "compositions in the form of Psalms, such as we find in Luke i. 46—56, 68—79; Acts iv. 24—30." No scriptural precedent can be found for a metrical song. Mr. Evans views the attempts to find traces of verse in the lyrical parts of the Old Testament as altogether futile, not merely on the grounds whereon others have done the same, but also because, whilst their metrical character is but a conjecture, their rhythmical character is a fact about which there can be no doubt; and it seems to him in the last degree improbable that the same composition should be metrical and rhythmic.

At the same time, our author sees nothing in the Hebrew language unsuited to metre, and is, therefore, led to conclude, that the absence of it in Psalmody, and the sacred Hymns, (which he thinks may fair

be taken for granted) must have been designed ; that there must be some incompatibility between verse and good ritual devotion—an absolute impropriety in introducing the one amid the other. Such seems to him to have been likewise the sentiment of the Primitive Church, in the earlier ages of which there were no metrical hymns, Ambrose, as is well known, being the first adopter of such into the service of the Western Church, as well as the author of very many. Here, perhaps, it will be well to let Mr. Evans speak for himself :—

“ Until the contrary therefore can be proved, we are compelled, in all reason, to conclude that Hebrew poetry, if indeed it should not rather be called oratory, proceeds upon rhythm alone. And yet the language, cognate as it is with the Arabic and Syriac, can scarcely have been unsuitable for metre, and according to its present pronunciation, it certainly presents no greater difficulties than some modern languages, as to such an employment of it, and is so employed by the Jews at this day. Must there not, therefore, have been some reason, quite independent of the genius and construction of the language, for this singularity? And must it not have been the same reason, and not mere force of example, that influenced strongly the mind of the Christian Church, that in none of its liturgies did it admit, until comparatively corrupt times, of any admixture of metrical composition, and that, too, although it was much more according to the genius both of the Greek and the Latin language than rhythmical. So far, therefore, from depriving us of any portion of catholic inheritance in retrenching this part of their old liturgy, our Reformers banished an unauthorized novelty, pruned away a very inappropriate superfluity, which it would have been well if the lust of innovation, in its usual ignorance of the past, had never reintroduced into our churches. One piece indeed they left, and perhaps most persons will agree that, however striking its effect under the peculiar circumstances, this gives no great encouragement to admit more. The reader of course is referred to the version of the *Veni Creator* in the Ordination service.”—Pp. 3, 4.

Our author then proceeds to investigate the causes of this unfitness of verse for hymns ; part of his reasoning on which we must give in his own words :—

“ Any composition whatever must, in order to deserve the title, contain a whole, presenting its several parts in due and manifest subordination to the general design or leading idea. It must be put together with careful combination, with continual reference to the main object. Otherwise it will be nothing better than an undigested heap of sounding phrases and conventional diction. In such a work, therefore, there must always be two stages of the workman's operation. The former is the conception in its free and natural dress, as it appears when it has been distinctly apprehended, and fully formed in the mind of its author. The latter is the adaptation of the same to the conventional, and therefore artificial, dress, in which the minds of others require it to be exhibited to them. Such being the case, it is clear that in the large and by far most important department of sacred poetry, which is considered as coming from, or going to, or abiding before the throne of God, the composer will advance beyond the first step with the greatest caution. If he proceed in reference to other minds, yet there is before him in the first place the Almighty mind, before which he stands in awful loneliness, in helpless nakedness. To go thence into the artificial detail required by classical poetry, would be to run and hide himself from God, and that not even among the trees of paradise. The offering, therefore of a hymn to Almighty God, being the expression of the sense of his presence, must be the natural effusion of the heart, as simple and unadorned as the adequate communication of the same solemn ideas to other minds will possibly allow. Now it is evident that verse, even the simplest kind, is more artificial than is necessary for such a vehicle, and is therefore unsuitable. The mind becomes too much engaged in its detail—that of the composer, in seeking

proper accents, feet, rhyme, to say nothing of poetical terms; that of the reader, in admiring the effect. And thus, much of the full and original sense of God's presence is lost. But as this question is so important and so likely to be disputed, it will be expedient to consider it more at length."—Pp. 4—6.

The unfitness of verse for hymns is further manifested, according to Mr. Evans, by the fact of its having been already monopolized by the world, so as to render "the association with it in our minds utterly indissoluble." It must also "derive its beauty of diction from the same source as the most profane poems."

But rhythmic prose can do for us all that verse cannot. What we want when we come "to utter the language of confession and thanksgiving as a song before the Throne," is "something which has neither the shapelessness of this" (mere prose), "nor the formal constraint of the decoration of verse, neither the unfettered commonplace of the former, nor the studied novelty of the latter." And this we have in "measured prose," which forms "the structure of inspired Poetry, and has been reasonably adopted in the best models of uninspired Hymnology." "Its advantages are very great. It admits of all the unlimited variety which lies between prose and verse; for it may be bound up into a strictness nearly metrical, or it may be relaxed into a flow closely approaching the liberty of prose." And its alone fitness for liturgic song may be seen, says our author, by comparing the sacred specimens of it with any attempt which has been, or may be, made to render them into verse. He himself adduces part of Mr. Keble's rendering of Psalm civ.—a passage strongly favourable to his argument, inasmuch as the renderer has shown considerable poetic power, and brought out a good deal of poetic beauty.

Rhythmic prose, such as that of the Psalter, is, then, according to Mr. Evans, the proper mould of Hymns—a mould by which "the earlier ages of the Church had the good sense to suffer themselves to be directed; and our present liturgies still retain some of their noble effusions. The *Te Deum*, the *Tersanctus*, the *Gloria in Excelsis* are admirable specimens of sacred composition after an inspired example." Here we must observe, by the way, that Mr. Evans scarcely shows his accustomed accuracy, the *Tersanctus* being not a "composition *after an inspired example*," but Scripture itself.* To this list, our author adds the Evening Hymn of the Greek Church, *Φῶς ἱλαρόν*, &c.

Then follows an interesting discussion on metrical Hymns, which in the Western Church may be divided into three great classes: those composed, to a certain extent, on classical principles, which are, for the most part, written in very simple verse—the Iambic Dimeter of the alternate lines in the *Épodes* of Horace; those written in Latin, but with the modern features of the feet marked by accent and rhyme, such as the *Dies Iræ*; and those subsequent to the Reformation, written in the vernacular. Each of these Mr. Evans

* This Hymn, as common to all liturgies, is confined to the precise words in Isaiah, though nearly every liturgy has added something to them.

considers in its turn, and on each passes an unfavourable judgment, being least severe, however, on the second, the Monkish rhyming Hymns.

The main body of his work is taken up with specimens of rhythmic compositions, by which he wishes to supersede alike the metrical Hymns and metrical versions of the Psalms at present in vogue among us. On these we must defer our judgment till we have bestowed a little consideration on the argument, of which we have now given a very hasty, and, we fear, imperfect sketch, and to which the reader will hardly do justice, unless he acquaint himself with it at first hand, and in connexion with its author's lively and original illustrations.

Now, we cannot but concede that he makes out a very strong case. The wretchedness of our own metrical devotion, with exceptions so few and so faint as scarcely to modify our judgment, is, indeed, so obvious to every man of good taste—not to say of every man conversant with liturgic matters—that it did not require such an author as Mr. Evans to expose it. And we imagine that his solemn deprecation of anything like an authorized Hymn-book for the English Church, at present, on grounds both of taste and orthodoxy, (for which we cordially thank him,) will be joined in by many who may not be ready to adopt his other opinions.

But we go further than this, and maintain, along with him, that the Psalm and the Canticle are the only forms of Hymn which should be admitted into the body of any distinctively liturgic act; and, were justice but done to them in our ordinary services—were they usually chanted, which is the only really *good reading* of them, this would be instinctively felt by all true children of the Church. The reason why verse is unsuitable to any distinctly liturgic rite, is, that its professed object is to give pleasure. No doubt, the solemn rhythm and magnificent lyric energy of the Psalter, or the *Te Deum*, may, and do give intellectual pleasure of the same sort; no doubt, many receive such intellectual pleasure who receive nothing better from them; but their giving such, is a sort of accident: it is not their professed object; they have no peculiar cast, further than is necessary for choral singing. Between their rhythm and verse there is exactly the same difference as between the severe chants, which are alone appropriate to them, and a regular air. In the one case, the ear of man is professedly regaled; in the latter but accidentally, another object being directly aimed at. Now, in acts distinctly liturgic, there must be no excess of mere gratification; for the spirit requires to be braced, and must be taken out of itself, and made to feel the awful presence of things unseen. Who, for example, would tolerate a florid amplification of the *Tersanctus*? Who would wish, in the Communion office, for the diction of Comus, or of Coleridge's verses on an *Æolian* harp? Or who would ask for the insertion of prayers in the prose of Jeremy Taylor? These are extreme cases; but they illustrate what we mean; that there is an incongruity between the distinct aiming at gratification, and the most solemn utterances of the

Church's devotion. Her ritual should be no more akin to the legitimate beauty of less solemn compositions than her architecture. A song is quite as much out of place in the midst, and forming part, of a Liturgy, as the style and fittings of a summer verandah would be amid the arches and the dim transparencies of a Gothic cathedral. And, therefore, we fully sympathize in our author's indignation, not only at the rubrical irregularity, but at the wretched taste involved in singing a metrical Hymn after the Communion, the Church having provided a far more suitable one,—one, too, which prescribes and expresses the precise pitch of mind with which devout receivers should retire from those holy mysteries.

A new step, however, must be considered, before we can consent to accompany Mr. Evans any further. Although the Psalter and the Canticles be the true type of the strictly liturgic Hymn, (we shall, afterwards, have to call the reader's attention to the modification of our judgment implied in the words *strictly liturgic*;) it does not follow that we are to go on, as our author proposes, adding to their number. This is a question which requires careful consideration.

If the sacred compositions in this kind supplied the early Church with a model, (as it cannot be denied that they did,) her limited use of it is a rather remarkable phenomenon. The Evening Hymn of the Greek Church can scarcely be cited as a specimen of such use, since, on whatever principle its diction be moulded, it certainly is not on that of a Psalm. It has neither parallelism nor antiphon. Neither is the Angelic Hymn any more a case for Mr. Evans, than in respect of its being in prose. We have, then, but the *Benedicite*, bequeathed from the Jewish Church, and the *Gloria Patri*, the *Te Deum*, and the *Quicumque vult*, produced by the Christian, which can properly be said to be composed on the sacred model, and which really are Hymns for all Christendom. Besides these, indeed, the Latin Church has some others in the Cantic form; some, such as the *Assumpta est Maria*, which we could not adopt; others, such as the *Reproaches* on Good Friday, which, though very beautiful, and free from doctrinal objection, are, perhaps, too dramatic for the temper of our public worship; and she has cast many of her services into this mould, principally by combining different passages of Scripture. This last process can scarcely be said to give us a distinct Hymn; so that we are probably warranted in confining the ecclesiastical documents of the sort which we want to the few which we have enumerated above. And this circumstance of ages of the Church having produced so few, certainly gives rise to the question, whether there was not felt some good reason for abstinence from composition in this kind? Let us see if there be traces of such.

The Psalter, even beyond the rest of the Old Testament, was considered the peculiar property of the Christian Church, whose prerogative it was to use it in its true meaning. It, therefore, speedily became the staple element of liturgic praise in all Churches; and, such was the value attached to it, as a sacred expression of the wants

and sentiments alike of each member and of the entire body of Christ, that the justifiability of using any less Divine composition for such ends, seems to have been more than doubted in some quarters.* Any how, its words and emotions, in connexion with whatever circumstances they at first arose, are all transfigured into a Christian import by the *Gloria Patri* at the end; the politics and the mortal vicissitudes of David's life are thereby baptized, as it were, into the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and, therefore, their sufficiency for nearly every purpose of Christian devotion, is apparent from their nature, their excellence, and their universality of application. To them, too, are added the one or two sacred Canticles, such as the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc Dimittis*, which, intrinsically nearer to the Christian Faith, are taken into it by the same process as the others. And, if more be wanted—if, when directly *revealing* dispensations have come to an end, and perfection been arrived at, the human Mind must needs give utterance to its contemplation of the Mighty Whole—must needs express its reception of all that the ages and generations ending in the Fulness of Time have brought to it,—then the great Ecclesiastical Documents to which we have referred, the *Gloria Patri*, the *Te Deum*, and the *Quicunque vult*, come in, and, by expressing all that we can say, supply all that we can want. It is, therefore, a grave question whether these, taken altogether, be not the sufficient riches of the Christian Church in this kind—whether we can now add to the stock; and the absence of all legitimate attempt to do so, may be considered as one powerful argument in the negative.

A further one is derived from the circumstance that we cannot now revive the appropriate situations for such composition. The most remarkable characteristic of Psalms and Canticles is their reality, and their birth out of contemporaneous and vividly felt and apprehended facts. The whole Old Testament history is that of Revelation, and the progress of God's Kingdom. But that of the New Testament, which consummates all the former, is within much smaller compass. There are, indeed, eighteen hundred years of Church History, in which, no doubt, we can trace God's wisdom and might, and can see at each recurring crisis, the Triumph of His Cause. But it is not the same sort of History as that of Sacred Scripture, whether of the Old or New Testament. Those records which terminate with the gift of Pentecost, and the formation of the Gentile Church, complete the History of human Restoration and the establishment of the Heavenly Kingdom; and all subsequent chronicles of the Church, are but narrations of good ever recurring to that original adjustment, and evil ever wandering from it. There is no more change of Dispensation, and, therefore, whatever events may awaken the Voice of Song and Thanksgiving in the Church, but prompt us to utter the old Praises, remembering the old Triumphs. Having central Truths, and

* Vide Fourth Conc. Tolet. Can. XII.

one character and frame as fit for their reception, we can but revert to them under all circumstances; while in all derivations from them, Theocracy, though continuing to be the paramount principle, is less discernible in detail from human agency and human imperfection, and the bewildering entanglement must remain, more or less, until the Day of Judgment. Mr. Evans is alive to this distinction, as appears from the following passage:—

“There is, however, some reasonable cause for this, which may perhaps seem sufficient to many, when the circumstances are considered. Since the first century, the events befalling the Christian Church have not come from God's hand in that open display of Divine interference which was exhibited more or less through the whole period of the Jewish. A proper feeling, therefore, of reverence and awe, makes us unwilling to do that which would bring us to assume the knowledge of God's inscrutable ways, and to apply to ourselves that which He has not declared to belong to us. Unable to see the end of things, incapable of discerning the heart of men, how could we declare our opinion of events and agents before the all-seeing God, and thank Him for his intentions, with that certainty which should attend the song of faith? How can such events as even the victory over Paganism under Constantine, the overthrow of Arianism at the council of Nice, the arrival of Augustine in Britain, the conversion of Germany by Boniface, the arrest of the tide of Mahometan conquest by Charles Martel, the opening of a new world to the Gospel, and to the Gospel exclusively, in the discovery of America, the rising up of such men as Athanasius, Chrysostom, Constantine, Charlemagne,—how could these events and agents of God's overruling Providence be appealed to with the same confidence as those of his interfering Providence by the Psalmist, who could celebrate the triumphs of the passage of the Red Sea, the glories of the conquest of Canaan, and could mention such names of men as Moses and Phineas? Such events, mingled as they are in their apparent origin with much of the corrupt motives of the human heart, exhibiting in their consequences much association of evil, have not that visible and determined direction of Divine power impressed upon them, so that we can call them forth before God with an unflinching heart, as peculiarly his own work. And where, if we once begin, shall we draw the line, and not interpret events according to our own interests or prejudice, and not turn the praise of God to the purposes of political or religious party?”—Pp. 48—50.

The only qualifications of which this rule will admit, are precisely such as include the few rhythmical Hymns of Catholic applicability to which we have already referred. Though not part of the sacred, the earlier ecclesiastical History is so far more connected with the former, and nearer it in character, that it presents us with the spectacle of Man mastering and realizing (not without effort and struggle) the treasure he has received in that former; and, therefore, are its utterances a sort of Epilogue to that former. They partake, too, of the limitations annexed to the other. As with that, so with this; we can but revert to it. The treasure secured is one and the same, and, therefore, our sense of having secured it cannot materially vary. We may as well express that sense in the words of those who first felt it. Those words are likely to be much better than ours, as being called forth by the immediate presence, or very recent impression, of the events whereby it was secured. Even the *Quicumque vult*, giving the latest date which has been assigned to it, may claim this cha-

racter. It is man's survey, the most comprehensive he has ever been known to take, of the length and breadth, and height and depth of the great Gift that has been made to him; his survey, after all the sifting opposition to which that gift had been subjected.

We do not, of course, deny that the Church has subsequently undergone various developments; but they have all presented that entanglement to our view of the Divine and the Human, to which we have already referred, and which hinders them from forming suitable subjects for Psalmody. Even national deliverances are best commemorated by means of the Psalms, or the *Te Deum*: indeed, the instinctive recourse to the latter, which members of the Latin Church always have on occasion of any triumph or deliverance whatever, shows how the general utterance of the Christian Theology is that to which each several occasion prompts its subjects. It is not the small Christian band routing the hosts of the infidels; not the Imperial city delivered in the hour of extremest need; not even the honour of protecting Christendom, which God's Grace had conferred on his arm, of which a Sobieski must speak, when, fresh from his sublime victory, he rushes with pious impatience into the Cathedral of Vienna. All these triumphs and mercies gravitate at once to the great central Triumph and Mercy; the deliverance of Vienna, of Europe, of the Faith, are but samples and workings of the one great Deliverance; and thanksgiving for them is best expressed, not by dwelling on them, but by bursting out into the Church's great comprehensive Psalm, "We praise Thee, O God, we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord; Heaven and Earth are full of the Majesty of Thy Glory—Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ; Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father. When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man, Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb. When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of Heaven to all believers." *

For these reasons, we are doubtful how far our stock of Psalmody, such, at least, as can well be used liturgically, admits of increase. But there may yet be scope for such experiments as our author's, in which he is not so unprecedented as he, perhaps, imagines. And here, of course, we make no reference to Mrs. Barbauld, who, with many merits, is quite beside the present question; but to compositions having the very same aim, and on the same plan, as those now before us. "In the year 688, there was printed in Paris, in the English Tongue, a book, entitled 'Devotions in the Ancient Way of Offices, consisting of Psalms, Hymns, Antiphons, Lessons, and Collects, for every day of the week, and every Holiday in the year.' It was drawn up by one of the Romish communion, for the use of such religious persons as were willing to entertain themselves in a spiritual manner, whenever they met together in private, by bearing

* When John Sobieski relieved Vienna, the moment his victory was complete, he rushed with his followers to the Cathedral, and, finding no official ready to sing *Te Deum*, they sung it themselves.

each their part in those Holy Offices. In order to render these offices serviceable to families and religious societies, the Rev. Dr. Hickes was pleased to publish them, but with a reform in those points of doctrine which are peculiar to the Roman Faith. And though the good end proposed has not, I fear, been sufficiently answered, (partly from an opinion that such liturgic forms are most proper to be used in large assemblies in the Church, and partly from a natural bashfulness, which disables many from making the responses with that readiness and freedom which might be expected from them,) yet for the many instructive and pathetic Psalms contained in this reformed book, it hath met with good acceptance and esteem from persons of the exactest piety and soundest judgment.* Previously to Dr. Hickes' publication, it appears that a certain Mr. Dorrington put forth a book of Devotions, derived from the same source, but with many alterations, which are described in the document from which we have just been quoting, as taking away a good deal of the Psalter-like character which was originally given to them. Afterwards, Mr. Joshua Smith, instead of "reforming or refining on the original," made a selection from them, taking forty-six Psalms out of an hundred and thirty-six, and meddling with them no otherwise than by "the bare change of some obsolete words, and the transposing of others, to preserve the smoothness of the verses, which, like those of the Psalms, and the Book of Job, are cast into a sort of numereuse prose, very grateful to the ear, and of singular beauty in the composition."

We have never seen Mr. Dorrington's book, but Dr. Hickes's is a very precious one; one which, it is pleasant to know, was not only compiled, but *used* by him. It is also satisfactory to think that it went through numerous editions. With all its merits, however, the state of the language in the time both of himself, and Mr. Joshua Smith, was not very favourable to this species of composition. Both indulge in the fashionable contractions of last century, *'tis*, *'twill*, and the like, together with a superfluous decoration in the diction; and the clauses sometimes run into verse—an unpardonable fault, but of most frequent occurrence. Besides, the Devotions are often Meditations rather than Psalms, and so far, of course, are unfit for choral use. The following are not the deepest and most spiritual compositions in these really very holy books, but they are among the best specimens of Canticles which we have observed in them.

"Come, let us lay aside the cares of this world; and take into our minds the joys of heaven:

"Let us empty ourselves of all other thoughts; and prepare to receive our most gracious God:

"Retiring from the many distractions of this life; and closely recollecting all the forces of our soul:

* Preface to "A Select Manual of Divine Meditations and Prayers," &c., being the last work of the Rev. and learned Mr. Joshua Smith, late Minister of St. Mary Aldermanbury, &c.

"So, to pursue in earnest the one thing needful; the securing to ourselves the kingdom of heaven.

"Why should we thus neglect that sacred science, and be busy in everything but our own salvation?

"Why should we still forsake the real substance; to embrace an empty shadow?

"Miserable are they, O Lord, who study all things else; and never seek to taste thy sweetness:

"Miserable, tho' their skill can number the stars; and trace out the wanderings of the planets.

"To know thee, O Lord, is to be truly wise; and to contemplate thee, the highest learning.

"But, O thou glorious God of truth; in whom the treasures of knowledge are all laid up!

"Unless thou draw'st the curtain from before our eyes; and driv'st away the clouds that intercept our sight:

"Never shall we see those heav'nly mysteries; nor discern the beauty of thy providence.

"Send forth thy light, O thou Morning-star! and lead me to thy holy hill!

"Send forth thy truth, O increated Wisdom! and bring me to thy blessed tabernacle:

"Shew me Thyself, and thy eternal Father; and 'twill fully satisfy my utmost desires:

"Shew me Thyself alone, O glorious Jesu; and in thee I shall behold all that I can wish:

"Only so much I beg to conceive of thy Majesty; as may move my heart to seek thee:

"Only so much of thy unapproachable Deity, as may guide my soul to find thee:

"If I may not know thee clearly now; let me know so far, as to long to know thee farther:

"If I cannot love thee perfectly in this life; let me so love thee, as to desire to love thee more.

"So let me know and love thee here; O thou sovereign Bliss of our souls:

"That hereafter I may know thee better; and love thee more for ever.

"*Glory be to the Father,*" &c.

"Raise up thy head, O my soul! look up; and behold the glory of thy crucify'd Saviour;

"He that was dead, and laid in the grave, low enough to prove himself Man,

"Is risen again, and ascended into heaven; high enough to prove himself God:

"He is risen, and made the light his garment; and commanded the clouds to be the chariot of his triumph:

"The gates of heaven obey'd their Lord; and the everlasting doors open'd to the King of Glory:

"Enter, bright King, attended with thy beauteous angels; and the glad train of thy redeemed ones:

"Enter, and repossess thy ancient throne, and reign eternally at the right-hand of thy Father.

"May every knee bow down to thy exalted name; and every tongue confess thy glory:

"May all created nature adore thy power; and the church of thy redeemed, exult in thy goodness:

"Whom have we in heaven, O Lord, but thee, who expressly wentest thither to make way for thy followers?

"What have we on earth, but our hope, by following thee, to arrive at last, where thou art gone before us?

"O glorious Jesu, our strength, our joy, and the immortal life of all our souls!

"Be thou the principal subject of my studies: and daily entertainment of my most serious thoughts.

"Draw me, O dearest Lord, from the world, and myself; that I be not entangled with any earthly desires.

"Draw me after thee, and the odours of thy sweetness, that I may run with delight the way of thy commandments.

"Draw me up to thee, on thy throne of bliss, that I may see thy face; and rejoice with thee, for ever in thy kingdom.

"*Glory be to the Father, &c.*"—*Smith's Select Manual*.—*Psalm* ii. iii. Pp. 15, 16.*

Mr. Evans's good taste has, as may easily be believed, kept him free from many of the faults which we have just been noticing. His Hebrew model has been more faithfully followed; his Psalms, or whatever we are to call them, are better expressions each of one governing idea. Are they successful? Do they warrant or establish his doctrine that this should be the exclusive, or even a general, form of the Christian Hymn? We can hardly answer all these questions at present. To one of them, indeed, we are going by-and-by to reply in the negative; and we can handle the others no otherwise than by throwing out a few hints.

In the first place, then, it is difficult speedily to judge of an experiment of this sort, just because it is an experiment. The circumstance of its being so must, we should think, operate unfavourably on the writer; and, any how, can hardly do otherwise on the reader. Of all compositions a Psalm is worst approached in a critical spirit, or with a suspended judgment. We join in the Psalter or the *Te Deum*, asking no questions about their merit or their suitableness, because of the Sacred authority possessed by the one, and the Catholic consent which has long assigned to the other the first place among extra-Scriptural compositions. It is no fault of a modern writer in the same style that we cannot at once *use* his compositions in the same confiding spirit; but it is a great drawback to our judgments on them, seeing that whatever merits they may possess must, from the very nature of the case, be comparatively latent till they are boldly used.

And next, as such compositions in the present day must, however rich in merit, be almost necessarily chargeable with some faults, so must those faults be more immediately noticeable than the merits; it being of the very essence of truly theological, religious, and devotional merits to hide themselves for awhile. These things being so, our judgment of Mr. Evans's undertaking must not be considered as on the main issue, but rather on certain subordinate, though we think, by no means unimportant points, on which we feel already that we have something to say.

We think, then, that though far freer from the defect than those which we have just noticed, our present author's Psalms border too

* These quotations are from Mr. Smith's book. His alterations on Dr. Hickes are very slight; one only is worth naming, as being for the worse, the substitution of the singular for the plural number in the first person. A reprint of one or both of those little books, with the faults to which we have alluded corrected, would be of service at present.

much on the character of meditations. And this is, perhaps, occasioned in great measure by his most frequently using the first person, and by the subjects of several of his songs being more individual than congregational; such, for example, as that on dressing oneself in the morning, subjects on which the Antiphonal form seems to us to have no propriety or even applicability, and even the lyrical very little. Again we desiderate, on the whole, more long-drawn sound, more volume of rhythm, than Mr. Evans has supplied us with. A certain absence of long quantities, and prolonged rise and fall in the rhythm, are indeed all but inseparable from the modern style. Coleridge, and the late Edward Irving were, perhaps, the only prose writers of the day who contrived to produce anything like the rich and slow melody of Hooker, or Taylor, or the higher flights of Barrow, or the exquisite passages of Walton, or the authorized Version of the Old Testament, without much appearance of straining or affectation. Mrs. Barbauld had her share of the gift,—a most needful one for Psalm-writing, but a most rare one in an age when composition, like everything else, must have a business-like character;—a most difficult one, either to acquire or preserve after the French influence, which gave English prose such a character.

Yet, we cannot pronounce against Mr. Evans's work, for we already feel its merits. Irrespectively of its value, as a book of personal devotion (and that is very great indeed, the thoughts and the theology being deep, and yet the whole eminently practical), there are some of the compositions which are surely very fine hymns, and which assuredly might be turned (we do not say in Church) to choral use. Here are one or two specimens:—

THE CHRISTIAN MISSION.

"MAKE ready thy swift ships, O queen of the islands: send forth thy messengers, O thou that dwellest in the ocean.

"Hear, for the Lord hath spoken unto thee: tarry not, for thou art the servant whom He hath chosen.

"Blessed art thou, because thou hast heard his voice: and thy feet have run swift to the performance of his commandments.

"Thou hast gathered thy sons together: thou hast chosen a goodly company.

"The bishop goeth forth from thy shores: the Priest and his Deacons are around him.

"O Thou, that didst dwell with thy Church: when it floated in the ark on the flood;

"That didst rebuke the winds and waves: when it was borne with Thee on the lake;

"O Lord Christ: Author and Finisher of our faith;

"O head of our body: captain of our salvation;

"Be present to these thy servants: comfort Thou them in their loneliness.

"Remove from before them all the perils of the deep: and bring thy Church unto its destined haven.

"O clap your hands, ye islands: sing and rejoice, ye shores of the great deep.

"Look forth into the wide ocean: the day of your Saviour is at hand.

"Behold the signs of his coming: his white sails are shining from afar.

"Strip your palms of their branches: arise, go forth to meet Him.

"Open your arms wide: with songs of joy receive Him.

"For He bringeth light to the blind : and mirth to the mourner.

"There cometh with Him health to the sick : and life to the dead.

"O blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord : and blessed are ye to whom he hath been sent."—Pp. 131—133.

" XX.

" A PRAYER FOR THE CHURCH.

"O Lord Jesus Christ : Thou Son of the living God ;

"Have mercy on the bride whom Thou hast chosen : deck her with the beauty of holiness.

"Have mercy on the body which Thou hast prepared for thyself out of the sons of men : evermore dwell in it with thy Holy Spirit.

"Have mercy on the mountain which Thou hast exalted above all mountains : that all the nations may flow unto it.

"Have mercy on the city whose gates Thou hast barred against the powers of hell : strengthen her bulwarks.

"Have mercy on the Sion which Thou hast chosen for thine habitation : place thy continual rest in her.

"Have mercy on the vineyard which Thou hast dug and planted. Fill it with faithful labourers.

"Have mercy on the Church of the first-born whom Thou hast enrolled in heaven : give unto her children as the dew of heaven.

"Have mercy on thy flock, which Thou hast purchased with thy most precious blood : feed it from thy heavenly pasture.

"Have mercy on the host which Thou leadest unto salvation : clothe it with the armour of light.

"Have mercy on the nation where Thou hast set up thy name : on the people whom Thou hast chosen.

"Have mercy on the kings whom Thou hast enthroned : on the priests whom Thou hast anointed.

"O Lord, remember the place of thy habitation : forget not the land of thine inheritance."—Pp. 145, 146.

" XXI.

" CHRIST THE CORNER STONE.

"The darkness hath surrounded me : it hath divided my acquaintances far from me.

"The brethren are far from my sight : the Church is no longer before my eyes of flesh.

"But I meditate in my heart : and in my spirit I behold its pleasant places.

"How beautiful are thy courts : how glorious is the habitation which Thou hast prepared, O Christ.

"Blessed are they that dwell there : their song of joy goeth up before Thee day by day.

"And all thy elect shout forth : and all the host of thy sanctified crieth out with one voice,

"Thou art the Son of the living God : Thou art the Rock of our hope, O Christ.

"The Holy Prophets are laid upon Thee : the blessed Apostles are built upon Thee.

"The faithful Confessors rest upon Thee : the holy martyrs depend upon Thee.

"The brotherhood of saints confesseth Thee : the company of Priests acknowledgeth Thee.

"All the built in the Spirit adore Thee : all the redeemed from the pit glorify Thee

"Every lively stone crieth out : and the whole temple joineth in one song ;

"Thou art the precious and living stone : Thou art our head stone of the corner.

"Man did reject Thee : but God did choose Thee.

"Worthy art Thou to be praised : honour and glory be unto Thee.

"Truly our boast is in Thee : O Lord God of our salvation."—Pp. 202—204.

The following passage, too, is much to our mind :—

"XXIV.

"I tremble at the exactness of thy justice : and behold, the iniquity of man aboundeth.

"Then I weep over my lost estate : I cry in my despair, who shall bring salvation ?

"The holy angels in heaven answer and say : Son of man, it is not in me.

"The archangels and all their glory answer and say : Son of man, it is not in me.

"Cherubim and Seraphim answer and say : Son of man, it is not in me.

"All the company before the throne answer and say : Son of man, it is not in me.

"Have not some already fallen from amongst us : are our ranks full as at the beginning ?

"Who then of us shall say that he may not fall : who then of us shall save the fallen ?

"The Lord knoweth us from the beginning unto the end : and He chargeth us with folly.

"Shall a fool plead for a fool : shall he that hath nothing to spare satisfy for another ?

"Behold in God is our strength : and by our faith we stand.

"O Son of the living God, thy glory alone is unchangeable : thy fountain of riches alone can never fail.

"From eternity to eternity Thou art Lord : for world after world Thou canst satisfy.

"Thou didst come to our help, and raise us : Thou didst burst the bars of our prison-house."—Pp. 208, 209.

In the face, therefore, of facts, of Mr. Evans having produced such strains as these, it would be idle to disparage his experiment ; but, nevertheless, when we come to consider what our prospects are in this line, we are still doubtful. We have found nothing in his volume which shakes the ground we have already taken, and on which we pronounce it improbable that our stock of *liturgic* Psalmody is capable of any serious increase. It is possible, however, that our author's, or some such compositions might be found available in Family Devotion ; and to this Mr. Evans seems chiefly to look at present, as appears from the following pleasing paragraph :—

"But the minds of the people are not prepared for such a change as foregoing the use of this species of hymns. Yet they may be, and, at all events, the experiment is worth trying. If the chanting of rhythmical hymns were used in our family prayers, it would soon be revived in our congregations. And what style of singing can be more suitable to family prayer ? In company with the deep solemnity required by the occasion of meeting before the throne of God, our chants have commonly a blithe cheerfulness of tone, which is remarkably in unison with the feelings which pervade the meeting of the family for the first time in the morning and the last at night. And there is this additional advantage ; that while the peculiar tone of the chants excludes all association with the worldly sounds which might come upon their ears in the course of daily duties and conversation, so the peculiar structure of the hymns forbids the recollection of any of the worldly reading which may have fallen in their way. Thus they are hedged off from the world as a family of

God, and can serve and worship Him with a peculiar service, with utterly unworldly adoration."—P. 61.

Even this use, however, of Mr. Evans's, or any other modern Canticles, we greatly deprecate, until our churches be generally open for daily service. For until the monthly course of the Psalter be thus gone through in the places appointed for its observance, we think the intentions of the Church are most nearly fulfilled by families reading the appointed Psalms for each morning and evening, as is done, we trust, by not a few. When, however, they shall have the opportunity of joining in them every day in church, there may be found scope for other vehicles of praise in private; and it will be well that there should; for, in the abstract, we coincide with the opinion expressed by Mr. Evans in his "*Rectory of Valehead*," that as the Church in comprehending all subordinate relationships, such as that of Nation or of Family, neither confounds nor obliterates any of them, the Liturgy of a Family should be essentially different from that of a Congregation.

And now we must say a few words on that part of Mr. Evans's treatise with which we find it impossible to agree—his entire denunciation of verse in congregational Psalmody. We have already expressed our concurrence in such denunciation as regards the intrusion of verse in *distinctively liturgic* acts, and given, we cannot help thinking, a better reason for it than any of his. But it seems to us that Mr. Evans overlooks the possibility and lawfulness of mingling with such more solemn service, expressions of religious feeling which do not quite 'come up to the others' mark, and which, in their place, and in due measure, are a necessary relief to the worshipper's mind. Take our own ritual, which in this respect surely does not err on the side of indulgence; and, view it in what light you will, you will find it impossible to predicate equal solemnity of all its portions; of reading the book of Tobit for example, and of reading the Gospel of St. John. Both are appointed for our religious cultivation, and for our cultivation *in the sanctuary*; but one cannot but feel that they not only must be placed on different grades, but belong to different kinds. And if the principle of such degrees and varieties of solemnity be admitted into any part of our public services, why may it not apply to our praises? In fact, it does so apply already; for, while both are duties in their place, no one surely would attach equal solemnity to joining in Psalm 49th, and to joining in the *Ters Sanctus*. Now, besides her expressly-assigned provision for praise, our Church has left an open place wherein we can avail ourselves of our own resources,—that for the anthem, which, as far as any enactment that we know of is concerned may be, which very often is, metrical, and which we think, in many places, had better continue so to be. For were nothing permitted but a Psalm or Canticle, the choirs of small churches, who might be quite equal to a simple air, would be found at fault in what is technically called a *service*, unless of the very simplest kind; and if the Anthem be plainly chanted, there will be no particular difference

between it, and the regularly-appointed Psalms or Canticles; and yet a difference surely was intended.

Until, then, we can find some better reasons than Mr. Evans has brought forward, we think that metrical Hymns may be interspersed amidst, though they ought not to be incorporated with, liturgic rites, in which they will appear as pictures, or sculpture, in a church, which, when they are in their proper place, being altogether heterogeneous to the architecture, come into no comparison, and in no way interfere with it. Let us see to what our author's objections amount.

First, the Metrical Hymn has no precedent in Holy Scripture, notwithstanding that the Hebrew tongue is sufficiently adapted to metre; from which two circumstances, taken conjointly, the conclusion is, that Metrical Hymns are actually objectionable. But, granting Mr. Evans all his facts, we cannot admit such a deduction from them. The cast of the Hebrew Hymn is probably owing to the practice of antiphonal singing, to which it required to be adapted; and with such a reason for the alleged fact,—if it be a fact,—we may content ourselves without looking further.

Neither do we attach much weight to Mr. Evans's objection, that Metrical Hymns only came into the service of the Church at a time when she had grown less scrupulous as to what she introduced there; for no body of Christians, however hard it may have tried, has succeeded in confining itself to the precedents of the first age; and it is impossible, from the nature of the case, that any should. Whatever be the lawfulness or safety of doctrinal, there must be Ritual, Developments of some sort, if the Church is to be a living Body; and thus the whole question of Metrical Hymns will turn, not on the precise age in which they were first introduced, nor on its greater or less scrupulosity, but on the propriety of adopting them.

Nor can we see any force in Mr. Evans's main argument, that Verse has been so much the world's instrument, that it can only awaken worldly associations, and ought, therefore, to have no place in the sanctuary. For, in the first place, its higher forms were nearly at all times something unworldly,—yearnings after, faint prophecies of, something above and opposite to the world. And, secondly, if the Church was to inherit the Gentiles, and their riches,—if their gold, and frankincense, and myrrh, were to be poured into her lap,—if all their best and their costliest was to be offered to her service, shall we except the highest and the finest of their arts? Mr. Evans will, doubtless, say *no*. He will say that Poetry has its place in the furtherance of Religion, but that such place is a literary, not a ritual one—in the closet, not in the sanctuary; that we see this noblest of the arts performing its true office in the hands, not of an Ambrose, but of a Herbert. But religious verses, capable of being sung to airs of an essentially religious character, exist in fact, and no reason appears why they should not be so sung in churches, in the places, and under the limits, which we have assigned them. Some of them are essentially congregational in their character, so as to be sung nowhere else with

the like propriety. The mere fact, indeed, that verse hymns have been used all over the Western Church for fifteen hundred years, and have expressed the feelings and fed the devotion of thousands from age to age, outweighs, with us, all Mr. Evans's arguments against the use of them. His review, indeed, of our stock of Hymns is very able, and, on the whole, just; but he scarcely does justice, we think, to those on the Ambrosian model, which, though liable to the accusations he brings against them, have, nevertheless, great merit in our eyes. Each has a remarkable Unity and condensation of purpose and scope, along with great reverence of tone. Some of them, too, exhibit, we think, a freshly-awakened sympathy with external Nature—one of the most delightful subordinate results of that Light from Heaven, which “makes all things new.” That we could not use them with propriety is obvious enough; for (with the exception of the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which, considering the occasion whereon it is used, might, we think, be sung in the original, instead of in either of the wretched English versions which disfigure our ordinal,) our hymns must be in our vernacular tongue; and those in question are, we suspect, well nigh untranslatable. Mr. Chandler's efforts to give them in English are elegant enough, but plainly unfit for congregational use. Still they may supply us with models, presenting, as they do, a particular type of excellence, such as we cannot think that the Church ought to refuse or neglect. We possess, at least, one or two tunes, such as the *Old Hundredth*, which, while they are admirable in themselves, are unfit, and would be unmeaning, for any but sacred purposes; and, in proportion as the hopeless undertaking of rendering the Psalms into verse shall become abandoned, must such be employed on hymns. We have but few English ones, indeed, at present, which Catholic Orthodoxy, or a pure taste, can regard with complacency; but yet there are one or two which Mr. Evans will hardly persuade us to surrender: “*All people that on Earth do dwell*,” viewed apart from its original, and considered simply as a hymn, —“*Jesus Christ is risen to-day*,” “*My God, and is Thy table spread?*” and that which is still fresh in our ears, “*Hark! the herald Angels sing*.” In citing these with approbation, we are not careful to answer the objection which may be made against the origin of three of them, holding that the Church ought to avail herself of everything that has intrinsic value; and that all which is true in aim, and holy in spirit, is really of and through her, whatever the author may have been in other parts of his conduct, or generally. We are not very sanguine, indeed, of Mr. Evans's admitting the merit of the compositions in question; for we find him pronouncing the Morning and Evening Hymns to be failures,—a paradoxical judgment, surely. That Ken cannot take high rank simply as a poet, we admit; that the three hymns by which he is chiefly known display no great range of Imagination, and no elaborately-beautiful melody, must be granted also; but that, for their purpose, they are eminently successful, and precisely what they ought to be, is, in our

judgment, equally clear. It may be questioned, however, whether our prevalent use of them be in accordance with that purpose. So long as we continue to begin our morning service at eleven, there must always be an extreme absurdity in urging ourselves half an hour after that, to "Awake—and *early rise*,"—an absurdity at once so ludicrous, and so obvious, that nothing but the lamentable indifference of most people as to what takes place in church, so long as it shall tread on no unreasonable prejudice which they may chance to nurse, has succeeded in perpetuating it to the present time. And it may be questioned whether the Morning and Evening Hymns, if not so exclusively personal as the Midnight one, ought not to be kept within the limits of family Devotion. There is certainly not much in them appropriate to "the great congregation."

We have thus delivered ourselves of a protest against that portion of Mr. Evans's 'Treatise, which we think must injure the operation of its sound parts; a protest which will derive additional force from the consideration that there are communities from whom we hope that we are not to be for ever estranged—we mean principally the Lutherans—whose metrical Hymns have been too powerful over them to make it right that they should be asked to give them up; and who must, supposing that they were drawn to seek our privileges, be discouraged by finding such a doctrine as our author's prevalent among us. Having discharged ourselves of our protest, and having also expressed some doubts on one or two other points, we must conclude by thanking Mr. Evans for his interesting and valuable book.

Sermons, bearing on Subjects of the Day. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons. 1843. 8vo. Pp. 464.

It were little, if at all, short of affectation at this time to set about a formal review of any publication from Mr. Newman. Competent and incompetent alike form sometimes, and always express, an opinion of the works of the most remarkable writers of the times. It is so whatever department of literature such may happen to fill: in the case of the poet, the novelist, or the historian, or even the man of science, the price which preeminent gifts pay is invariably an unreal estimate: between idolatry, as in the case of one so wretched as a Byron, and the neglect of ignorance, which *was* Wordsworth's lot, a *great* author during his life has scarcely a middle standing. Hence, which is a noticeable fact, it is that few of the most exalted living writers can be rightly estimated by contemporaneous criticism: even if such could be fairly conducted, readers would pay but little attention to the most elaborate and scientific judgment which we might pronounce in a case, where if their reasons are not

convinced, their affections and sympathies, or it may be their prejudices, are already pledged. Now, common consent seems to have awarded this intellectual empire to Mr. Newman: be he right or wrong, be it for good or for evil, be he the most useful or the most dangerous writer in England, the man is not to be talked to, whatever his own sentiments, who does not at least acknowledge that the late Vicar of St. Mary's is the most influential author of the day.

Apart from all higher and better associations, Mr. Newman's career is a very remarkable literary phenomenon: we are quite aware, that the great writers of the Church were never popular; and that Mr. Newman is popular, after a manner, and that this fact alone might seem a sufficient bar to ranking him amongst the doctors of the Church. But, it must be remembered that ours is a reading age; or if not this, which may be reasonably questioned, an age when there is much talk about reading: whoever, therefore, exercises much influence, is sure to be much talked about; and the *volitare citu' per ora virum* is generally reckoned equivalent to fashionable: but in the highest and only true sense of the term popular, Mr. Newman is eminently unpopular. He, like those who have gone before him, the torch-bearers of the heavenly race, is not wanting in that sure evidence of truth, the fewness of those who in all its depth embrace it. But this we shall see presently. Whether, therefore, that success which Mr. Newman alone would prize has attended his labours, we still maintain that he is at present beyond the range of criticism; and it is remarkable enough how seldom it has been attempted. Volume after volume of the most weighty erudition, compact in argument, systematic in form, as mere works of art specimens of the highest intellectual skill,—we allude more particularly to the History of the Arians, and the Treatise on Justification, and the elaborate Essay on Ecclesiastical Miracles,—proceed from this inexhaustible writer; and yet, though they are directly concerned, and that polemically, with a whole religious system, they never meet with a formal review, still less a reply. It may be, that few feel themselves capable of grappling with such a mind as Mr. Newman's;—his is the magician's skill, which though it cannot win consent, at least compels silence. At any rate we are not disposed, at least on this occasion, to depart much from the recognised practice of our reviewing brethren; and yet we are desirous, while coolly announcing the publication of one of those noble sets of sermons, which are not only unequalled, but unapproached,—what, if we were to add, unapproachable?—in the whole stores of theology, at least since the days of St. Bernard, to say something on certain “subjects of the day,” which sometimes their allusions, and sometimes their words suggest.

And if we do not now, as we would fain, say much of the extraordinary contributions to the Church which this very gifted

person has within a short decade of years produced, it is only from the feeling that there is at least **ONE** whose retiringness and sweetness of character we have no right to harass or distress by intrusive praise. But it would be scarcely becoming, not to say disrespectful, to the author of the work which heads this paper, in ourselves, or indeed dutiful to that spirit from whom whatever is subduing or cheering in the exercise of the Church's prophetic functions comes, were we not to hazard one remark, which is, the thorough change in the whole character of English sermons of any range or pretension, which is owing to Mr. Newman's publications. Even in quarters where, perhaps, the acknowledgment would be made with the worst grace, he is the secret model; nor are we afraid to own that we are prepared to recommend the study of his pulpit compositions for this very purpose.

It is sheer nonsense to talk about the impropriety of taking a model for writing sermons; as written pieces they do but follow the rule of all other writings, and the very greatest masters of style have always been in a sense students of some particular author. Thus Demosthenes himself formed his oratory upon the manner of Thucydides, and yet, it were impertinent to say that he is no plagiarist. Study is no hindrance to originality; and reality, without which sermons are but as frozen fruit, is quite compatible with a certain refined attention, both to the general cast and details of writing. Mr. Newman's Sermons have that rarest combination of excellences, that they read well and that he preaches them well. They are sufficiently direct and personal to arrest the attention and feelings, without verging upon familiarity: they have enough of ornament and rhetorical skill to convey interest, and yet they can never, we conceive, be listened to in the mere spirit of criticism: in the writer we can never forget the teacher; with sufficient of dignity to remind us that they are the voice of a better nature, they still address us as "human mortals:" with wonderful powers of analyzing our corrupt nature, Mr. Newman never seems, as we have observed in some preachers, to dwell with a merely professional skill upon the morbid anatomy of sin; he knows what man is, but weeps over him with more of an angel's tears, than with the lecturer's technical hardness.

Never, for example, have the subtle mazes of self-deceit been so successfully tracked out; but the result to an earnest mind is, not how clever an analysis of compound motives, but, as to ourselves, how tremendous and mysterious is the sway of sin. Brief and pointed, without studied sententiousness; pathetic, without whining; close, without obscurity; varied, without vagueness; suggestive, but never obscure; such are some, and only some, of the characteristics of these sermons. And with all this they are eminently practical; and what we

have scarcely observed elsewhere, even most practical when most controversial: controversial, indeed, in the common sense of the word, they never are; and it is quite surprising to see with what extraordinary powers the direct disputes of the day are always in terms avoided, and yet how the truth on all is suggested. Mr. Newman's aim seems to build up the Christian character silently and secretly, as though such a thing as division were unknown in the Church: the life of God in the soul, and not skill in polemics, are their substance. There is no need to tell people not to be heretics if we fill their souls with Catholic prejudices—we use the word in its highest sense. We know not with whom of our elder divines to compare Mr. Newman, and this chiefly because the moulds of thought are so different in different ages. If it were possible to divest Andrewes of his obscurity, and what to us wears the appearance of pedantry, and to clothe his skeletons with living flesh and blood: were Hall always warm and never quaint: had we Donne's power without his coldness, we might arrive at something like Newman's Sermons. But it may, perhaps, be safest to consider them as almost a new era in our English theology; we cannot, after reading them, quite understand how old sermons *told* at all; even Jeremy Taylor seems fatiguing, and beautiful as he is, unsuited to congregational occasions; Barrow's exhausting profusion is quite oppressive even to read; and though Wilson is the most practical of preachers, he is utterly devoid of elegance. Newman is eminently English, while in the Tillotson school, we fancy we detect classical models, or rather the classics through French translations—Athens filtered through Dacier; they have much of the stiff conventional propriety with which certain critics have thought proper to invest Aristotle's unities; unities which would have as much surprised Aristotle as they shock common sense.

When we suggested Mr. Newman as a model for parish sermons, there is one fault against which his imitators require to be specially warned, and towards which they seem to have a remarkable proclivity. So easy and flowing is Mr. Newman's language; so naturally does one thought seem to follow another, that some young men seem to think, that so that they write down just what comes, or is forced into, their heads at haphazard, if it be only written in somewhat short sentences, it does not much matter whether it is connected with the subject of their sermon, or, in other words, that it is quite indifferent whether their sermons have subjects at all. Never was so fatal a mistake: it may be quite true that Mr. Newman's Sermons are written hastily—though of the facts we are quite ignorant—but not only are haste and carelessness very different things, but be it always borne in mind, that a full mind can afford to be rapid. And yet more, if a single sermon of Mr. Newman's

be carefully studied, it will rarely amount to more than a single thought; viewed, perhaps, from every point; illustrated, perhaps, with unparalleled profusion; combined with many scattered elements; analyzed, dissolved, reproduced, again separated into its components, and once more produced in integrity; but it is always one idea. It is but one general impression at which Mr. Newman aims; it is but an isolated lesson which he seeks to convey; he never indulges in religious rambles. Another mistake of imitators has been very fatal. They have seen that Mr. Newman's style was living and flexible, eminently idiomatic, and regardless of one or two conventionalities which had acquired a sanction of some fifty or eighty years' standing; and they have consequently fancied themselves free to write both very bad English, and sometimes very doubtful grammar. We can assure them that the logic of such a conclusion is most vicious; nor can they shield themselves under their model, who, with one or two exceptions, is unimpeachable in his use of the English tongue.

Once more: if we would write and preach like Mr. Newman, *we must live like him*; this is the secret of the Nazarite's strength; this is the pervading life of all that he, and such as he, write. But, for obvious reasons, we desire rather to give this hint than to enlarge upon it.

The present volume of Sermons—the *eighth* (to say nothing of the recent fifth volume of *Plain Sermons*)—is on "Subjects of the Day:" but if any of our readers are so weak as to suppose that it contains significant hints about No. 90, or Dr. Faussett; or that it goes into Dr. Pusey's suspension; or even elaborately confutes Dissent; or specifically engages with baptismal regeneration or the apostolical succession as mere temporary disputes, they are very ignorant of Mr. Newman's spirit. If such happen to reside in parishes where weekly fulminations against "disguised Popery" are duly dealt out, they will find no "counter-blasts" against the Socinianizing tendencies, which are but too apparent among us, in the present volume. All is calm, dignified, eminently holy, and eminently practical. Mr. Newman never seeks to confute an adversary, but always to further the divine work of grace. If anybody can conceive what they would anticipate of Mr. Close's treatment of "Subjects of the Day," and then imagine the direct opposite of this in every conceivable particular, such is Mr. Newman's line. But as everybody will read it for himself, we shall, having said thus much of sermons in general, only select one passage—a "subject of the day"—which will furnish occasion rather for thought than writing. It is this; and it occurs in the form of a note to the Twenty-second Sermon, "Outward and Inward Notes of the Church."

"Such conversions to the Church of Rome as have occurred among us, are, for the most part, subsequent to March 1841; *from which date our Church has,*

in various ways, and through various of her organs, taken a side, and that the Protestant side, in a number of questions of the day. The authorities who were parties to the condemnation of No. 90 of the 'Tracts of the Times,' by that interposition, released the author, in his own feelings, of the main weight of a great responsibility, which up to that time attached to him, of inculcating religious views, which, however primitive, however necessary for our Church, however sanctioned by her writers, tended, without a strong safeguard, towards the theology of Rome. Till then, whatever happened amiss in the spread of Catholic doctrine, might be supposed to flow as a direct result from that one cause which alone seemed in operation, the advocacy of patristical theology; and of its advocates the remedy and correction of all irregularities in the direction of Rome might fairly be demanded. But the state of the case was changed, when persons in station interfered with the work, and took the matter into their own hands. In saying this the author has no wish at all to rid himself of such responsibility as really belongs to him. That there are portions of what he has written which have become the disposing cause of certain tendencies to Rome, now existing, he does not deny; but theological principles and views have little influence on the minds holding them, without the stimulus of external circumstances. Many a man might have held an abstract theory about the Catholic Church to which it was difficult to adjust our own, might have admitted a suspicion, or even painful doubts about the latter, yet never have been impelled onwards, had our rulers preserved the quiescence of former years; but it is *the corroboration of a present, living, and energetic heterodoxy*, which realizes and makes them practical; it has been the recent speeches and acts of authorities, who had so long been tolerant of Protestant error, which have given to inquiry and to theory its force and its edge. Such toleration of Catholic doctrine may have been impossible or wrong; that is another question, with which private persons have no right to interfere; still it may be a fact that the want of it has been the cause of recent secessions."—Pp. 384—386.

We reserve for our second thoughts the passages which we have italicized, taking first Mr. Newman's own view of the results of the condemnation of No. 90.

For less than "condemnation" we do not affect to call the treatment of this tract. Wherever there was the right, real to some extent, as in the case of the bishops, or assumed, as in the case of the four tutors—to condemn this tract, it has been censured, and that as distinctly and formally as the constitution of the respective authorities would admit. To deny this were as unfair as delusive. Nevertheless, we do not remember that in any quarter, save in the Bishop of St. David's Charge, the acknowledged purport of No. 90 was with all candour admitted. At the best it assumed to be an extreme remedy: it was not proposed as *the* exposition suited to the whole Church, but only as satisfactory to a section of it. No. 90 was addressed to some "straggling Romewards." If others were satisfied with other views of the Thirty-nine Articles, they were not called upon to receive this: directed to a particular class, it has been censured as though proposed as the *only* conscientious view of the Articles, which it never assumed to be. Mr. Newman wrote with a particular, not a general object. What was addressed to a school, the million who were not consulted have, without being called upon, reclaimed against. And under this view we consider Mr. New-

man's present statement or warning exceedingly important. He suggests the distinction which we have here drawn out.

We expect to hear this note stigmatized as sophistical: we deem it very valuable and candid. Mr. Newman acknowledges much of the antecedent force of the common objection, that Catholicism is intrinsically Romanizing, when viewed from a certain point: it must be so from its very nature, as is freely admitted; and as experience coeval with the Reformation itself has shown. He frankly, too, acknowledges that his own writings have contributed to this tendency: such *tendency* is inseparable from a strictly primitive study of the constitution and powers of the Christian Church. But then, if he draws the line, and suggests the counter-balancing view, why should they complain who have never felt the difficulty and perplexity itself? Why should he not solve his own paradox, if such it be, in his own way? If his solution satisfies those who were dissatisfied that we were at once assuming ourselves to be conjointly Catholic and Protestant, what have they to object who make no claim whatever to Catholicism? If he—to use the vulgar phrase—does not “unchurch” the low party, why should they complain, that he will not, on his own view, submit to be “unchurched” himself? Let us illustrate this: A certain course of medicine is deemed needful to cure a man of an ague: this regimen has a tendency, unless other checks are administered, to throw him into a fever: the physician is well aware of this, and at the proper moment proposes his own remedial agent: another mediciner steps in, and prevents this remedy being prescribed at the critical moment: *if the patient dies, who is responsible—the first physician or the second?*

Just so is it with the Church of England: if Mr. Newman's control was prevented precisely when it was, as he declares, most needful to his patient, then, as he says, “the case was taken out of his hands,” and his responsibility ceases: if men turn Romanists after this, he is not responsible when his remedy was denounced. And all this does not apply to the case of those who were quite satisfied with their former Protestant apathy: if they were content to die of their ague, Mr. Newman is not responsible for it: if others die of their fever, Mr. Newman is not responsible for it: for No. 90 has not had a fair trial.

All which we may fairly admit without committing ourselves one way or the other about this No. 90. It still remains a separate question, whether Mr. Newman's remedy was judicious and salutary, or not; or whether it would have succeeded after all: other correctives might have met the difficulty equally well, or better: Mr. Newman had a perfect right to propose his own, and a perfect right, on its rejection, to decline all further responsibility: whether the patient lived or died, he, at least, was no longer in fault.

We have expressed this view familiarly; but clearness of thought upon it is very essential. The facts are certainly with the author of No. 90. The majority of secessions to Rome have been within the last two years and a half; and where a formal disavowal of this particular view has not been compelled, or where the tacit holding of it has not been deemed by individuals inconsistent with their personal deference to Episcopal dicta, we have no fear that other secessions to Rome will or can take place. If the Church, in her corporate capacity, had protested against this view, the state of things would be widely different; but, happily perhaps, under present circumstances, a canonical and legitimate censure is impossible; it would be very disastrous at present. Secessions have taken place, because some have considered the Church of England as pledged: others remain firm, and will do so, because they cannot recognise in the Hebdomadal Board, or in the Bishops' Charges, expressed as they are, an assailable decision of the Church as such.

This view, to our mind, also, and that very simply, accounts for many perplexing things of recent occurrence. We are not speaking with any authority, or with more knowledge than is open to ordinary bystanders; but if Mr. Newman declines for the future controversial writings, or if he resigns his living lest his own parochial sermons and ministrations should contribute, with or without his consent, to a state of things where he can only increase the evil with no permission to suggest what he deems the good, *upon his own view* he is fairly exculpated for his present position, which is a very legitimate one: he remains firm in his dutiful allegiance to the Church for reasons that she has internal marks of the sacred Presence, of the holiest and most consoling character, which are perfectly satisfactory to his own mind, be their appearance what it may upon others, from whom his influence is withdrawn; and that at the bidding of those to whose wishes and feelings he is bound to defer.

And this thought brings us, in the second place, to other considerations arising from Mr. Newman's statement, that "our Church" has recently, in various ways, taken a Protestant (and by the epithet we mean what has been styled *ultra*, and by some *pseudo*-Protestant) side in a number of the "questions of the day," which is a truth that many of us are afraid to face. It is not to be denied, as some say, that there has been "a check," and that it is not quite so easy or so safe now to play at Catholicism as it was four or five years ago; and this because, while individual minds, or even the thinking part of members of the Church, have advanced in one direction, a retrograde movement has commenced *by the Church herself*, as far at least as it was possible for the Church to commit herself. Let us see this.

The scheme of the Prussian Episcopate—that *fornicatio post gentes*—has, God be praised, been averted, even upon the terms

on which we were content to surrender ourselves; but if this plan has been defeated, it is rather from a secret and mysterious power within the Church, strangely developed just when it was most needed, a religious and panic fear which suddenly seemed to possess the whole mind of the Church, the more real because the more undefined, than from the lack of any active cooperation with the Lutherans in the highest quarters: we certainly should have given the succession to the Berlin Superintendents, but they would, they could, never have acknowledged us as their Mother-Church of England, since, with the strangest inconsistency, we had already saluted them as of our "Sister-Church of the Reformation." We were quite ready to have demanded no other symbols than the Augsburg Confession—no other ritual than a state-paper affair—no security for doctrine more religious than Prussian dragoons—and no head of the Church more authoritative than King Frederick William. Church History has read us neither warning nor encouragement; the frightful responsibility of giving a mere succession, without the One Catholic and Apostolic Faith, had been already tried in Scotland; and this miserable step was not the least unimportant element in the success of the great Scotch Presbyterian schism: again, we gave the succession to America, and we did exact some measure of pledged obedience to the doctrine, as well as to the order of the Church. Twice already has the Post-Reformation Church of England been the mother of two lines of Bishops; the one are rulers of a noble Church, the others have been persecuted for two centuries; and yet we were quite ready to make a third experiment, and not only to require no terms in our bargain with Prussia, as we did with the United States; not only to leave it without a Prayer-book, as was the case with Scotland, but to do even worse than this—to place Catholic Bishops—Catholic, that is, in mere form—over a sectarian community which would not swerve one iota from the developed doctrines of the Continental Reformation, which was a new and untried thing, an "Evangelical Church" made up out of the effete fragments of worn-out bodies, a *δύναμις ἐπιστολιμαῖη*—not a true thing, not a living power, like Lutheranism or Calvinism, but a mere *tertium quid*, constructed too by the civil power,—not only kept alive, but forced into unnatural life by bayonets and deportation. And it was no fault of our Church, or of its rulers, that this alliance was not cemented; and this, at least, is one instance of taking a Protestant side.

Indeed, *we are already committed* much more than is pleasant to think of in the same direction. It may be true, that the unfortunate Jerusalem scheme is withering away, and yet the very fact that it ever was, has established a precedent, which is new to us since the days of Cranmer: how far the effects of what cannot be undone will come home to us now or hereafter

we cannot estimate; but with all our *talk* for three centuries and a half of sympathy with the Foreign Reformed—for it never amounted to more than empty talk—we were never so plainly and openly committed to an alliance with them as at the present moment, and that in the eyes of all Christendom, and on the very scene of our Lord's Passion. But we have spoken of this elsewhere, in our present number.

So, too, with many of the Episcopal Charges: it may be quite true that from them, as a whole, may be extracted a catena, which is very unpalatable to the Evangelical party;* but, on the other hand, may be constructed from the same documents a counter-statement, which we do not dare to characterise: the true doctrine of the Church—*essential* doctrine—articles of the Creed—have never been so openly denied as at the present moment. Without censure, without a thought apparently that there is anything wrong, or anybody to blame, the flattest heresy is unblushingly preached, and nobody protests. There may be much of floating Catholicism; there is “a present living and energetic heterodoxy.” If our Church is not to be judged by its Bishops (as in a sense it certainly is not) and by the majority of the Clergy and laity, by what popular standard can it be tried? and there is no question that the main body is Protestant, and in the worst sense too, to the very core.

Catholic teaching is barely tolerated: as we hinted last month, Catholic practices are only permitted on sufferance—the Catholic life is not allowed to develop itself; wherever a Clergyman is censured or rebuked, it is for obeying, not disobeying, the Church; it is zeal, not apathy, which is now criminal: once we encouraged theological learning; now let a divine be learned enough to know what has ever been the doctrine of the Church Catholic or Anglican, and he is marked for life: “Thou hast men about thee that usually talk of a noun and a verb: and such abominable words as no Christian ear can endure to hear—away with him! he speaks Latin—he shall die, an it be but for pleading so well for his life.” If we believe in the one Baptism for the remission of sins, we are “Puseyites;” and even poor-law guardians, when they come to elect a chaplain at 50*l.* a-year, are good Churchmen enough not to elect so monstrous a heretic as this; but let another preach for two months in the Scotch meeting-houses, *he* is Chaplain to the Queen, and in a fair way for a Bishopric. Which do we *look* most like? Catholics or Protestants?

These are popular topics, but they are the “subjects of the day”—they are facts: by these shall we be judged; and shall any one say that they are not *indicia* of a most active Anti-Catholic vigour? Yes!—it is replied—but look on the other

* Such is indeed before us in a useful tract—“Testimonies to Church Principles; selected from Episcopal Charges and Sermons.” Burus.

side: look at the Colonial Bishoprics, and intercommunion with Scotland and America. True, these are great blessings; but to erect a sort of Protestant centre of unity at Canterbury, to make Lambeth a kind of reformed Vatican, is consistent enough with other than over Catholic views. And if to these topics we add such facts as the Lichfield-House compact, between the Whiggery of Evangelicalism and the O'Connellism of Dr. Hampden, as lately displayed at Oxford in the attempt to remove the censure on the Divinity Professor—the rejection of Mr. Williams in the same place—the actual suspension of Dr. Pusey, and the practical suspension of Mr. Newman—the recent lay addresses—the open denunciation of the head of the government—and the averted looks of our rulers, as well as the significant falling away of the worldly and summer-friends, it is, we think, as undeniable as perhaps sad, that there is not only a re-action against the truth, but that never was heterodoxy so compact, so determined, and so powerful in the Church of England, as at the present moment. If words are with us, deeds are with those opposed to us: we have plenty of books and talk to appeal to; they have the undeniable testimony of facts to produce against us; if we quote ourselves they quote the world; if we have done anything it is in the very teeth of opposition and coldness, they have to produce every sort of censure which the Church could indirectly convey: in a word, they have *everything* short of that *which alone is anything* to us, viz., a synodical decision and condemnation. As soon as Protestantism awoke to the real bearing of the revival—slow enough, ludicrously so, it was in arriving at any glimmering of what such revival meant, apathy was at an end: it is felt to be a death struggle on either side; and this lesson, as it is the most humiliating, so is it the most needful for us to learn; not only because the present state of things may have contributed very much towards unsettling the faith of those who have left our communion, as Mr. Newman remarks, which is not our present subject; but because it may lead us all to inquire whether some among us may not have begun to reform the Church, before we reformed ourselves—whether too many of us are not mere greenhouse plants, which want hardening before they can endure a winter sky—whether, in battling for one mark of the Church, external symmetry, we were not content to forget another, internal holiness—whether, in preaching the Church system, we have not thought more of its beauty than of its severity—whether we have not (to make our meaning clear by an instance) kept Church feasts and neglected Church fasts—whether, in our earnest gaze at theoretical perfection, we have not forgotten our practical degradation—whether we have not tried to become saints, without first becoming penitents—whether we have not attempted to do the Lord's work with spotted hands

—it may be “that we cannot stand before our enemies, neither will God be with us any more, except we destroy the accursed thing from among us.”

“Thou to wax fierce,
In the cause of the Lord;
To threat and to pierce,
With the heavenly sword!
Anger and zeal,
And the joy of the brave;
Who bade *thee* to feel
Sin's slave?

“The Altar's pure flame
Consumes as it soars;
Faith meetly may blame,
For it serves and adores.
Thou warnest and smitest!
Yet Christ must atone
For a soul that thou slightest—
Thine own.”

Lyra Apostolica, LXF.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Journal of the Statistical Society of London. London: Parker, 1842, 1843.

BUT lately, on looking over the very dry pages of the *Journal of the Statistical Society*, we met with a paper on the origin, custody, and value of Parish Registers, with an abstract of those of Manchester, read before the British Association by Canon Parkinson, when that astro- and gastro-nomic body met at Manchester, in June, 1842. Some, perhaps, of our clerical friends may not be acquainted with the use and progress of registers, or know why or wherefore they or their churchwardens are bound to look after them so carefully; and therefore we venture the following information from the Canon's paper.

The first injunction for keeping parochial registers was issued by Cromwell, in the thirtieth year of Henry the Eighth, in which the king's vicar-general ordained that “in all churches a register should be kept of every wedding, christening, and buriall within the same parish for ever.” Some registers are still extant of this date, but the majority date from the time of the more full injunction of Edward the Sixth, put forward nine years after, in 1547. This enjoins—

“That the parson, vicar, or curate, and parishoners of every parish within this realm, shall, in their churches and chapels, keep one book, or register, wherein they shall write the day and the year of every wedding, christning, and burial, made within their parish for their time, and so every man succeeding them likewise; and therein shall write every person's name that shall be so wedded, christned, or buried. And, for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide, of their common charges, one sure cofer, with two locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other with the wardens of every parish, church, or chapel, wherein the said book shall be laid up; which book they shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said wardens, or one of them, write and record, in the same, all the weddings, christnings, and burials, made the whole week before; and that done, to lay up the book in the said cofer, as before. And for every time that the said shall be omitted, the party that shall be in fault thereof shall forfeit to the said church *iii. s. iii. d.* to be employed to the poor man's box of that parish.”

This injunction was continued by Queen Elizabeth, and set out further at length, but without any material alterations, in the 70th

Canon of 1603. Some additions were made to the old canon, such as transmitting yearly copies to the chancellor of the diocese, in order to their preservation in the episcopal registry, and forbidding the minister, without the churchwarden, or the latter without the former, to open "the cofer." In the reign of William and Mary a most extraordinary act was passed, which must have insured the accurate keeping of the registers, as a tax was raised on them for the crown. The king and his parliament wanted to fight the French, so their wisdoms granted to his majesty "certaine rates and duties upon marriage, births, and burials, and upon batchelors and widowers, for the term of five yeares, for carrying on the war with France with vigour."

"The preamble," says Canon Parkinson, "after stating the reasons for passing this act, goes on to say, 'that from and after the first day of May, in the year of our Lord 1695, for and during the terme of five yeares, and not longer, there shall be raised, levied, and paid to his majesty, his heires and successorss, (over and above all other duties whatsoever,) for and upon the burial of all persons who shall be buried within the said terme of five yeares, at any place within the kingdom of England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-on-Tweed, the severall and respective sums and duties hereinafter mentioned.'"

So, to please the warlike notions of his majesty, for five years no one is to be buried without paying four shillings to the king to help to kill Frenchmen; and if a duke or a duchess, fifty pounds, besides the four shillings; if only a marquis or marchioness, he may enjoy the rites of the Church for forty pounds sterling. The tariff goes down through the nobility ten pounds per grade, then takes the minor honours into its keeping, and is content to let a plain gentleman be buried for twenty-four shillings; in default of payment, to be levied upon the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, or the goods and chattels, of the buried one. This act took charge of his majesty's loving subjects from their first to their last breath. It would not allow any to be born, except paupers' children—happy paupers!—under two shillings sterling; and added a birth tariff nearly as exorbitant as the Charonic tax for burying; charging a duke's son thirty pounds two shillings for being born. Now, considering that neither deaths nor births are generally the act of the person born or buried, it was rather hard in our Hollandish sovereign to tax at once the increase and decrease of his subjects, setting aside the morality of raising a war-tax on the services of the Church, as that it was, conceal it as you will. As to marriage, perhaps William's cold, calculating nature might have deemed it very correct to arrest the progress of improper marriages,—our royal Malthus was doubtless a deep economist; but as he was a good financier, he caught his people at both ends, and taxed the bachelors for being bachelors, and then for marrying; made the widowers pay for their wives' death, for their temporary return to celibacy, and for their second marriage. The next thing was to secure these novel duties; to insure which the king and the parliament laid the burden on the clergy, and ordered them to register every birth, marriage, or death, in their parish, on the pain of forfeiting one hundred pounds, one-half to the king, the rest to the informer, for every omission. What between informers, tax-gatherers, and clergy, few registers were more accurately kept than those

between 1695 and 1700. As these remarks are made solely to introduce early information about parochial registers, we shall not here discuss the effect of the various acts on the subject passed in later reigns, from 52d George the Third to the first year of Victoria. All we wish to remark is, that people may as well remember that registration is neither baptism, marriage, nor burial, though legally a substitute for all; and that, excepting with regard to marriages, the famous, or rather infamous, Registration Act in no way affects parochial registers.

Israel's Ordinances: a Few Thoughts on their Perpetuity, respectfully suggested in a Letter to the Right Reverend the Bishop of Jerusalem. By CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH. London: Seeley. 1843.

THIS is a very remarkable production; remarkable both in the way of testimony and tendencies, as well as from its own intrinsic merits, which are far from slight. Charlotte Elizabeth is no common writer, and in the mere power of diction, and as a specimen of Bible criticism, "the Bible, and the Bible only," unassisted by the Church's perpetual witness, "Israel's Ordinances" is very superior to the common range of such writings. An independent thinker, reckless of all consequences, who "admits of no authority of any kind whatever, beyond the two covers of the Bible, *my Bible*, which includes neither note, comment, or interpretation of any kind," (p. 9,) we might anticipate to become a heretic; and a heretic of no ordinary type is Charlotte Elizabeth. In reading this production, we were forcibly reminded of the strange days of a Maximilla and Priscilla; but Montanism were purity and orthodoxy itself compared with this last development of the "Society for promoting Judaism among Christians." The present is a perfectly fair deduction from the modern principles which have passed current with little questioning.

Charlotte Elizabeth arguing only from the mere text of Scripture, and from certain detailed practices of "Paul," (as she is pleased to term the great apostle,) comes to the conclusion that the Sabbath, circumcision, the passover, the levitical priesthood—in a word, all the legal ordinances, were never formally superseded and abrogated; that, at least as far as Jewish converts were and are concerned, they were intended to be perpetual; that the Jewish Christian Church has, or ought to have, a peculiar system, apart from the Gentile Christian community; and that Dr. Alexander, whom she thinks fit to call "*The Bishop of Jerusalem*," is called upon, in his own person, to revive and continue all "Israel's ordinances." But let the *lady* speak for herself:

"In your person the Church of the circumcision is once more planted on the height of Zion; in your person, the reproach of seventeen centuries is thus rolled away from the Israel. Call you what we will, my Lord, you are a JEW, a circumcised Jew; and your dear partner, the wife of your bosom, is a Jewess, a descendant of Levi; your daughters, who, under the Lord's blessing, are growing up as the polished corners of the temple, are Jewesses also. Here I pause; for I feel that something is wanting to complete the picture. My dear Lord, bear with me, while I respectfully and affectionately put once more the query, *Why are not your sons also Jews?*"—Pp. 4, 5.

In other words, why are not the youthful Alexanders circumcised? We really deprecate levity on this subject; it is much too grave a

matter to be trifled with ; but honestly, on Charlotte Elizabeth's principles, we ask, why not ? There is so much in Scripture, both of prophecy and of fact, as to the retention of the Israel of God, that we are only surprised that this view has not been elaborated before ; more skilfully argued in a small compass it could not be, than in the present little pamphlet. It is quite true that there is a vast principle of the Jewish permanence running through both covenants : a continuance and identity of priesthood, temple, and sacrifice, is declared in Scripture : we are content to admit all this to the full.

Charlotte Elizabeth (what absurd affectation this name is), it will be seen, must take a very independent and somewhat original view of such epistles as those to the Galatians and Colossians, which seem so directly opposed to the "ordinances which are to perish with the using." All these she considers of force against the Gentile branch of the Church, and thus far she does not differ from the common line maintained by the ordinary Protestant writers ; but she differs from them, *toto cælo*, in showing that ceremonial and ordinances have any place in the apostolic scheme. Hence a very noticeable testimony to her own singleness of purpose and clear-sightedness ; unlike her school, she dares not evade the crushing force of the fact, that somehow or other, though the apostles did speak so strongly against ordinances, *in some sense*, yet they did recognise their inalienable perpetuity also *in some sense* : though theirs was theoretically in one view a merely spiritual Church, yet still it was, in fact, practically a ceremonial Church : it had its altars, its sacrifices, its Aaronical succession, its Divine Presence also : hence her extraordinary expedient to reconcile these two independent classes of scriptural facts ; and to say that it is simply ingenious, is anything but a correct view of it. Charlotte Elizabeth deals triumphantly with her friends, by challenging them to prove when Judaism became extinct : she asks—and the question will never be answered—for scriptural proof of the common figment of the abrogation of the law. She has no wish to escape from the overpowering force of our Lord's declaration, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law." Many points she overstates, and *all* she misapplies ; but in the general tenor of her scriptural argument we entirely concur.

How this will be received in quarters which are constantly inveighing against the Judaism and formalism of the Catholic system, we can anticipate ; but it is not our province to reconcile these parties. Sufficient for us to make our own use of this remarkable testimony in favour of the retention of the whole ceremonial and ritual, and formal aspect of the temple service, as somehow not inconsistent with the freedom of the Gospel. For ourselves, it will be sufficient to refer to two of Mr. Newman's recent sermons, in the most valuable volume which has just appeared, and which is elsewhere noticed, *The Christian Church a Continuation of the Jewish, and, The Principle of Continuity between the Jewish and Christian Churches*, (pp. 203—245,) from which Charlotte Elizabeth may learn, that all Israel's ordinances are, as she says, perpetual ; that Israel itself does exist as the Church Catholic ; that circumcision remains, expanded into Holy Baptism ; that the sacrifice is retained in the Sacred Eucharist ; that

the priesthood of succession is preserved in the Apostolate; the sabbath in the Gospel Festivals; the ritual in the Christian Ceremonial; the tribe of Levi in the stewards of the Mysteries; the reign of Judah in the Divine Empire. We are not driven to explain away Scripture: in the real, more real, because spiritual, we joyfully recognise the literal. In what the apostles say against human ordinances, we find, with her, no condemnation of such as are divine. What she admits as applicable only to Jewish converts, and this in a carnal sense, we accept as binding on the whole Church; and this after a mystical and spiritual manner.

There remains of course another view, under which this performance cannot be viewed without the deepest horror. As Charlotte Elizabeth has applied this train of thought, it results in a heresy, approximating very nearly to that of the Ebionites: it is a frightful, though consistent evolvment of undisciplined private judgment. And yet we cannot see how, with any consistency, Dr. Alexander, for example, can refuse to admit the validity of his correspondent's conclusions; whether he will act upon them remains to be seen; though nothing would surprise us in that quarter. Only if all this opens the eyes of our rulers at home to the imminent dangers which beset our communion, as a part of the Catholic Church, in Jerusalem, under its present most untoward auspices, it will not be without its use. Most cordially do we subscribe to Mr. Newman's sentiments—

"The recent appointment of an Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem, has had a most grievous effect in weakening the argument for our Church's catholicity, and in shaking the belief in it of individuals. May that measure utterly fail and come to nought, and be as though it had never been!"—P. 378.

which earnest prayer seems about accomplishing: never was such a miserable failure and delusion, and it is quite impossible that it should ever be repeated or continue.

It is useless to pick holes in the details of this pamphlet, but the information that the tribe of Levi still subsists, and even the family of Aaron, in ascertained integrity and lineal purity, "as distinct, as visible, as universally known, as in the days when they served the temple," (p. 46,) is to us perfectly new; if it were so, we can pardon our authoress' rapture "in the presence of a simple Cohen, an Aaronite, *even were he but measuring me for a shoe*," p. 47; with which anticlimax we are sorry to conclude.

Theophilus Anglicanus, or Instruction for the young Student, concerning the Church and our own Branch of it. By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D. Head-Master of Harrow School, &c. London: Rivingtons. 1843.

In the present time, when it is not easy to foretel what will be the end of that great theological movement which is now only in its infancy, a more than ordinary responsibility lies upon those to whom the sacred duty of education is entrusted. The minds of the young *must* be furnished with right principles, based on a sufficient knowledge; and if this duty is not wisely and faithfully performed, we can only expect a

harvest of wild opinions, and the saddest consequences of polemical strife.

We hail, then, with peculiar satisfaction the work before us, which we had barely time to notice in our last number. It appears to us exactly to meet the necessities of the times, by supplying what has long been acknowledged a desideratum in our educational literature—a text-book for theological instruction.

The classical attainments of the author are too well-known to need any observation. He now appears before the world in the character of a well-read divine; and both these qualifications are essential for the right performance of a work designed, as this in the title-page professes to be, for the instruction of the young student.

It adds greatly to the value of the book, that it was composed to supply a want which the author had himself experienced, in his labours as head master of one of our most esteemed grammar-schools; so that it promises to be an eminently practical work.

The great questions of ecclesiastical polity are treated in a clear, concise, and masterly manner. Every position is supported by references or quotations, generally given at large, from the most approved divines of the Greek, the Latin, and the English Church, which not only exhibit a wide range of reading, but are of great value in themselves, as a collection of authorities, many of which are designed to serve as exercises for the classical student; while at the same time they fix the point they are intended to illustrate in his memory.

The book is likely to become eminently useful to young men, whether intended for holy orders or for other professions, who, having finished their university education, are desirous of learning the certainty of those things wherein they have been instructed.

Would it not be desirable that a work of this kind should be examined and approved by competent authority; and so be put into the hands of masters and scholars, recommended by some other imprimatur than that of what is now called public opinion?

“St. Patrick’s Purgatory; an Essay on the Legends of Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise, current during the Middle Ages, by Thos. Wright,” &c. (Russell Smith,) is one of those very curious collections of out-of-the-way literature for which both author and publisher are celebrated. Of the tone and spirit of this performance, we can say nothing favourable. It may be too true, that the doctrine which is its subject was made a matter of sad cupidity; but, really, though Mr. Wright professes to have taken up the subject in a merely literary way, he is not called upon to write as though the next world were a legend.

“True Stories from the History of the Church,” (Haselden,) is, in either sense of the word, a story-telling book, written on a vile plan, and with worse execution. One of the cuts amused us exceedingly: the meeting of Augustine and Ethelbert, with Canterbury Cathedral in the back-ground.

Two beautiful passages of Mr. Keble,—“Now is there solemn pause,” from the *Christian Year*, and “I thought to meet no more,” from the *Lyra Apostolica*, have been wedded to solemn music (Chappell); the former with an arrangement of a German hymn, the latter, of a Roman chant. This is as it should be. Why are the

“Sphere-born harmonious sisters, Voice and Verse,”

so seldom or so inappropriately on either side associated?

We are glad to see advertised an “Appeal to the Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on recent Doctrinal Changes introduced into

their Tracts." We trust that *our* last month's exposure of the garbling of Ken's Winchester Manual will not be overlooked.

"Rhoda, or the Excellence of Charity," by the author of "The Cottage on the Common," (Grant and Griffith,) is on the whole a very pleasant and good child's book. There are one or two things which we could stop to criticise, were our general impressions a shade less favourable.

"A Parting Gift to Young Women leaving School and entering Service." (Caleb Turner, Hackney,) is an admirable tract, at once sensible and orthodox. It has but one fault, for the purposes which it contemplates,—the omission of all reference to the duty of Communion, a subject on which young women at service are, unhappily, not less impracticable than their neighbours.

Mr. Brudenell Barter has published an excellent pamphlet, entitled, "A Word in Defence of our Altars and Catholic Church" (Burns); occasioned by Chancellor Dealtry's recent charge. The great respect we feel, in common, we believe, with the whole body of English Churchmen, as well as the author now before us, for the latter gentleman, makes us deeply regret his having committed himself on the very delicate subjects which he has chosen, in his official capacity, to handle. There are so many topics on which he is at home, and on which he is so fit to moderate among his brethren, that we deplore his departure from them into regions where he is obviously but a stranger. Mr. Barter writes upon them with a far different amount of information, though we could have wished that he had dealt at greater length with the objections and difficulties which are likely to be uppermost in the minds of Dr. Dealtry and those who think with him. There is a note appended on Mr. Maurice's recent letter to Lord Ashley, in which Mr. Barter assumes that author to mean, what our readers may remember our saying he *seemed*, but we were sure only *seemed*, to mean, that Catholicism was the religion of the upper, and a different that of the middling classes. We were made sure of this by our acquaintance with Mr. Maurice's other writings.

Mr. Dickens's "Christmas Carol in Prose," (Chapman and Hall,) is a very acceptable present at this season. A very old and hackneyed subject is treated in a very original way, and the story displays all its author's eminent powers of combining humour with pathos. He has, however, thought fit to make an attempt at a religious allusion here and there, one at least of which could well have been spared—that occasioned by some of his grown-up characters playing at blind-man's-buff, and forfeits, on which he says, "It is good to be children sometimes, and never better than at Christmas, when its mighty Founder was a Child Himself." We do not believe that Mr. Dickens is aware of the extreme irreverence of this way of speaking; but we are mistaken if numbers of his readers will not be pained by it; and we feel bold to assure him, that his expunging, or altering, the sentence in his next edition, will give general satisfaction.

"Select Pieces from the Poems of William Wordsworth," (Burns,) are put forth in a most beautiful volume, well adapted for a present or a prize as the case may be. The selection, as well as the decoration, is, on the whole, judicious; but we could have wished the principle announced in the preface had been somewhat more closely adhered to, of choosing "such poems as contain the broader features of Wordsworth's style." Exquisite verses about childhood, characterized by a simplicity which is the result of consummate art, have small charms for children; nor in the nature of things can it be otherwise: neither is it fair to those whom we are training into a relish for a poet, not easily enjoyed without training, to present them in the first instance with verses which only the confirmed Wordsworthian can relish. We allude to such as "The Childless Father," "The Sailor's Mother;" the first of the two poems "To a Skylark," "The Redbreast and Butterfly," and one or two similar ones. These, along with such verses as are not Wordsworth's, (*e.g.* "Which way does the Wind come?" &c.) ought, we think, to be replaced in another edition by "She was a Phantom of Delight," "O Nightingale, thou surely art," "The Kitten, and the falling Leaves," and the "Poems on the Naming of Places." The last-named series is not only surpassingly beautiful, but

eminently characteristic of our great poet. We also venture to recommend a still further restoration (we are glad to see some in this collection) of the old readings, which obviously will be the enduring ones. *Ruth* ought really to be protected from its illustrious author, who, with all respect be it said, has proved himself the worst enemy to one of his own greatest works.

"Holy Baptism; Prayers, Meditations, and Select Passages on the Sacrament of Baptism, &c." (Burns,) is a sort of companion to the Archdeacon of Surrey's *Eucharistica*. The little book is very prettily got up, and the compilation is from stores of different ages and parts of the Christian Church: from Cyprian, from Chrysostom, from Cyril, as well as from Andrewes, Hooker, from Comber, Leighton, and Beveridge. We cordially recommend the work to all who wish to live in the recollection of their Baptism. It will be found of still more direct use to such as are looking forward to the Baptism of any who are dear to them; and as we cannot but think it likely that adult baptism will become more frequent in proportion as the state of those around us becomes better known, this work has a prospective value of no slight importance, as it will then be found an excellent manual of preparation. The introduction is very beautiful, and is signed H. E. M.—a signature which many will scarcely need for the purpose of information, as the style is not easily mistaken.

"A Voice from Rome," (Burns,) is a valuable reprint from the columns of the *English Churchman*, with additions; harmonizing altogether very much with the tone of thought of a recent article in our own pages.

Mr. Paget's "Churchman's Calendar for 1844," (Burns,) is a great improvement on its predecessor, inasmuch as it is complete (complete, we mean, as an Anglican calendar); whereas the other was confined to the red-letter days.

We recommend "Little Alice and her Sister," (Burns,) and also, "Short and simple Prayers for Children," (Grant and Griffith,) though there are things in the latter which ought to be altered; and we can assure the author, that the notorious hymn at the end, with its burden of "Glory, glory, glory," is not less unorthodox than it is ridiculous.

"Romantic Fiction; select Tales from the German of Fouqué, and others," (Burns,) is a very beautiful and seasonable present. We hope speedily to call more particular attention to the great and noble-minded writer from whom these tales are principally taken. We see that an objection has been made to one of them, "The Unknown Patient," as too terrible. This is a question that must be left to the discretion of parents or instructors in each individual case. The tendency to τὸ δεινόν is one of the first forms taken by the imagination; our early communion with that which we have not realized cannot long continue "from terror free;" and, therefore, the great question is not, How to get rid of what will plainly come anyhow, but how to regulate it when it comes; and this, as we have already said, must be left to discretion in each several case.

In the same form have appeared, from the German of Fouqué, "Undine," "The Two Captains," and "Aslauga's Knight," which, with "Sintram," previously published, make a Series of Romances on the Four Seasons.

"Glimpses of Nature, &c., during a Visit to the Isle of Wight," &c., by Mr. Loudon, (Grant and Griffith,) will be welcomed by all parents who wish to call children's attention to the natural objects around them.

"A Companion to the Services of the Church of England for every Sunday in the Year," (Burns,) is an excellent book in the same kind as Bishop Jolly's, with greater range and variety, and with the advantageous introduction of verse, principally from the Christian Year.

"Liber Scholasticus," (Rivingtons,) is the reprint of a very comprehensive body of information, on subjects in which nearly every class of English Churchmen must have an interest.

"Remarks on the Book of Psalms as Prophetic of the Messiah," (Burns,) is an erudite and orthodox work, of far more than the ordinary value, which we ought to have noticed ere now.

"What is the Church? The question answered," &c. derives interest, in addition to its intrinsic merits, from the quarter whence it has proceeded—from

a *French Anglican* resident in France. The author must find his ground very difficult to make clear to persons who have never heard of other than *Romish* Catholicism.

We hope that "An Account of the Picture of Frederick Overbeck, representing Religion glorified by the Fine Arts, &c., written in German by the Painter himself, and translated by John Macray," (Parker,) will be generally read. The thoughts and tone are like their author. We could wish that, as there appears to be a line engraving of the picture, it had been reduced and prefixed in outline to this pamphlet, in which it would have been found a useful diagram.

The Propagation Society has put forth an interesting document, entitled, "The Church in Canada," a journal of a Visitation, by the Lord Bishop of Toronto, of the Western portion of his diocese. This gives us more of a Bishop's mind than we have often access to. It is to be followed, we understand, by a similar one from the Bishop of Montreal.

The same interest attaches to "Letters from the Bishop of New Zealand," addressed to the Propagation Society (Rivingtons).

"The Order of Daily Service, &c. as arranged for Use in Quires and Places where they sing," by Thomas Tallis, 8vo. newly edited by Mr. John Bishop of Cheltenham, (Cocks and Co. Princes-street,) we are glad to be able heartily to recommend. The work is beautifully, as well as correctly got up, and, we trust, will lead to a very extensive use of the ancient *canto fermo* in connexion with these inimitable harmonies. We may remark, however, that it would have been an improvement if the plain chant in the harmonized responses, whether occurring in the tenor or treble staff, had been printed in the black notes, as is done in the priest's part. The correspondence would then have been seen much better. Also, there is a question as to the propriety of making up harmonized responses for the second part of the Litany following the Lord's Prayer. In most places where Tallis's Litany is used, that portion is sung in unison, as given in Marbeck and Lowe; and this is after all, perhaps, the best mode, as it keeps up the distinction which there evidently is between the first and second parts of the Litany. We presume, from a sentence at the end of the Introduction (a very good Introduction, by-the-by) that this book is used at St. John's, Cheltenham, what, indeed, is no more than we should have expected from Mr. Watson's well-known zeal. That he should have encouraged and assisted in such a publication, is not the least of the obligations under which we lie to him. We had almost omitted to add, that the whole is printed without organ accompaniment; and in this way, we presume, the music is used. It ought, beyond all doubt, to be so; the way in which it is (or was very lately) performed at Westminster Abbey, and in some London churches where the organ is made use of, is quite abominable.

"Conciones Academicæ, Ten Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge," by J. W. Blakesley, M.A., is a hard-thinking volume by a gentleman of known accomplishments, ability, and orthodoxy: the same applies to a volume by Mr. Marriott, of Oriel, (J. H. Parker,) and another by Mr. Poole, of Welford, (Walters.)

Among recent Charges, the Bishop of Bangor's (Rivingtons), and the Arch-deacon of Surrey's (Burns), will be read with interest.

"Commemoration of the Fifth of November, by Mr. C. Smith Bird," (Hatchard,) is a single, though heavy, sermon on this perilous State-service, which has contrived to identify two subjects as dissimilar as Tenterden steeple and the Goodwin Sands. The day itself was celebrated, we hear, by a *feu-de-joie* of sermonizing,—a sort of mixture of Vauxhall and a Protestant *auto-da-fé*; but the flower-pots and Roman candles have not many of them exploded in print: a dropping fire of squibs from three or four of the Islington Clergy, has ignited, though tardily, and with more splutter than brilliancy.

Among other single sermons, we may mention "The Duty of Promoting Christian Unity," by Mr. Joseph Oldknow (Rivingtons), "Church Principles considered with reference to the Life and Practice," by W. C. Dowding, B.A. (Ditto); and one by Archdeacon Manning, preached at York, (Sunter).

MISCELLANEOUS.

[The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed in this department.]

REVIVAL OF CONVENTUAL INSTITUTIONS.

[WE have now the satisfaction to present to our readers the authorities in favour of the REVIVAL OF CONVENTUAL INSTITUTIONS, referred to in our last number. The collector of them requests us to state that he cannot doubt that very many have either escaped his search, or lain beyond the range of his reading; and to add, that the transmission of any such, through the hands of the publisher of the CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, will be thankfully acknowledged.]

THE duties of monks were these:—"to pray, groan, and weep for their faults;—to subdue their flesh;—to watch and abstain from pleasures;—to bridle their tongues, and shut their ears from vanities;—to guard their eyes, and keep their feet from wandering;—to labour with their hands, exult with their lips, and rejoice at heart in the praises of God; . . . to obey readily, and never to contradict, their superiors;—to serve willingly, and assist speedily, the sick brethren;—to throw off the cares of the world, and attend to celestial concerns with their utmost endeavours;—not to be overcome by the arts of Satan, and to do everything with prudence."

"To *monastic perfection* . . . eight things were requisite—keeping the cloister;—silence;—no property;—obedience;—no detraction or murmuring;—mutual love;—performance of the appointed duties;—and confession. Besides these, they were to be imitators of Christ, love an abject and lowly habit, be clothed in vile garments, walk simply in discipline, upon rising to matins meditate upon their actions;—to bear patiently the injuries of others,—to him that struck them upon one cheek to turn the other . . . to converse of, and meditate upon, the last judgment, wait for the Lord, and dread the anger of the Judge; . . . to use private prayer when under a vicious impulse, because such prayer reminded them of their crimes, and made them think themselves more guilty;—to have respect for their habit in act, speech, and thought;—not to be querulous, angry, slanderous;—not to regard rashly the lives of their superiors, nor to become rebellious by beholding their faults. . . ."—*Fosbrooke's History of Monachism*, pp. 211, 212. 4to. edit.

T. Hearne to Browne Willis, on the dissolution and destruction of Monasteries.

"I am mightily pleased with your transcript out of the Augmentation Office. The pensions of the abbots both of Abingdon and Battle are large: nor are those of the monks inconsiderable. I look upon these pensions as evident proofs of the innocence of those places. I have not Burnet by me at the writing this letter, so I cannot refer to the page where he allows of the argument. Yet I am sure he does allow it, and one that is so well versed as you are in our history cannot but quickly find it in him. He certainly wrote his history, as he hath done his other books, in post or rather Scotch haste. The very arguments he hath made use of against the monasteries would have served against the universities. It is no wonder that some ill men are found in all large societies. I do not doubt but the visitors were the most inveterate enemies that could be employed. And therefore, to be sure, they would, in their returns to the king, insert all the stories they could rake up that sullied the reputation of the monks, and were likely to please the king, who was resolved to get their revenues into his own hands, and was, for that reason, very glad to encourage any person who was willing to lay open the characters of those men in the blackest terms that could be thought of.

"What Burnet hath offered against them appears to me to be spite and malice. His proofs are weak and groundless. And I do not doubt but that if every monk's character were strictly and impartially examined, there is not one of them but what would appear more innocent and virtuous than any one of the visitors; and it may be, than any one of their accusers.

"I would not be thought, from what I have said, to be an enemy to the Reformation. That is certainly to be commended, so far as it was carried on with a design to shake off and extirpate those gross errors that had, by degrees, crept into the Church; and so far the king himself is to be commended, as he proposed that in his opposing the pope. But then, whereas the Reformation was carried on with a design also to destroy all the abbies, and to take from them those lands that were conferred in the most solemn manner, this ought certainly to be condemned and to be looked upon as the highest instance of sacrilege; and by it the king hath left behind him such a blemish as will never be wiped off. And therefore my Lord Herbert might well conclude his history with a wish *that he could leave him in his grave*; which is a very excellent conclusion, notwithstanding very short; he having, by his demolishing the religious houses, and by giving and selling the lands to lay persons exceeded in sacrilege any particular prince that ever went before him. Nay, I question whether he did not exceed all the princes of any one single kingdom put together. I am very unwilling to speak ill of crowned heads; but what I have mentioned is so very notorious that it is no secret, and, therefore, there can be no manner of harm in speaking of it even in the most public manner. When Christianity was first planted in Britain the Reformers discovered plainly that what they did was out of a true principle of piety and devotion, and with a design only to propagate the Christian doctrines, and not with an intent to enrich themselves. They, therefore, did not destroy heathen temples and other places of worship, but only converted them to a Christian use. Neither did they employ any of those things that had been appropriated to religion to a profane use; but decreed in a synod that they should continue for religious purposes to which they were originally designed, though with this caution, that under the severest penalties they should not be (as before) made use of upon any account in promoting and advancing the heathen, but only in carrying on and establishing the Christian discipline. Had King Henry VIII. imitated them, he had left in this point a very great and glorious character behind him. But in his he very unhappily failed, and the nation groans to this day for the sins that were at this time committed, not only by himself but by the agents employed by him, particularly by the visitors, who proceeded with the utmost rigour and violence against the monks, and stuck at nothing that they thought would expose them, and would serve as an argument to the king for dissolving the abbies and seizing on their lands and revenues, and afterwards employing them to such purposes as himself, by the advice of those visitors, and other enemies to the monks, should judge proper. . . ."

Note.—The sentiments expressed in this letter are such as, in the opinion of the writer of this note, do no less credit to Hearne's heart than to his head. On the necessity and important value of the Reformation, there can be only one opinion; but the overthrow of every monastic institution, the barbarous cruelty inflicted on the professors of religion, and the destruction of every valuable monument of art, every splendid relic of literature, cannot but impress us with a disgust and abhorrence, which even the great benefits we have received from the change can scarcely allay. That there were some abuses in societies so numerous and extensive, was to be expected; but that these abuses were not general, is proved from the testimony of the visitors themselves.

Many of the persons appointed, not so much to *inspect* as to *condemn* the monasteries and nunneries of the kingdom, confessed that they could discover no ill-conduct in their inhabitants or domestic government;—that the houses they were directed to suppress were of the greatest benefit to the neighbourhood in which they were situated, as well as of essential interest to the poor;—

they instructed the children of the wealthy;—they employed the mechanics and labourers, and they relieved the poor. There are numerous instances on record of the most earnest intercession from the visitors in behalf of the unhappy objects of Henry's avaricious displeasure. The nunnery of Godstow, in Oxfordshire, the abbey of St. Edmund's-bury, in Suffolk, the monastery of Woolstrobe, in Lincolnshire, with divers others, were reported as free from stain; their inmates were represented as pious, charitable, and virtuous, and their continuance deemed of vital importance to the country around them. The interesting account of the manners of one of these monastic institutions, given by one of the visitors (Gifford), is too curious to be omitted. He is speaking of Woolstrobe: "The governor thereof is a verie good husbnde for the howse, and well beloved of all the inhabitants thereunto adjoynge—a right honest man, having ryght religious persones being prests of ryght good conversation, and lvyngne religiously; having such qualities of virtue as we have not found the lyke in no place. For ther is not one religious person ther, but that he can and doth use either embrotheryng, writing bokes, with verie fair hande, maykng ther own garments, carving, paynting, or grafting (graving). The howse without any slaunder or ill-fame, and standinge verie solitarie: keepinge such hospitalitie, that, except singular good provysion, it could not be mayntened with half so much more as they may spend. Such a number of the pore inhabitants nigh thereunto daily relieved, that we have not secne the lyke, havinge no more lands than they have. God be even my Judge, as I do write unto you the troth. The premises considered, I beseeche you to be a means to the King's Majesty for the standinge of the sayde Woolstrobe." The same visitor also intercedes for the nunnery of Polesworth, in Warwickshire, "wherein is an abbess, namyd Alice Fitzherbert, of the age of sixty years, a very sadde (grave), discrete, and religyous woman: and in the same howse, under her rule, are twelve virtuous and religyous nonnes, and of good conversation. Wherefore ye myghte do a ryght good and meritorious dede, to be medyator to the Kyng's highnes for the said howse to stand and remayne unsuppressed. And in the town of Polesworth are forty-four tenements, and never a plough but one: the resydue be artyficers, laborers, and victellers, and live in effect by the said howse, and the repayre and resorte that ys made to the gentylmens' children and studionntes that ther do lyf, to the nomber sometyme of thirty, sometimes of forty and four, that these be ryghte vertuously brought upp."—*Warton's Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, pp. 27—30.

"Such is the picture of two of these establishments: and this picture is given, too, by one of those persons absolutely sent thither to discover errors, not to report virtues—for it seems that Henry was *displeased* with such favourable sentiments, and attributed them to bribery. 'It is like,' said he, 'that they have receyved rewards which caused them to wright as they do.' Gifford, however, made his honesty the more manifest by continuing to represent the virtues and ability of the religious houses in the same bold strain.

"But the loss sustained by literature on this occasion can never be repaired, nor can its extent be ever ascertained. Whole libraries were destroyed, or made waste paper of, or consumed for the vilest uses. The splendid and magnificent Abbey of Malmesbury, which possessed some of the finest manuscripts in the kingdom was ransacked, and its treasures either sold or burnt to serve the commonest purposes of life. An antiquary who travelled through that town many years after the dissolution relates, that he saw broken windows patched up with remnants of the most valuable manuscripts on vellum, and that the bakers had not even then consumed the stores they had accumulated in heating their ovens! See also some curious instances of the ignorance of the Reformers in Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* by Bliss, edit. 4to. vol. i. col. 468.—*Letters of Eminent Persons, from the Bodleian Library*, 3 vols. 8vo. Longman: 1813.

"The monks being thus settled gave themselves up to idleness and pleasure, having in their hands the chief encouragements of learning, and yet doing

nothing towards it: but, on the contrary, decrying and disparaging it all they could."—*Burnet's History of the Reformation*, p. 22, line 10—15.

"This is a very hard censure to pass upon a whole order of men, who were once very honorable, but always very serviceable, to the Church. On the contrary, after they were thus settled (viz. by Dunstan, Ethelwald, and Oswald, in the reign of Edgar), they set themselves in with great industry to restore learning, and root out that universal ignorance which had then prevailed in England, and effectually performed it. Insomuch as, whereas before that time scarce any secular priest in England could read or write a Latin epistle,—within a few years (as Elfric, a learned disciple of Ethelwald boasteth) the face of things was so changed by the endeavours of Dunstan and his master Ethelwald, that learning was generally restored, and began to flourish. At that time, and long after, the monasteries were the schools and nurseries of almost the whole clergy, as well secular as regular: for the universities (if there were any) were then very mean societies; and the whole learning of the nation was then, in a manner, confined to their cloisters. As the universities increased, they gradually decreased, yet still retained and cultivated learning, till about the middle of the 13th age, when the mendicant orders arose, who by their hypocrisy, juggling tricks, and extraordinary industry, ran down both them and the secular clergy. Within two hundred years, the mendicants became contemptible; and then both the monks and the seculars began to recover their ancient credit, and long before the Reformation had made great progress in the restoration of learning. They had all along brought up their novices in learning, every great monastery having for that purpose a peculiar college in one of the universities: and even to the time of the dissolution, they continued to bring up great numbers of children at school at their own charge for the service of the Church; and immediately before the Reformation many of the great monasteries were so many nurseries of learning, and the superiors of them very learned themselves, and promoters of learning in others. Such were Kidderminster, abbot of Winchelcomb; Goldwell, prior of Canterbury; Vache, abbot of St. Austin's; Wells, prior of Ely; Holbeach, prior of Worcester; Islip, abbot of Westminster; Webbe, prior of Coventry; and many others. I do not hereby apologise for the laziness of the monks in the middle ages, but maintain that, both in the time of Edgar, and some time after, and immediately before the Reformation, they deserved a contrary character to what the historian giveth of them; and that even in the worst times they were far from being enemies and opposers of learning, as he would have it believed."

"Battel Abbey was represented to be a little Sodom; so was Christ Church, in Canterbury, with several other Houses."—P. 241, l. 45.

"The historian doth not tell us by whom they were thus represented; for that would have marred all the history, and have relieved the reputation of these monasteries. Not by the visitors, surely, for the acts of their visitation of these places do not remain. The credit of the whole matter rests upon the authority of a vile pamphlet published soon after without a name, pretending to relate the enormous wickednesses discovered in the monasteries of England at their suppression. From this pamphlet Stevens transcribed these stories into his 'Apology for Herodotus,' and from him Fuller took them into his 'Church History,' from whom our historian received them. But Fuller is so ingenuous as to own from whom he took them, and to add, that he thinks it not reasonable to believe such heinous accusations upon so slender testimony. We have some reason to reflect upon the complaint which our historian brings against Dr. Heylin; that he never vouched any authority for what he writ, which is not to be forgiven any who write of transactions beyond their own times. I fear that, upon computation, it will be found that our author hath not vouched any authority for so much as the third part of his history; and is especially deficient in those passages which tend to defame the memories of other men; in which, above all others, justice and charity would require that sufficient, or at least

some, testimony be produced."—*A Specimen of some errors and defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, by Gilbert Burnet. By Anthony Harmer (an Anagram for Henry Wharton). London: 1693.

"Archbishop Bramhall disapproves of the perpetual vow (of celibacy), but thinks that if that were changed to the 'form of our English universities, or of the canonesses and Biggins (Beguiues) on the other side the seas,' and other changes made, 'monasteries might agree well enough with reformed devotion.'—*British Critic*, No. lxiv. Art. "Extracts from Divines," &c.

"The Church of England hath no monasteries, as not essential to the constitution of a Church, though advantageous to the maintenance of that retirement from the world wherein our common Christianity consisteth, by that visible retirement wherein this profession consisteth. For the constitution thereof, after that horrible act of abolishing the monasteries under Hen. VIII. it is no marvel if it were difficult to agree in a form which the Reformation might allow and cherish. Yet is no son of the Church of England bound to disown the whole Church in maintaining, as she has, the monastic life to be agreeable with Christianity, and expedient to the intent of it."—*Thorndike*, Epilogue iii. p. 371.

"It might seem that the ordinary state of those who are engaged in the world, is of more perfection than monastic life, as furnishing greater opportunities for the exercise of that charity wherein our Christianity chiefly consisteth. To which I answer, that though the occasions of the world minister more opportunities of exercising charity, yet the engagements which a man that liveth in the world hath, make it more difficult for him. In the profession of monastic life there is ground for presuming that those who live in it come nearer what our baptism professeth, by the means thereof, than others can do."—*Ibid.* p. 372.

"Some there are, either so averse from the calling, or so in love with the possessions religious people were endowed with, as they held an opinion that there should have been no reformation, but an absolute extirpation of them. In which yet Latimer, a glorious martyr, did not concur, who would have had two or three saved in every shire. And certainly those men, in my understanding, do rather concur with the Donatists than the ancient Fathers of the Church. For, to speak seriously, and without passion, what can the ill be (without other consequence) to have places set apart whither men, either by nature, time, or otherwise unfit for the world, may retire themselves in religious company, may think on heaven and good learning?"—*Sir Roger Twysden, Monastic Life*, p. 31.

"*Ipsa quoque monachorum cænobia* Rex (Jacobus Angliæ primus) optimus et pietatis studiosissimus soluturus omnino non fuit (certè non omnia) ut sæpè affirmantem audivi, si invenisset integra, et primæ institutionis legem servantia."—*Isaaci Casauboni Epist.* 710, ad Cardinalem Perronium.

"One of the most munificent of her (Lady Falkland's) charitable schemes which she contemplated about this time was the establishment of religious houses in different parts of the kingdom, for the education of young gentlewomen, and the retirement of widows. That such institutions are devoutly to be wished, none can question, who consider how favourable they would be to the education and piety of the young, and what a blessed refuge they would afford to those who are desolate and oppressed. The world is 'all too wanton and too full of gawds' to give audience to thousands of those who are still compelled to mingle in scenes they loathe, and stifle feelings which, in such retreats, might be fostered undisturbed and without ridicule. Retired as Lady Falkland's life was, and little as she was obliged to mingle in scenes for which her heart had no sympathy, she would often look upon the Priory of Barford, one of her estates, and long to remodel its walls, and fill them with persons who, bound together by the tie of a common faith and sorrow, might live in resignation and peaceableness, 'lonely, but not forlorn.' What public blessings, also, would such institutions prove! They would exist as wells of

charity to water the surrounding neighbourhood, and be mirrors of purity, which, like the 'glistening ray' of Merlin's diamond shield, would overawe the sensual worldling as he passed by and gazed upon them."—*Teale, Lives of Eminent Laymen*, pp. 130, 131.

"A scheme was proposed in 1671 for an academy or college, 'wherein' (says the programme) 'young ladies may, at a very moderate expense, be duly instructed in the true protestant religion, and in all virtuous qualities that may adorn that sex; also be carefully preserved and secured till the day of their marriage, under the tuition of a lady governess, and grave society of widows and virgins, who have resolved to lead the rest of their lives in a single, retired, religious way, according to the pattern of some protestant colleges in Germany.'

"The intended institution was explained in a 4to. pamphlet of ten pages, printed by Thomas Newcomb, in the Savoy. The unknown writer begins by stating that Englishwomen, who, before the troubles, were the most modest, chaste, and pious in Europe, had become worse than those of any other country, in consequence of their general relaxation of manners; that the maiden schools in and about London grievously disappointed the expectations of those who sent their children there; that the girls who were sent abroad to convents were generally tainted with popery during their stay; and that those who were placed in the families of nonconformists, where perhaps a stricter education may sometimes be found, had schismatical and rebellious principles instilled into them. A collegiate life was, therefore, recommended to be instituted, that thereby may be founded not only excellent seminaries and nurseries, out of which persons of honour and worth may at all times make choice of virtuous wives, but where provision (whereof there is great want in England) may be made for sober, pious, elder virgins and widows, who desire to separate themselves from the vanities of the world, and yet employ their talents for the benefit of the public. These are, therefore, to give notice, that near London, in a pleasant, healthy soil and air, there is provided a large house, with a chapel, fair hall, many commodious lodgings, and rooms for all sorts of necessary offices, together with pleasant gardens, orchards, and courts, all encompassed and well secured with strong, high walls. Also, there is a reverend, learned, and pious divine in the same parish, ready to officiate daily, morning and evening, as chaplain; a grave, discreet lady to be governess, with divers other matrons, who, having taken up a resolution to live a retired, single, and religious life, are to assist in the government of the college without expecting any gain, profit, or emolument to themselves, but to bestow, gratis, all their care and pains in governing the college, and the young ladies in their education. Moreover, there will come, at due time, the best and ablest teachers in London for singing, dancing, musical instruments, writing, French tongue, fashionable dresses, all sorts of needle-works; for confectionary, cookery, pastry; for distilling of waters, making perfumes, making of some sort of physical and chirurgical medicines and salves for the poor, &c. If, therefore, any honourable and worthy persons desire that their daughters, or any trustees, that their orphans should be admitted commoners or pensioners of this college, or any devout widows, or elder virgins, who intend not to marry, desire to be admitted fellows and assistants in this government, and to lead the rest of their days without cares and troubles of the world,—to live with honour and reputation,—to devote themselves to the service of God, and the good of their country, by contributing their advice and assistance in the training up of young ladies and gentlewomen, and securing their persons and fortunes till the time of their marriage, let them repair to, &c. &c. &c. and they shall be farther informed."—Quoted in *Quarterly Review*, Vol. xxii. pp. 94, 95.

"Convents for single women seem more convenient [*i.e.* than monasteries for men] if not very necessary for all times and countries, and are by far less dangerous, since no considerable detriment can be expected from them if due regard be had in composing the rules of their institution by such like precautions as these :

"1. Nothing should be imposed upon them that may infringe or take away their Christian liberty. But those that come in young, after they were bred up in all the rules of piety, virtuous arts, housewifery, and decent and modest behaviour, should, if their parents' or their own inclinations were to marry, have their liberty so to do, when convenient offers were made; and that at any time, as long as the vigour of their youth remains.

"2. That they should not be exempted from the public laws, nor the duty owing to their parents, no more than if they continued in their parents' houses and with them. And, as for such as were at their own disposal, they may use their liberty to remain or leave the society when they come to years of discretion; but whilst they are members of the society, frequently to go abroad would be scandalous, and therefore noways to be permitted.

"3. Those that are admitted at years of discretion ought to be of known virtue, and unspotted modesty; and strict enquiry should be made of their virtue, before they are admitted, for fear of scandals.

"4. Sloth and delicacy should noways be permitted, but every one should learn, and be employed in, some profitable art, whereby they would be useful to the world, pleasing to Heaven, and deserve the praise of mankind.

"5. The government should be committed to none but such whose virtue, conduct, age, and experience should render them worthy of that honour, and are rather to be chosen out of widows that have first ordered their own selves and their families with all prudence and unspotted reputation.

"6. They should be brought up and trained in strict discipline of virtue; but, above all, they should be taught exactly to tread in the steps of the ancients, by constant devotions, both night and day.

"To these ends, we may suppose St. Paul so highly commends a single life to both virgins and widows, that they may entirely serve the Lord, being freed from the cares of this life, and the difficulties of pleasing a husband. But so as not to lay a snare of necessity upon them, but to show them what was decent and convenient for them.

"Such nunneries as these would be no ways prejudicial, but many ways profitable to the state, and creditable to the Church. For their industry would hinder them from being burdensome to the one, and their exemplary virtue and piety would be a reputation to the other. Whereas, now-a-days, how many families are there so burdened with daughters, their parents cannot, either for want of beauty or money, dispose of in marriage, or in any other decent manner provide for? Yet are they obliged to maintain them according to their quality; till, usually, at their decease, they leave them without a habitation, and many times scarce a quarter enough to keep them decently. Whereupon, it too often comes to pass, that they are forced to wander about from lodging to lodging, to betake themselves to servile employments, or, which is worse, are tempted to prostitute their virtue to gain their bread. Whereas, in this manner, they would, for a small portion, be creditably provided for; and as they may excel in all commendable qualities, might become a portion to themselves, without the help of their relations; and indeed may deserve to be purchased with more money than, now-a-days, men strive to get portion as a recompense for taking them off their wearied parents' hands, who, after an extraordinary charge in breeding and keeping them, till many times their age, which is their ornament, becomes their reproach, are forced to marry them below themselves, without prospect either of credit or advantage by them.

"See, on this subject, a serious proposal written by an ingenious lady (Quy. Mrs. Mary Astell); and proposals of the same nature by the Rev. Mr. Stevens."—*The Protestant Monastery, or Christian Economics, by the Rev. Sir George Wheler, 12mo, 1698.*

"If we consider the matter closely, all Christians are bound to strict living and discipline, to large distributions of charity, little less than the monks. They are false to the engagements of baptism if they manage otherwise. The monastic institutions were principally designed to revive the piety of

the ancient Christians, and bring up practice to the rule of the Gospel."—*Collier's Eccles. Hist.* vol. v. p. 33.

"Of all the retreats that a man can choose when he is old, I should infinitely prefer that of a convent, if their rules were less severe. It is certain that old age shuns a crowd, out of a nice and retired humour that cannot bear to be either importuned or tired; and yet it avoids solitude with greater diligence, where it becomes a prey to its own black disquietudes, or to sullen vexatious imaginations. The only remaining relief against all this is the conversation of a virtuous society. Now what society can better agree with it than a religious one, where, one would think, all manner of human helps should be afforded with more charity than elsewhere, and where their prayers should be united to obtain those succours from Heaven which cannot reasonably be expected from men."—*St. Evremond*.—Quoted in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxii. p. 89.

"In the wholesale extirpation of monastic institutions, the nunneries were swept away. The good which would have resulted from converting them into Protestant Establishments is so obvious, that few persons can have regarded the present state of society in these kingdoms, as it affects women, without regretting that an opportunity for alleviating so much evil should have been neglected . . .

(To be continued.)

ST. IRENÆUS UPON THE OFFERTORY.

[THE Church, if we would not mutilate her system, is, by the grace of God freely imparted to her, a self-supporting and a self-propagating institution. She does not, in any way whatever, countenance the collection and publication of guinea subscriptions, but demands and accepts contributions from *every one* of her members, proportioned to their respective means; she encourages almsgiving in secret, or sanctifies gifts by her altars. She would preach the Gospel to every creature; not by the use of artificial societies, but by calling upon all, as a *matter of positive duty*, to honour Almighty God with their substance; and by the practical adoption of that scriptural rule which requires worldly things to be given in return for spiritual things, and spiritual things in return for worldly things.

Christians in this day are unhappily divided in their opinions on many subjects; but they are as unhappily agreed in their determination to suppress, or dismiss, without consideration, the real *scriptural* principle for the propagation of the Gospel. In this matter all claim the right of private judgment; all disregard patriarchs, prophets, councils, fathers, laws, and, in short, all those authorities to which, in *other* cases, they are ready (and with reason) to defer. As an illustration of this, I would observe that Mr. Newman and the late Mr. Blunt, the advocates of two different systems of theology, nevertheless, in their discourses upon the history of Abraham, agree in entirely omitting all notice of the patriarch's gift of a tenth of all to Melchisedec, though this payment of the sacred tribute is mentioned in the New Testament, and therefore was, of all others, a subject which ought to be *dwelt upon* in a sermon or lecture addressed to a christian audience.

The following letter of St. Irenæus is deserving of great attention for many reasons; and amongst them, 1st. Because it shows that the principle of offering is a part of natural religion, and that it was incorporated both in the Jewish and the Christian religion; 2dly. Because it accounts for the omission of a *direct precept* for the giving of *tithes* in the New Testament; and 3dly. Because it shows the connexion between the Eucharist and almsgiving. This latter part of the subject I hope to illustrate, on some future occasion, by quotations from Anglo-Catholic divines, and to direct attention to a remarkable omission in the statement of the doctrine of the Eucharist in one of the Oxford Tracts. Meanwhile I would observe, that if the passage from the 25th of St. Matthew,

quoted in the following letter, be compared with that part of the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews which speaks of tithes as due to the priesthood of Melchisedec, it would seem to follow that a portion of the tithes is due to Christ's poor.] C. M.

FROM S. IRENÆUS.

CH. XXXIV. LIB. IV. ADVERS. HÆRES.

Of Sacrifices and Oblations, and who they are that offer in truth.

THE offering of the Church, therefore, which the Lord hath taught us should be offered in all the world, is accounted a pure sacrifice before God, and is accepted with him; not that He needs our sacrifice, but because he who offers is himself glorified in that which he offers, if his gift be accepted. For by an offering to a king, both honour and affection are shown, which gift God wishing us to offer in all simplicity and innocence, has in his sermon declared: "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." (Matt. v. 24.) It behoves us, therefore, to offer the first-fruits of his creatures, (or creation,) as Moses also said: "Thou shalt not appear before the Lord empty." (Deut. xvi. 16.) That in the things wherein man hath been gratified, in these being accounted in favour with Him who is, he may receive honour from Him.* And the kind of oblations is [not] blamed. For there are oblations there also, and oblations here too:† sacrifices among the people, and sacrifices in the Church. But only the form or species is changed, inasmuch as it is offered not by slaves, but by freemen; for it is one and the same God: and the character of the servile offering is peculiar, and the character of that of the free is peculiar; that even by the oblations may be shown a sign of liberty: for with Him nothing is unmeaning, or without signification. And on this account they, indeed, had the tithes of their possessions consecrated; but those who have received liberty, devote to the uses of the Lord all which belongs to them, giving freely and cheerfully, not inferior gifts, as having a greater hope than that poor widow here throwing into the treasury of God all her living. For from the beginning God had respect to the gifts of Abel, because he offered with simplicity and righteousness; but to the gifts of Cain he had not respect, because [he offered] with the envy and malice which he had towards his brother, and had division in his heart, as God shows, reproving his secret (thoughts). If thou offerest rightly, but dost not divide rightly, hast thou not sinned? (Gen. iv. 7. LXX.) Be content, since God is not appeased by the sacrifice. For if any one attempts to offer only according to appearance, purely, rightly, and lawfully, but does not from his heart divide that which he communicates to his neighbour, and has no fear of God; he does not impose upon God by that sacrifice which outwardly is offered aright, having sin inwardly. Nor will such an offering profit him aught, but a ceasing from the evil which is conceived in his heart, lest by a pretended sacrifice.‡ but rather

* I am doubtful of the correctness of this translation, and suspect an error in the text.

† That is, under the Law and under the Gospel.

‡ There seems an omission here.

the sin itself, should make the man a murderer to himself. On which account the Lord also said: "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye are like unto whited sepulchres." (Matt. xxiii. 27.) For a sepulchre outwardly is beautiful, but within it is full of the bones of the dead and of all uncleanness; so you also appear to men outwardly just, but inwardly ye are full of malice and hypocrisy. For when they appeared outwardly to offer aright, they had within themselves envy like that of Cain. For He said to him, (see Septuagint) "Be quiet! and he complied not." And what means to be quiet, but to desist from his purpose of violence? And the like of this he says to the Pharisee: "Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup, that the outside may be clean also." (Matt. xxiii. 26.) And they did not hear him. And Jeremiah saith: "Behold, thine eyes and thy heart are not good, but they are for covetousness, and for the innocent blood, that thou mayest shed it, and for unrighteousness, and for murder, to do it." (Jerem. xxii. 17. Sept.) And again, Isaiah saith: "Thou hast taken counsel, but not of me; and made a covenant, but not with my spirit." (Isaiah xxx. 1. Sept.) That, therefore, their inward will and thought being made manifest may show that God is not in fault, and worketh not evil, even He who makes manifest the hidden things, but doeth not the evil. When Cain would not rest at all, He said to him: "Unto thee shall be his turning, and thou shalt rule over him." (Gen. iv. 7. Sept.) To Pilate, also, in like manner he said: "Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above." (John xix. 11.) God always permitting as just, that He being approved by the things which He suffered and sustained, may be accepted, and he who hath been an evil-doer, being judged by the things which he hath done, may be expelled.

Sacrifices, therefore, do not sanctify the man, for God needs not sacrifice; but the conscience of him who offered it, being pure, sanctifies the sacrifice, and makes God accept it as from a friend. But to the sinner he says: "He that killeth an ox, is as if he slew a dog." (Isaiah lxvi. 3.) Hence, therefore, the Church offers with simplicity; her gift is justly esteemed a pure sacrifice before God. As also Paul said to the Philippians, (iv. 18,) "I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you, an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God." For we ought in all things to offer an oblation to God, and in all things to be found grateful to God the Maker, with pure intention and faith without hypocrisy, in firm hope and fervent love, offering the first-fruits of the creatures, which are His. This pure oblation the Church alone offers to her Maker, offering to Him of his creation with giving of thanks.

But the Jews do not now offer: for their hands are full of blood. (Isaiah i. 15.) For they received not the word through which offering is made to God. Neither do all the congregations of the heretics; for some saying that there is another Father besides the Maker, therefore, offering to Him those things which according to us are creatures, represent Him to be covetous of that which is another's: but those who say that those things which exist among us are made from defect

and from ignorance and passion, offering the fruits of ignorance, passion, and defect, sin against their own Father, offering Him an insult rather than giving Him thanks.

But how will it appear to them that the bread upon which thanks are given to God, is the body of the Lord, and the cup His blood, if they do not own that He is the Son of the Maker of the world, that is His Word, by which the tree becomes fruitful, and the fountains flow, and the earth gives forth the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear? And how again do they say that the flesh returns to corruption, and doth not receive life, which is nourished by the body and blood of the Lord? Either, therefore, let them change their opinions, or abstain from offering the aforesaid things. But our opinion is in harmony with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist again confirms our opinion; for we offer to Him the things which are His, consistently proclaiming it the communion and union of flesh and spirit. For as bread which is of the earth, receiving the invocation of God [over it] is now not common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, the earthly and the heavenly; so our works receiving the Eucharist are not now corruptible, but have hope of the resurrection. And we offer to Him not as if He needed it, but giving thanks for His gift, and sanctifying the creature; for as God needs not those things which proceed from us, so are we (too) poor to offer any thing to God. As Solomon says: "He that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord." (Prov. xix. 17.) For God, who needs nothing, takes to himself our good works to this end, that he may render to us the recompense of His own blessings. As our Lord said: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you. For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me." Not therefore as needing these things, He yet wishes them to be done on our own account, that we may not be unfruitful: and so it is in this very thing. He gave the people in His word a commandment for the making of oblations, though He did not need them, that the people might learn to serve God. So therefore He would have us offer a gift at His altar, frequently, without intermission. There is therefore an altar in heaven, for thither our prayers and oblations are directed: and to his temple, as John saith in the Apocalypse, "And the temple of God was opened, and the tabernacle. For behold the tabernacle of God (he saith) in which He will dwell with men." (Rev. xi. 19.)

HOOKER NO DENIER OF THE PRESENCE IN THE ELEMENTS.

SIR,—An importance has been given of late to some expressions of Hooker's, respecting the Presence in the Eucharist, which makes it incumbent on some one or other to examine what his meaning really is, and if he has been misinterpreted, to make the mistake generally known. This I shall briefly attempt.

The expressions alluded to are these, in § 6 of the 67th chapter of vol. v. :—

“The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament.”

It is not long since a bishop refused priest's orders to one of his clergy for declining to join in the denial of the Presence in the elements which these words seem to imply. But this, though at present the most important, is not the only use to which they have been applied; for, at the beginning of last month, a charge appeared in print that had been delivered by Dr. Dealtry, chancellor of the diocese of Winchester, which contains them thus quoted :—

“The Church of England does not consider the body and blood of Christ as in any literal sense incorporated with the bread and wine; but on the contrary, as Hooker expresses it, that ‘the real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not to be sought for in the Sacrament. but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament.’”

It is quite necessary, therefore, to ascertain, without further delay, what Hooker's context allows to be his real meaning in these words. There can be no doubt that neither the right reverend prelate, nor Dr. Dealtry, supposed themselves to be making any but a legitimate use of the quotation, still all will agree, and Dr. Dealtry will be amongst the first to do so, that if these words have been used in a sense other than that in which Hooker wrote them, for a purpose the very opposite to that which he contemplated, and one which they cannot in any fairness be made to serve, the fact of their mistake, most unintentional as it has been, should be widely circulated, and the public disabused as quickly as possible.

Here follows an analysis of Hooker's chapter, retaining as much as possible his own expressions, as the fairest and clearest way of putting the reader in possession of his meaning :—

§ 1. Baptism doth begin life; the Eucharist continues it. § 2. It was feared Zuinglius and Œcolampadius would persuade men to think the Eucharist only a shadow and sign of Christ: but there is a general agreement between their followers, Roman Catholics and Lutherans, upon this point, which is alone material, that there is a real participation of Christ and life by means of this sacrament. Wherefore then should the world be so rent, as to *where* Christ is? It is acknowledged that He is in man's soul. So that the only question is, whether He is not also externally in the elements, consubstantiate or transubstantiate. § 3. But we had better think of *what* we have by this sacrament than *how* we have it. The apostles were apt enough to ask questions in matters of less importance and difficulty, but their gladness on receiving this great blessing quenched all inquiry. The common people, who had the least worthy notions of our Lord, said, “Rabbi, whence camest thou?” when He miraculously appeared where he had no human means of going; but the apostles moved no question when He appeared to them in a much more miraculous manner. § 4. And if the appearance of Christ did so affect them, how much more the institution and first reception of this sacrament. We are taught hereby that this heavenly

food is given for the satisfying our empty souls, and not for the exercising of our curious and subtile wits. § 5. Our Lord's apostle will tell us the meaning of those admirable words, "My Body," *i. e.* the communion of My Body. "My Blood," *i. e.* the communion of My Blood. As Christ is termed our life, because through Him we receive life, so the parts of this sacrament are His Body and Blood, for that they are so to us, who receiving them, receive that by them which they are termed. The bread and cup are His Body and Blood, because they are causes instrumental, upon the receipt whereof the participation of His Body and Blood cometh. For that which produceth any certain effect, is not vainly nor improperly said to be that very effect whereunto it tendeth. § 6. The real presence therefore is not to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament. Our Lord's words point to this. *First*, "Take, eat;" *then*, "This is My Body." *First*, "Drink;" *then*, "This is My Blood." His words prove not when or where the elements are His Body and Blood, but only that they are so in the soul of the recipient. As for the sacraments they really exhibit, but for aught which is written of them, they are not really, nor do really contain in themselves, that grace which with them, or by them, it pleaseth God to bestow. The grace of Baptism is received by water, though neither seated in it nor changed into it. Why should men think then that the grace of the Eucharist must needs be in the Eucharist, before it can be in us that receive it? There is nothing in Scripture to show that we cannot partake of the Body and Blood, without they are first contained in the sacrament, or it converted into them. "This is My Body," are words of promise: and we are all agreed that by the sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform His promise. Why trouble ourselves whether He does so by transubstantiation or consubstantiation? He does it by His omnipotent power; whether one way or the other, by change or without it, we surely need not greatly care or inquire. § 7. "Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then consider what cause there is why the rest that is left should not rather be left as superfluous, than urged as necessary." All plainly confess that the sacrament is a true and real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth Himself, even His *whole entire person*, as a mystical head unto every soul that receiveth Him. § 8. People mistake therefore in arguing against the sacramentaries, as they call them, that "the Eucharist is not a bare sign and figure only, and that the efficacy of His Body and Blood is not all that we receive in this sacrament." They confess as much; they grant that these mysteries "impart unto us *the very person* of our Lord Himself, whole, perfect, and entire." § 9. The strong conceit of two of the three parties thus far agreed, that the real presence is in the elements consubstantiate or transubstantiate, is surely no where delivered in Scripture, but greatly prejudiced by our Lord's connexion of those words, so supposed He would give them His own flesh to eat, when He said His word was spirit. § 10. All suppose what does take place, to occur by the omnipotent power of God. § 11. Touching the sentence of antiquity, Tertullian, Irenæus, and Theodoret, not to mention others, forasmuch as they knew that the force of this sacrament doth neces-

sarily presuppose the verity of Christ both Body and Blood, they used oftentimes the same as an argument, to prove that Christ hath as truly the substance of man as of God, because we receive Christ and those graces which flow from Him, in that He is man. So that if He have no such being, neither can the sacrament have any such meaning as we all confess it hath. No one can assure himself in conscience that the Fathers held a corporal consubstantiation of the elements, or their transubstantiation. § 12. "Wherefore, how should the mind, which loving truth and seeking comfort out of holy mysteries, hath not perhaps the leisure, perhaps not the wit or capacity, to tread out so endless mazes, as the intricate disputes of this cause have led men into; how should a virtuously disposed mind better resolve with itself than thus: 'Variety of judgments and opinions argueth obscurity in those things whereabout they differ; but that which all parts receive for truth, that which every one having sifted, is by no one denied or doubted of, must needs be matter of infallible certainty.'" Then stating the three opinions, and recommending a contented belief in a real presence of Christ's body in the recipient as that which it is absolutely necessary for a christian man to hold, as that with which all antiquity and all christian confessions are consonant, he ends by saying, "What these elements are in themselves it skilleth not, it is enough that to me which take them, they are the Body and Blood of Christ. His promise in witness whereof sufficeth, His word He knoweth which way to accomplish. Why should any cogitation possess the mind of any faithful communicant but this, 'O my God, thou art true; O my soul, thou art happy.'"

Surely it is now evident,

1. That when Hooker says the Presence "is not to be sought for" in the sacrament he does not mean to affirm, as any one would suppose he meant, when the words are taken apart from their context, that the Presence *is not* in the sacrament, but only that it "is not to be sought" there as a matter of piety and wisdom, because there is great doubt and difficulty about *the proof* that it is there, because the search is profitless, and distracts attention from the enjoyment and use of a great blessing.

2. That nothing was further from his intention than dogmatically to define our Church's view on the subject, his object not requiring it; and that indeed he does not give us his own view explicitly and fully. His object from first to last was peace rather than truth—to show how, in the then state of parties, the one might be obtained without the other being sacrificed. It formed no part of it, that consubstantiation or transubstantiation should be denied; all he desired was, that being held, they should be esteemed as private opinions, not as articles of faith. How strange that words written with such a view should be used afterwards in the way these have been! Hooker wrote them to deprecate the insisting on an affirmation, and they are quoted as insisting on a denial! He desired to mediate between and unite all parties who held as much as the real presence in the recipient; but he has been made to aid and abet in condemning those who say, what, for aught we know, Hooker himself would have said, that the real presence may also be in the elements!

3. That whether Hooker was right or not in thinking the Zuinglians of his day held the elements to be to the recipient all that Roman Catholics and Lutherans think them, it is plain that such was his notion. His whole plan for their agreement centres on this being a fact; and, the fact disproved, the plan falls to the ground, and Zuinglians can no longer claim him as their advocate. Now we know that the modern representatives of this party, and how almost numberless are they amongst us! do not hold the real presence after reception any more than before in the same sense that Roman Catholics and Lutherans hold it. As far as this chapter, therefore, is condemnatory of any one, it is so of our modern Zuinglians;—indeed, we cannot doubt from what is said in § 12. that Hooker would have anathematized them.

4. That he did not propose his plan, and that neither is it fitted, for the adoption of Anglicans, at any rate as they now exist—for 1st, a large, a very large party now believes less than the plan supposes;—and the question with us is not *where* is the real presence, but is there *any*?—and 2dly, ingenious as is its explanation of scripture, and not discordant as it may be thought with the writings of the Fathers, which it may be observed are the only tests Hooker thinks he is called upon to apply to it.—it is at variance with our formularies. The clergy of the Church of England have to teach that the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed *taken* as well as received in the Lord's Supper, and have subscribed the 28th Article, which states that the Body of Christ is *given* as well as taken and eaten. Now, possible as it is, and absolutely incumbent upon us, as many believe it to be, that we should understand our formularies in none other than the Catholic sense, however difficult it may be to do so, it is quite impossible to suppose that we shall allow a forced interpretation to be put upon them and received henceforth as the *only* one admissible, merely that they may be thereby made to square with a view Hooker once proposed for the sake of peace between Catholics and a party with which we have nothing to do, and who since his time have proved themselves unworthy of his charitable attempt, and *incapable* of benefiting by it.

I am, &c.

F.

DISSENTERS' BAPTISM.

A VERY satisfactory little pamphlet has appeared—"Dissenters' Baptism and Church Burial"—which recommends something to be *done* in the extraordinary dilemma in which the recent decisions of the Arches Court places the English Clergy. Here is the official of the Metropolitan—in other words, the Metropolitan in person—fining and ruining the Clergy, because they will not betray the Church; and separatists are permitted to form an unholy league with the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, for the strange purpose of showing that their ministerial commission is as good as his own. The tyranny of the State is bad enough, but for a Church court to encourage schism, and to oppress the Clergy alone, is still more intolerable. The writer

is for something practical ; so are we. We gladly, therefore, recommend an Address, of which we subjoin his form ; and we trust to hear that the Clergy are setting about it in earnest.

" *Address of the Clergy of the Deanery of ———, in the Diocese of ———, to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of the Diocese of ———.*

" We, the undersigned Clergy of the Deanery of ———, in your Diocese, beg leave, with the greatest respect, to call your attention to a recent decision pronounced by the Judge of the Court of Arches *in re Escott*.

" Such a decision does not merely recognise (what was never recognised by any General Council) the validity of lay baptism, and indeed of baptism administered by separatists, but also requires a Clergyman, under pain of suspension for three months, to read the Burial Service of the Church over those who deliberately and wilfully continue in a state of separation from her communion.

" Such a state of the law is at variance as well with Scripture and reason, as with the real principles of the Constitution.

" We hope, therefore, for your speedy cooperation in bringing about such measures as may release us from this hardship and tyranny over our consciences. And we presume that, as the authority of the Court of Arches emanates from the Primate of all England, there can be no real difficulty in procuring for us immediate redress."

NOTICES OF BOOKS—continued.

THE following has been accidentally displaced :—

A Systematic Arrangement of Scripture for Sunday Schools, containing a Series of Scripture Lessons for two Years, as used in the local Sunday Schools belonging to St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row. Dedicated to the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, under whose superintendence and direction the local Sunday Schools of St. John's Chapel are conducted. London: Seeley. 1843.

The work itself consists of a course of selections from Scripture, of which the first is a fair specimen.

First Year.—First Sunday.

LEARNING LESSON.—Fulfilment of prophecy in the birth of the Saviour.

Luke ii. 8—14.	1st class.
" 9—11.	2d class.
" 11.	3d class.

Marginal References.

Isa. vii. 14. Gen. iii. 15. Isa. ix. 6, 7. Heb. ii. 16—18. Matt. i. 21.

READING LESSON.—Gen. i. contains the doctrine of the Trinity, and the power and wisdom of God.

Catechism.

1st class, Assembly's Shorter, No. 1, 2.
2d class, Gall's First, No. 1, 2.
3d class, Brown's, No. 1, 3.

We have given the whole for the sake of fairness. To the mass of the book there seems only two objections:—First—that the lessons bear no reference to the Prayer-book ; a very great evil, when we remember the great difficulty of making ignorant persons join at all in our ser-

vices, or follow the blessed course of the christian year. This alone would be with us an insuperable objection to the use of the book. Secondly,—that the passages of Scripture learnt are all short fragments: none in their context; as, *e. g.* a psalm, a parable, a miracle, &c. This we feel to be a grave objection.

There is another most serious objection, however, namely, that under the head “Catechisms,” the catechism of the regicide parliament, called “The Assembly’s Shorter,” is recommended, and the Church Catechism never mentioned at all till the seventy-fifth Sunday; it then is used only for the second class, the first being kept to the Assembly’s. Of Gall’s First, and Brown’s, we never heard, but presume they are on the model of the Assembly’s rather than of the Church.

The reason of this slight to the Church Catechism is explained at the beginning of the book, where we are told that, “For the study of the second class, the *Church Catechism*, although deficient in a thorough explanation of the covenant of grace, is very valuable when combined with others: the moral duties which it enforces through the grace of God, and through his help alone, is (*sic*) extremely salutary for young persons just entering into the snares and temptations of the world.”

And this is to be put into the hands of teachers and scholars of the Church of England, by the authority of a clergyman like Mr. Noel! Let us put a parallel case. Suppose a clergyman to put into the hands of his Sunday school teachers a tract, which asserted that the Church Catechism is very defective in explaining christian doctrine, although very useful as stating moral duties, (which might truly be said of any heathen teacher,) and that therefore he recommended some Roman Catholic book, *e. g.* “The Garden of the Soul,” or the “Most Rev. Dr. Butler’s small Catechism,” would not Mr. Noel accuse him of spreading Popery under a false pretence of Churchmanship? No doubt; and there is only one thing which prevents his seeing that he himself is spreading dissent under false pretences. He would himself say that this would be inexcusable in the case of Popery, but right in the case of “our dissenting brethren;” in other words, that he is inclined to dissent, not to Popery. But he should remember that the other party would hold such conduct quite right with regard to “our Roman Catholic brethren,” and quite inexcusable with regard to dissent! The strange folly of the writer of this book cannot be appreciated, until it is known that he goes on to say of the Church Catechism, “that the explanation which it contains of the two sacraments of our Lord, are (*sic*) beautifully clear and scriptural, and not to be equalled in any other catechism; as if, forsooth, this were not the covenant of grace!”

We may add, as illustrating the temper of a certain party in the Church, that, in coming to the care of a parish which had been for a short time under the care of a clergyman of this description, we learned that this book was put into the hands of the Sunday school teachers; and also that the clergyman had told them, that “as the children learned the Church Catechism enough in the week,” (many of them go to no weekly school,) he had rather they should not say the Church Catechism.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

BP. OF NORWICH, Jan. 23.

BP. OF LINCOLN, March 3.

ORDINATIONS.

By the LORD BISHOP OF ELY, at Ely, on Sunday, Dec. 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—R. W. Deane, B.A. Exeter; J. Jenkins, B.A. Linc. (*l. d. Bp. of Exeter*); J. M. Hawker, B.A. Ball. (*l. d. Bp. of Exeter*.)

Of Cambridge.—G. Jarvis, B.A. Corp. Chris.; S. Lewthwaite, M.A. Magd.; D. I. Heath, M.A. Trin.; W. C. Mathison, M.A. Trin.; A. P. J. Mills, B.A. Queen's; W. R. Ick, B.A. Sidney Sussex; P. Gell, B.A. Christ's.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—A. J. Lowth, B.A. Exeter.

Of Cambridge.—J. A. Frere, M.A. Trin.; M. A. Atkinson, M.A. Trin.; R. Hull, B.A. St. John's; W. G. Humphrey, M.A. Trin.; W. H. Oliver, B.A. Trin.; L. Hogg, B.A. Emm.; C. Ward, B.A. Magd.; W. Crouch, B.A. Trin.

Literate.—W. Williams, (*l. d. Bp. of Worcester*.)

By the LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER, at Chester, on Sunday, Dec. 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—T. Green, B.A. King's Hall and Brasen.; W. Leay, B.A. St. Edm. H.; E. Roberts, B.A. St. Mary's H.; R. White, B.A. Brasen.

Of Cambridge.—E. A. P. Campbell, B.A. Trin.; F. B. Danby, B.A. Cath. H.; W. B. Flower, B.A. Magd.; W. H. Kemp, B.A. and J. M. Rowley, B.A. Corp. Chris.; W. J. Monk, B.A. St. John's.

Of St. Bees.—F. B. Ashley, H. G. Brasnell, W. Grant, G. B. Hill, W. Hayes, W. M. Jukes, J. Lea, S. G. Poole, jun., M. Reid, J. Rimmer, and F. W. Wicks.

Of Dublin.—F. M. Harke, B.A., J. R. Dunne, B.A., and John Scott, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—A. H. Ashworth, B.A. Oriel; J. Prosser, B.A. St. Edm. H.; J. H. Stephenson, B.A. and C. C. Southey, B.A. Queen's.

Of Cambridge.—W. Allnut, B.A. Cath. H.; J. S. Cranmer, J. Slade, B.A. and J. Twisaday, B.A. St. John's; R. N. Featherston, B.A. Jesus; J. W. Markwell, B.A. Christ's; W. Mulleneux, B.A. Emm.; D. Walker, B.A. St. Peter's.

Of St. Bees.—J. H. Butcher, G. Dowty, G. Purcell, J. M. Woodmason, and R. White.

Of Dublin.—J. Booth, D.C.L., T. Cowan, B.A., J. Richardson, B.A., A. L. P. Snow, B.A., and J. C. Wood, B.A. Trin.

By the LORD BP. OF WINCHESTER, at Farnham Castle, on Sunday, Dec. 17.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—C. F. Seymour, B.A. Univ.; F. G. Simpson, B.A. St. Edm. H.; G. Jenkins, Linc.; E. Kilvert, B.A. St. Alb. H.; J. Simpson, B.A. Exet. (*l. d. Bp. of Salisbury*).

Of Cambridge.—H. Hotham, B.A. Jesus; P. Hookins, B.A. Trin.; W. C. R. Flint, B.A. Trin.; J. Foot, B.A. Sid.; T. R. O'Flaherty, B.A. St. John's; C. Smith, M.A. St. Mary Magd.; T. Ridley, B.A. Cath. H.; W. B. Jowett, B.A. St. John's; P. Bingham, B.A. Jesus (*l. d. Bp. of Salisbury*).

Of Dublin.—J. Niven, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—C. P. Carey, B.A. Wad.; C. R. Hay, M.A. Mert.; N. T. Travers, B.A. Linc.; A. Le Sueur, Magd. H.

Of Cambridge.—J. Miller, B.A. St. John's; T. Vincent, B.A. St. John's.

Of Dublin.—J. Chapman, B.A. Trin.

By the LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM, at Auckland Castle, on Sunday, Dec. 17.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—J. Burrow, B.A. Queen's; W. Callendar, B.A. Magd. H.

Of Cambridge.—G. F. De Gex, B.A. of Pem.; W. S. Mare, M.A. Magd.

Of Durham.—H. Borton, B.A. Univ.

PRIESTS.

Of Cambridge.—W. B. Young, B.A. Emm.

Of Durham.—H. W. Hodgson, M.A. Univ.

Of Dublin.—J. Leeson, M.A. Trin.; J. Reed, B.A. Trin.

By the LORD BISHOP OF HEREFORD, (*for the Dioceses of Hereford and Bath and Wells*), on Sunday, Dec. 17.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—H. B. Power, B.A. Oriel; the Hon. T. C. F. Skeffington, Worc.

Of Cambridge.—J. M. Lewis, B.A. Trin.

Of Lampeter.—W. Watkins, St. David's (*l. d. Bp. of St. David's*).

Literate.—W. C. B. Powell (*l. d. Bp. of Llandaff*).

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—C. Dunne, B.A. Worc.; E. B. Hawkshaw, B.A. Oriel; H. J. Torre, B.A. Univ.; R. Williams, B.A. Oriel.

Of Cambridge.—H. Dew, B.A. Jesus; G. O.

Johnstone, B.A. Trin.; T. R. Maskew, B.A. Sid. Sus.; E. S. Stanley, B.A. Jesus (l. d. Bp. of Landaff.)

Of Dublin.—J. Denning, B.A. Trin.

Literate.—W. T. P. Timperley.

By the LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN, at Lincoln, on Sunday, Dec. 17.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—T. Evetts, B.A. Corp. Chris.; H. G. M. Pretymann, M.A. Oriel.

Of Cambridge.—J. Barry, B.A. Caius; G. J. Boudier, B.A. Fellow of King's; C. P. Buckworth, B.A. Trin.; C. O. Goodford, M.A. Fellow of King's; G. D. W. Ommaney, B.A. Trin.; J. P. B. Younge, B.A. Christ's; R. E. Roy, B.A. Corp. Chris. (l. d. Bp. of St. David's).

Of Dublin.—W. C. P. Baylee, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—H. L. Armitage, B.A. Worc.; C. W. I. Jones, Oriel; T. J. M. Townsend, B.A. Linc.; R. Weatherell, B.A. St. Edm. H.; J. S. Whiting, B.A. Worc.

Of Cambridge.—T. L. Edwards, LL.B. Trin.; J. H. Henderson, M.A. Trin.; J. C. Middleton, M.A. Fellow of King's; W. C. Newcome, M.A. Trin.

By the LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD, at Oxford, on Sunday, Dec. 17.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—C. H. Collins, M.A. Ch. Ch.; G. C. Swayne, M.A. Corp. Chris.; T. Painton, B.A. Pemb.; G. Hext, M.A. Corp. Chris.; W. A. Buckland, B.A. Ch. Ch.; A. A. Barker, M.A. Magd.; R. C. Dickerson, B.A. Worc.; E. Rogers, M.A. Ch. Ch.; W. A. Paxton, B.A. Trin.; J. Marsh, S.C.L. New; W. J. Jenkins, B.A. Bal.; H. E. Haverall, B.A. New; W. Andrew, B.A. Worc.; J. G. Hickley, M.A. Trin.; G. H. Fell, B.A. Magd.; F. Balston, M.A. Ch. Ch.

Of Cambridge.—E. A. F. Harenc, B.A. Magd.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—J. E. Bode, M.A. Ch. Ch.; R. A. Coffin, M.A. Ch. Ch.; A. P. Stanley, M.A. Univ.; T. Shadforth, M.A. Univ.; H. Binney, B.A. Worc.; F. Hathaway, M.A. Worc.; J. Foster, B.A. St. Mary H.; J. Collingwood, B.A. Pemb.; S. Shedden, B.A. Pemb.; W. Bousfield, B.A. Linc.; H. Robinson, B.A. St. Alb. H.; W. Wetherell, B.C.L. New; T. Knox, B.A. St. John's; R. W. Mason, M.A. Jesus; J. Baker, M.A. Fell. of Worc.; R. C. Price, M.A. Stud. of Ch. Ch.; F. E. Thurland, B.A. New; W. Vansittart, B.A. Ch. Ch.; H. S. R. Matthews, M.A. Linc.

By the LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH, at Peterborough, on Sunday, Dec. 17.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—C. J. S. Bowles, B.A. Wad.; A. Trower, B.A. Linc.; F. A. Weekes, B.A. Wad. (l. d. Bp. of Chester.)

Of Cambridge.—G. Acklom, Downing; W. de St. Croix, B.A. St. John's; E. Smythies, B.A. Emm.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—G. Bucknill, B.A. Trin.

Of Cambridge.—W. L. Gibson, B.A. Trin.; J. Knipe, B.A. Pemb.; H. S. Mathews, B.A. Clare H.; L. Poynder, B.A. Trin.; W. Seymour, Trin. H.

By the LORD Bp. OF LONDON, at St. James's Church, Piccadilly, on Sunday, Dec. 24.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—J. Swayne, B.A. Magd. H.; H. Stretton, B.A. Magd. H.; J. Le Mesurier, B.A. Ch. Ch.; J. Lievien, B.A. Wad.; J. Smith, B.A. Magd. H.

Of Cambridge.—R. M. Smith, B.A. Queen's; J. W. Sheringham, B.A. St. John's; H. S. Mott, B.A. St. John's; P. A. L. Wood, B.A. Magd.; P. M. Brunwin, B.A. St. Peter's; T. Bagley, B.A. Queen's.

Of the Church Missionary College, Islington.—E. Newman, I. Smith, B. Geidt.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—H. A. Bowles, B.A. St. John's; A. Burder, B.A. Magd. H.; H. B. Burney, B.A. Oriel; H. Fyffe, B.A. New Inn H.

Of Cambridge.—P. W. Mayon, M.A. Trin.; R. B. Tritton, B.A. Trin.; E. Worledge, B.A. Clare H.; J. P. Beard, B.A. St. John's; W. Kerry, B.A. St. John's; E. Over, M.A. Cath. H.; C. A. Halson, B.A. Pemb.; P. P. Pocock, B.A. Peter's; R. H. Kirby, M.A. St. John's; S. Gall, B.A. Queen's; J. Tagg, B.A. Pemb.

Of the Church Missionary College, Islington.—E. Reynolds, P. L. Sandberg.

By the LORD BISHOP OF RIPON, at Ripon, on Sunday, Dec. 17.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—G. H. G. Anson, B.A. Exet.; W. B. Caparn, B.A. Braz.; J. W. Grane, B.A. Exet.

Of Cambridge.—R. H. Dover, B.A. Queen's; W. L. Howarth, B.A. St. Mary Magd.; G. J. Perram, B.A. Clare H.; J. Sanders, B.A. Cath. H.; J. H. Sweet, B.A. St. John's; J. G. Underwood, B.A. St. John's.

Of St. Bees.—P. Bryan and J. Campion.

Of Dublin.—R. Wolfenden, B.A. Trin.

Of Giessen, Germany.—T. R. Jones, M.A.

PRIESTS.

Of Cambridge.—W. R. Bowditch, B.A. St. Peter's; J. Gooch, B.A. Caius; T. B. Parkinson, B.A. Queen's; T. Ramsbotham, B.A. Christ's; H. Townend, B.A. St. John's.

Of St. Bees.—J. Davidson and R. Neale.

Of Dublin.—J. G. Angley, B.A. and R. R. Wolfe, B.A. Trin.

By the LORD BISHOP OF BANGOR, at Bangor, on Sunday, Dec. 17.

DEACON.

Of Lampeter.—R. Jones, St. David's.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—R. Marsh, B.A. Wad.

Of Cambridge.—W. Morgan, B.A. Queen's.

By the LORD BISHOP OF LICHFIELD, at the Church of Eccleshall, on Sunday, Dec. 24.

DEACON.

Of Cambridge.—J. P. Pearson, B.A. St. Cath. H.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—J. R. Quirk, B.A. St. Edm. H.; R. W. Greaves, M.A. St. Edm. H.; P. G. Bentley, B.A. Bras.

Of Cambridge.—H. Gordon, M.A. Trin.; W. Leighton, B.A. St. John's; E. W. Symons, B.A. St. John's.

Of Dublin.—T. Ma'on, B.A. Trin.

By the LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER, at Worcester, on Sunday, Dec. 24.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—A. Moyley, B.A. Oriel.
Of Cambridge.—T. Anderson, B.A. Corp. Chris.; A. W. Bullen, B.A. Trin. (l. d. Bp. of Exeter.)
Of Dublin.—W. H. Thompson, B.A. Trin. (l. d. Bp. of Llandaff.)

Of Lampeter.—W. Price (l. d. Bp. of Llandaff.)

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—H. Bittleston, B.A. St. John's; W. Ewart, B.A. Exet.; C. H. Sale, M.A. Bras.; G. W. Spooner, B.A. Magd.
Of Cambridge.—W. B. Budd, B.A. Queen's; G. C. Hodgkinson, M.A. Trin.; J. Shelley, B.A. St. John's; J. R. Young, M.A. Caius.
Of Dublin.—F. Ffrench, M.A. Trin.

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	Preferment.	Diocese.	Patron.	Val.	Pop.
Allfree, W. G.	Southease, R.	Chichester.	Mr Allfrey	£191	142
Ashington, H.	Quarrington, R.	Lincoln.	Marq. of Bristol	287	184
Barnes, J. W.	Kendal, V.	Chester.	Trin. Coll. Cambridge..	600	17427
Booth, T.	Bedingham, V.	Norwich	J. W. Gooch, Esq.	150	380
Butler, W. J.	Aston Tirrold, R.	Oxford	Magdalen Coll., Oxford	233	343
Cave, W. A. C. B.	Stretton in the Field, R.	Lichfield.	Sir W. B. Cave	196	109
Clay, W. K.	Trinity Church, Ely, P.C.	Ely	D. & C. of Ely	116	...
Collett, W.	Norampton, R.	Lincoln.	Marquis of Bristol	104	204
Cowpland, R.	Weeford and Hints	Lichfield	Bp. of Lichfield	63	470
Day, C.	St. Swithin, Norwich, R.	Norwich	Bishop of Norwich	105	870
Elliott, H.	Castle Sowerby	York	Bp. of Carlisle	...	...
Fawcett, J. G.	Warthill, V.	Peculiar	Prebend thereof	100	162
Grigson, W.	{Whinburg and West- field, R.}	Norwich	Sir W. Clayton	283	346
Guest, B.	{St. Katherine's, Northampton, P.C.}	Lincoln.	Trustees	...	...
Guthrie, L.	Cranley, R.	Winchester.	— Sapt, Esq.	1195	1320
Hutchinson, J.	Blurton, P.C.	Lichfield.	Duke of Sutherland	189	849
Hutton, C. H.	Tubney, Sinecure R.	Oxford	Magdalen Coll., Oxford	120	167
Jackson, E. D.	Heaton Norris	Chester.	Manchester Coll. Ch.	116	14626
King, R. H.	Broomswell, R.	Norwich	Marq. of Bristol	...	...
Knight, G.	{Hungerton and Twy- ford, R.}	Peterboro'.	Apreece & Ashby, att. .	220	772
Knox, T.	{Runwell and Rams- den Crays, R.}	London	Rev. T. Knox	...	...
Leigh, R.	Halsall, R.	Chester.	Miss Blundell	3051	4150
Lott, S. J.	Bradninch, R.	Exeter.	D. & C. of Windsor	102	1524
Marewell, M. H.	Frampton, V.	Sarum	R. B. Sheridan, Esq.	120	376
Middleton, J.	Brompton, P. C.	York	.....	...	...
Oswell, H. L.	Stoulton, P.C.	Worcester	Earl Somers	100	312
Parkinson, W.	Langenoe, R.	Lincoln	— Waldegrave, Esq.	446	146
Pering, B.	Fersfield, R.	Norwich	F. Naussau, Esq.	325	292
Pigott, E.	Longridge, P.C.	Chester.	Hulme's Trustees	170	...
Richardson, E.	Trin. Ch., Louth, P.C.	Lincoln	Trustees	...	...
Richardson, W.	Stainforth .....	.....	.....	...	...
Sanders, L.	Whimpe, R.	Exeter.	Mrs. Sanders	357	739
Shackley, J.	Osbaldwick	York	Preb. of Strensall	124	319
Simpson, J. P.	Crofton, R.	Ripon.	Duchy of Lancaster	334	361
Smith, J. A.	Shotley, R.	Norwich	Marquis of Bristol	604	419
Spurrell, J.	West Beckham, P.C.	Norwich	D. & C. of Norwich	61	154
Stratton, G. W.	Ailston, R.	Peterboro'.	Duke of Bedford	845	758
Trevanion, T.	Whitby	York	Archbishop of York	206	11725
Tuson, F. C.	Minty, V.	G. & B.	Archdeacon of Wilts	166	585
White, J.	Statham, Norwich	Norwich	Rev. B. Cubitt	180	613

APPOINTMENTS.

Anderson, A.	{Master of the Diocesan Sch., Newport, S.W.	Knight, W. B.	Dean of Llandaff.
Brown, E. M.A.	{Precentor and Minor Canon in Carlisle Cathedral.	Melville, H.	Princ. of Halesbury College.
Clifton, R. C.	Canon of Manchester.	Singleton, W.	{Principal of Kingston Col- lege, Hull.
Crawley, W.	Archdeacon of Monmouth.	Wade, W. M.	Dean of Glasgow.
Dry, T.	{Hd. Mast. of Paston's Gram. School, North Walsham.	Weidemann, F.	{Junior Professor in Bishop's R. Esq. B.A. College, Calcutta.
Garbett, J.	{Prebendal Stall in Chichester Cathedral.	Williams, J. R.	{Minister of the Welsh Chapel in Ely Place.
Hodgkinson, C.	{Second Master of the Gram. Sch. of Bury St. Edmund's.	Williams, T.	Archdeacon of Llandaff.
Jelf, Dr.	{Principal of King's College, London.	Woolcombe, H.	Preb. Stall in Exeter Cath.
		Woolley, J.	{Warden of Queen's College, Birmingham.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Rowen, Rev. J. St. Vincent.
 Bowstead, W., Vicar of Ulceby, and Head Mast.
 of the Grammar School, Caistor.
 Dowling, G. P., at Puckington, near Taunton.
 Forster, Sir T., at Colderay.
 Freeman, J. N., Vicar of Hayes, Middlesex.
 Gatliff, J., Rector of St. Mary's, Manchester.
 Good, T., at Framlington, Suffolk.
 Hall, G. W., Master of Pembroke Coll., Oxford.
 Hughes, J., of Llangwstenin.
 Lewis, J., Rector of Blatchington.
 Matthe, H., Rector of Worthenbury.
 Moss, T., Vicar of Walton-on-the-Hill.
 Nash, R. A., Rector of Hamerton.

Naylor, M. J., D.D., Rector of Crofton.
 Nethersole, W. P., LL.B., Rector of Clophill.
 Newman, H. T., Curate of Kilshannick.
 Palmer, F., Rector of Alcester.
 Richards, T., Vicar of Icclesham.
 Rickards, G., of Wortley.
 Rodber, W. J., A.M., Rector of St. Mary-at-Hill
 and St. Andrew Hubbard, London.
 Rowe, W., at St. John's, Cornwall.
 Tomkins, F., D.D. Vicar of Harmondsworth and
 Drayton, Middlesex.
 Twopeny, R., Rector of Casterton Parva.
 Verelst, A. C., Rector of Withycombe.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT, BUILDING,
AND REPAIRING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

A MEETING of this Society was held at their chambers, in St. Martin's-place, on Monday week, the Lord Bishop of London in the chair. There were also present the Lord Bishop of Llandaff, Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart. M.P.; the Revs. Dr. Spry, H. H. Norris, J. Jennings, and B. Harrison; Messrs. N. Connop, J. S. Salt, Benjamin Harrison, S. B. Brooke, William Davis, E. L. Badely, &c. The reports of the sub-committees having been read, the board examined the cases referred to their consideration, and finally voted grants of money towards building additional churches or chapels at New Swindon, Wilts, the principal station of the Great Western Railway; at Norland, in the parish of Kensington, Middlesex; at West Hide, in the parish of Rickmansworth, Herts, and at Yeovil, Somersetshire; also towards enlarging and rebuilding existing churches at Bovington, Herts, and St. Alkmund's Derby; and towards enlarging or otherwise increasing the accommodation in the churches at Burlescombe, Devon, and Stoke Golding, Leicestershire. The population of these parishes is 43,231 persons, and the accommodation now provided in nine churches is 7,167 seats (being for less than one-sixth of the whole number), including 1,955 free sittings, or one free seat for 22 persons. The additional church room to be obtained by the execution of the works in aid of which grants are now voted by the Society is 3,916 sittings, 2,716 of which will be free. One of the parishes assisted, has, at present, church accommodation for less than one-

sixth of its population, which is 17,000 souls; another, with 9,000 inhabitants, possesses church room for about one-twentieth of that number; and a third, with a population of 7,000 persons, can accommodate barely one-sixth. The requisite certificates of the completion of five additional churches, of the rebuilding, with enlargement, of five existing churches, and of the enlargement, reseating, &c., of three other churches, were examined and approved, and orders were issued for the trustees to pay over to the treasurer the sum granted by the Society in each case, in order that he may remit the same to the respective applicants. The population of these thirteen places is 26,875 persons, and before it was determined that the works now completed should be executed, the church accommodation provided in these parishes was 5,854 sittings, including 1,367 free seats. One of the parishes, with a population of upwards of 6,000 persons, had accommodation for about one-ninth of the number, and five others, each with a population of about 2,500 persons, possessed church room for from one-fourth to one-eighth. With the aid of the Society's grants 3,051 additional seats are now provided at these places, 2,523 of which are free. Since the last meeting, the committee have received intimation that applications will be made for their assistance towards the erection of churches in six populous parishes, and towards rebuilding, enlarging, and otherwise increasing the accommodation in the churches of seven other places, as soon as the requisite plans,

specifications, and other documents can be prepared for their inspection. In addition to which, the plans, &c., relating to six applications are now under the

consideration of the sub-committee, preparatory to their being referred (if approved) to the general board.

NEW CHURCH IN EDINBURGH.

LETTER OF REV. J. ALEXANDER.

I TAKE the liberty of soliciting your influence and support in behalf of an undertaking, which I sincerely believe will, when carried out, be of considerable importance to the progress of the Church in this city. Before stating, however, what the particular undertaking is, it may be proper to call your attention to the following details:—

In the course of last year, I was privileged to enter upon the charge of St. Paul's, Carrubber's Close, as well as to commence a Missionary enterprise in the Old Town, for the purpose of collecting together the poorer members of the Church, and placing within their reach the divinely-instituted means of grace; and I have abundant reason to thank God for the success which he has pleased should already attend this interesting department of Christian exertion. When I went to St. Paul's, I found a very small congregation; and now there are as many individuals belonging to it as would fill the church, the greater number of whom are natives either of England or of Ireland, and are so poor as to be altogether unable to contribute anything towards the support of a minister. While I am thankful to the Almighty Disposer of events, that he has thus honoured my ministry, I think it also my duty to express the gratitude which I feel to my brethren of the clergy and laity, for the kind interest which they have taken in the mission, placing, as they have done, a sufficient amount of funds in my hands to relieve the immediate wants of the most destitute; and having instituted a Working Society with the view of encouraging a spirit of industry among those who are able to make any effort towards their own support. I have also to acknowledge the valuable assistance which I have received from several gentlemen who were kind enough, last year, to share my labours in the visiting department, and who have all along strengthened my hands in no common degree.

When I commenced my duties at Carrubber's Close, there were two services in the church every Lord's Day; and the Holy Eucharist was celebrated only every second month: whereas we now have Weekly Communion, Daily Prayer, and three Services every Lord's Day. The

number of regular monthly Communicants is much increased, being now nearly three times as great as it was every second month about eighteen months ago; and it is gratifying to be able to state, that some of the most regular Communicants are persons who have recently been rescued from circumstances of the utmost poverty and indigence. I may also add, that about eighty poor children have been already collected, and many of them brought under instruction in a Sunday School; and that a Week-Day School is upon the eve of being opened for their benefit, in which they will receive a plain, useful, secular education, combined with a knowledge of those things which are able to make them wise unto salvation.

Under existing circumstances, then, I consider it extremely desirable, for the following reasons, that a new church should be built as soon as possible, in some eligible part of the Old Town, to receive the congregation presently worshipping in St. Paul's, and as many more as may be disposed to join it:—

1st. St. Paul's Church is a very old building; and from a report recently obtained from a professional architect, it appears, that although the building is perfectly safe at the present moment, he does not think it can be warranted to continue so beyond other ten or twenty years.

2d. It is situated in a steep dirty lane, which is full of low taverns, and where scenes of the most offensive description may be witnessed at all times,—circumstances sufficiently powerful to prevent any from frequenting it who are not altogether destitute. In frosty weather the church is positively difficult of access to all, but particularly to the aged and the infirm.

3d. It contains accommodation only for about 350 persons, which will soon be quite inadequate for the congregation. Henceforth, the congregation will be partly composed of the children belonging to the school above-mentioned,—the whole of whom will be taught to chant such portions of the Service as are sung. It is proposed that the new Church shall contain, besides room for the quire, about 600 sittings, the one-half of which shall be free, and the other half let in

such a manner as to produce 150*l*. when they are all occupied; and as the great proportion of the individuals for whose behoof the present proposal is made, and who are likely to occupy the free sittings, are natives either of England or Ireland, I confidently appeal to English and Irish Churchmen for liberal aid.

"4th. The present time seems to be peculiarly adapted for Churchmen putting forth all their strength in the cause of their Holy Mother—the Church; and I confess I feel anxious to be placed in a position, where my exertions, however poor, may be brought to bear with greater effect for good, than they can ever be in such a locality as that which St. Paul's occupies.

"As to my own personal qualifications for the work in question, I am not the best judge; but I am happy to think, that, on this subject, I may refer you for information to the right reverend Bishop Terrot, my Diocesan, with whose sanction the present appeal is made; and to the very reverend Dean Ramsey, 23, Ainslie Place. In the meantime, I may state, that it is my anxious desire to see the Church-system, as laid down in her Articles and Services, Canons and Rubrics, fully carried out in practice,—to teach, without any compromise, those truly Catholic doctrines which were originally taught by that Church, which is described in Holy Scripture as *the pillar and ground of the truth*,—and to act as a faithful steward in giving to the children of the household of faith their heavenly nourishment in due season; and I sincerely trust that God will put it into the hearts of his servants to support the present proposal with the charity which becomes those who are really interested in the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom on earth.

JOHN ALEXANDER.

The following gentlemen have kindly consented to act along with me as a Committee of Management, and to receive subscriptions; and they have appointed Charles G. Reid, Esq., W.S., 68, George Street, Treasurer and Secretary:—

The Right Reverend Bishop Terrot, D.D.,
19, Northumberland Street.
The Very Reverend Dean Ramsay, 23,
Ainslie Place.
The Reverend T. H. Jones, 13, Shandwick Place.
The Reverend Berkeley Addison, 11, Ann
Street.
Robert Campbell, Esq., Advocate, 11, Walker
Street.
Charles Colt, Esq., 15, Regent Terrace.
Wm. Pitt Dundas, Esq., Advocate, 8, Atholl
Crescent.
Wm. Forbes, Esq., Advocate, 9, Coates
Crescent.
Edward Fraser, Esq., Advocate, 46, Albany
Street.
R. R. Glasgow, Esq., Advocate, 15, Rutland
Street.
Wm. Goldie, Esq., W.S., 29, Stafford Street.
John Muir, Esq., 6, Royal Terrace.
Chas. G. Reid, Esq., W.S., 68, George Street.
E. D. Sandford, Esq., Advocate, 11, Ran-
dolph Crescent.
Chas. F. Shand, Esq., Advocate, 5, India Street.
Robert Stuart, Esq., Advocate, 23, Great
King Street.
W. C. Trevelyan, Esq., 136, Prince's Street.
Adam Urquhart, Esq., Advocate, 5, St.
Colme Street.
Wm. S. Walker, Esq., Advocate, 7, St. Colme
Street.
The Honourable Henry Walpole, Wolterton
Park, Norfolk.

Subscriptions will also be received by James Burns, 17, Portman Street, Portman Square, London; John Henry Parker, Oxford; Gallie and Bayley, 69, George Street, Edinburgh; and Brown and Co., Aberdeen.

The sum altogether required may be calculated at 3,000*l*., including the expense of the site.

49, Northumberland Street, Edinburgh,
14th December, 1843.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We cannot interfere with the services of the Temple Church; but we are glad to find, from Double C., that there is an improvement where it was so much needed.

"A Sciolist"'s object will, perhaps, be attained rather indirectly than directly. Of the books to which he alludes, Brown is better than Reed; and, in the way of principle, though not of power, either is superior to Locke: Abercrombie is not sinewy. But the study of any good treatise, such as Aristotle's *Ethics* or *Rhetoric*, and the philosophy of Butler's *Analogy*—to which Sanderson, and Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium* may be added, will do more to discipline the mental powers than any systematic treatises on Mind. A good course of scholastic divinity, such as the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas, ought to be part of the education of an English divine. We have heard that the late Mr. Rose used to recommend "The Angelical Doctor" for this purpose.

"J. F. S."—We hardly know any book on the subject he mentions that can be recommended. We believe, however, that the desideratum is about to be supplied by Mr. Poole, of Welford.

We are much obliged to "C. H." Our Magazine does not comprise a department for such contributions, and the MS. has, therefore, been left for him at the publisher's.

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

FEBRUARY, 1844.

A Contemporary Narrative of the Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler or Ketler, prosecuted for Sorcery in 1344. Edited by T. WRIGHT, Esq. F.S.A. London: Printed for the Camden Society, 1843.

Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, A.D. 1631 to A.D. 1654. Printed for the Spalding Club, 1843.

Criminal Trials, American. By PELEG W. CHANDLER. Vol. I. Boston: Little and Brown. London: Maxwell. 1841.

Few, if any, persons in this march-of-intellect era, would dare to confess that they believed in witches and witchcraft; and yet equally few, if they were to confess their own secret thoughts, would deny that there is any antecedent improbability in mortal beings being endowed, by the Spirit of Evil, with a temporary immortal power, or would stumble at the power of Satan to award, to those who will fall down and worship him, the riches and benefits of this world. Sir Mathew Hale was content to admit his belief in sorcery; and Selden, the cold-hearted, hard-headed lawyer, shrouded his secret hankering after a belief in witchcraft under the doctrine, that if a man believes that by turning his hat thrice and crying "buz" he could take away a man's life; this were a just law made by the state, that whoever should turn his hat thrice and cry "buz," with an intention to take away a man's life, should suffer death. That very practical Scotch lawyer, William Forbes, in his *Institutes of the Laws of Scotland*, published as late as 1730, says, "Nothing can be plainer to me, than that there may be, and have been, witches, and that, perhaps, such are now actually existing; which I intend, God willing, to clear in a larger work concerning the criminal law."

Wherever we find a belief in sorcery prevalent, it generally assumes the same form. Its leading principle of doctrine, is a mis-

chievous application of Christianity, as the manifestation of the powers of darkness against the Deity. Satan is always represented as acting first through his inferior demons, and afterwards in person, in the compact with the sorcerer; and, as in all cases the bargain is for immortal powers in return for a mortal soul, so the great object of the two contracting parties is to cheat each other: Satan striving to lessen, as far as he can, the value of his gifts, and the sorcerer to render null and void the conveyance of his soul after death. In the majority of cases, females are represented to be the agents by whom the Devil works his ends. According to the German, Biensfeldius, we are to look to the Pythia of Greece, and the Venefica of Rome, as the origin of this accusation against the weaker sex; whilst Sprenger, in his "*Malleus Maleficarum*," considers that the inferiority in mental strength and the natural wickedness of their hearts, predisposes females to be the agents of Satan. One thing is certainly noticeable, that sorcerers are always more powerful than sorceresses, and the men seem to have driven harder bargains for their souls than the women: the latter being generally content with very far inferior powers than the former.

On going back to the earliest times in which enactments against witchcraft appear, we find the statutes confined to mischief done by poisoning, and natural diseases, or to lapses from Christianity, and the following of heathen practices. It is against the practices of the old heathen worship, from which our nation had just been converted, that we find the Anglo-Saxon laws against sorcerers confined; whilst, in the South of Europe, the statutes are made, to meet the softer spirit of fiction, to punish those who yet believed in the fair companions of Diana, and the lusty satyrs of the Arcadian god. The necessarily secret meetings of the early Christians and their ceremonies were immediately reported as sorcery, as in later days the secret meetings of the Waldenses were made the foundation of the witches' sabbath, and the early opponents of the Church said to ride to their conventicles on brooms, as the witches to the mountain of the Broken on Valpurgis' night. The work edited by Mr. Wright, for the Camden Society, exhibits in one person both the classes of accusations we have spoken of.

The scene of the prosecution is laid in Kilkenny, in the year 1344; the accused was Dame Alice, the wife of William Ketler, or Kyteler, and mother of one William Outlaw, by a first marriage. William Ketler, Viscount of Kilkenny, who came from the turbulent county of Pembroke, seems to have been not over-scrupulous in his actions; being in want of money, he stormed the house of William Outlaw, and carried off 3000*l.* which had been entrusted to Outlaw by one Adam le Bond. A claim was made on the money in the king's behalf as "treasure trove," and Bond also put in his claim as the original owner. This last was found so inconvenient, that Bond was put in prison; and, in order to set aside the royal demand, the matter was arranged between the Ketlers and the Bonds, and Dame Alice, becoming a widow, took to her second husband the Kyteler who

robbed the Outlaw, who was either her son, or her first husband himself. The good people of Kilkenny, not finding the story of Le Bond's entrusting his money to William Outlaw sufficiently marvellous, attributed the existence of the coin in Outlaw's house, and the rising prosperity of the Kytellers and Outlaws, to the witchcraft of Dame Alice. Every evening between compline and curfew, it was said, the dame went into the streets of Kilkenny, and swept the refuse dirt to her son William's door-step, whilst she chanted—

“ To the house of William, my son,
Come all the wealth of Kilkenny town.”

William de Ledred, Bishop of Ossory, who had an old grudge against Outlaw as one of the “gens pestifera novella,” who objected to pay ecclesiastical dues, and aware that Dame Alice supported her son in his anti-ecclesiastical proceedings, readily believed the accusation against the Dame Alice, and summoned her, her son, and her two attendants, Petronilla and Basilia, before the spiritual court on charges of witchcraft.

The indictment was very minute in its charges, proving a wondrous acquaintance with Satan and his amusements, on the part of the accusers and their witnesses. The rhyming incantation was made much of, and a cross-road meeting with a familiar demon—a poor low dog of a devil, one “ex pauperioribus inferni,” was included in the charges. Her diabolical friend seems to have had an odd taste; she feasted him on nine red cocks, and a Heliogabalus-like dish of peacock's eyes; and, in return, he taught her the secret of many a charm, many an unguent and potion. Her mixtures were after the approved recipes set forth in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens*. Herbs, which when used by licensed killers were called medicaments, became, in her hands, potent unguents, and heathenish charms. She could say, with the witch—

“ I had a dagger, what did I with that?
Killed an infant to have his fat.”

And, as she had a due fear of the sacraments, she preferred the children before baptism. Whilst the murderer swung backwards and forwards in his creaking chains, Dame Alice

“ Had bit off a sinew, and clipped his hair,
And brought off his rags as he danced in air.”

The murderer's scull she had made her boiling pot, in which she concocted—

“ The screech-owl's eggs, and the feathers black,
The blood of the frog, and the bone in his back.

• Hemlock, henbane, adder's tongue,
• Nightshade, moon-wort, libbard's-bane. •

• Horned poppy, cypress boughs,
• The fig-tree wild, that grows on tombs,
• The juice that from the larch-tree comes,
• The basilisk's blood, and the viper's skin.”

Whilst these specifics were sweltering together in the murderer's scull, the dame was celebrating her awful parody of the Eucharist, partaking with her paramour of the Devil's bread, and excommunicating, limb by limb, and bone by bone, all her enemies, including such of her husbands as did not please her; for she had already had five; and was accused of reducing John de la Poer, one of the happy quintet, to such a state, that his hair and his nails fell from him, and he died miserably. Dame Alice seems to have had attendants of as low tastes as herself in the devil line, for when her paramour, who could not assume any more tasteful form than that of a negro, paid her a visit, he brought two brother devils in negro skins, for the amusement of Petronilla and Basilia.

William Outlaw sought the aid of his brother, the acting lord deputy of Ireland, and of Arnold de la Poer, the seneschal of Kilkenny. By their aid the warrants for the arrest of the witches were refused, and Dame Alice was allowed, despite the Bishop's remonstrances, to plead by her proctor. The Dame was soon found guilty and excommunicated, and then the Bishop summoned Outlaw on a charge of heresy. De la Poer tried to stop the citation, failed, and laid violent hands on the Bishop on a charge of fraud. He found he had gone too far, and, therefore, let the Bishop out again; who went out of prison in a triumphal procession, and left De la Poer to fight the battle in the courts at Dublin. Soon after his release, the Bishop turned sharp round on the seneschal, and summoned him in due form to lend his aid in extirpating sorcery from the country. De la Poer refused, and the matter came before the parliament. After a great deal of hard talking, the Bishop was supported by the parliament, and De la Poer denounced as a profane tyrant; whereupon he begged the prelate's pardon, and promised not to hinder any further proceedings against witches and sorcerers. The Bishop now began again against Dame Alice and her friends, but the accused had taken advantage of the late troubles, and got far away out of his reach, save poor Petronilla, who fell into his clutches. Six times was she scourged, to torture her into a confession, and, when she came to the stake, her mind had evidently sunk under the cruelties inflicted on her by the Bishop's officials. William Outlaw was at length caught, and shut up in Kilkenny Castle; but, as he was too well connected to be ill-treated, he got out again on a very humble confession of his errors; and received absolution, when he ceded to the Bishop certain lands of some worth, and made his promise to perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; however, this last was soon commuted for money; Dame Alice and her son heard no more of witchcraft. The many troubles that the poor Bishop got into afterwards, cannot be enlarged upon in this place.

It was not the Roman or the English Church that alone believed in witchcraft, and sanctioned the condemnation of sorcerers and witches. The iron rule of the Scottish presbyteries was exercised with great severity in supposed cases of sorcery and witchcraft. The records of the Strathbogie and other presbyteries afford numerous instances. In

the two following extracts from the records of Strathbogie, we have the legend of the "Devil's field," and the lustration by "neid fire."

"Compeired William Sievright and George Stronach in Glass, and being accused of sorcerie, in allotting and giving over some land to the old Goodman, (as they call it,) denied the same; and because it was so allegit, they promised to manure the said land.

"Compeired Johne Gow, and being accused for saying he had Mr. Robert Watsonne, his warrant for going to raise neid-fyre in Grange, confessed he went to the said Mr. Robert, and told him that he was advised to cure his goodis after that manner, and so desired him to go and see quhat was done there; or if he wold not goe himself, send his sonne with him, which the said Mr. Robert refused to doe, but said to him, if he went, he would tak honest men with him to see quhat was done."

Watson's denial of the charge of practising this relic of Druidism, seems to have been believed by the presbytery, so, after a long lecture, he escaped free. Not so, however, a poor creature of Muirton, called Isabel Haldane, who was burnt on the charge of passing children through the witch's cake, drawing water in silence from a well, to wash a diseased person, and leaving a portion of the person's linen in the water. This is part of the evidence on which Isabel Haldane was burnt :

"May 19, 1623.—Compeared Stephen Ray in Muirton, and deposed that three years since, Isabel Haldane having stolen some bear forth the hall of Balhousie, he followed her, and brought her back again. She clapped him on the shoulder, saying, 'Go thy way, thou shalt not win thyself a bannock for a year and a day,' and as she threatened, so it came to pass, for he dwyned and was heavily diseased. The said Isabel confesses the away taking of the bear, and the disease of the man, but affirms that she only said, 'He that delivered me from the fairy folk shall take amendis of thee.' The said day she confessed that she made three several cakes, every one of them being made with nine curns of meal, which had been gotten from nine women that were married maidens. She made a hole in the crown of every one of them, and put a bairn through every cake three times, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. There were women present who put the said bairns thrice backward through every cake, using the same words. The said Isabel confessed she went silent to the well of Ruthven, and returned silent, bringing water from thence to wash John Gow's bairn. When she took the water from the well, she left a part of the bairn's sark at it, which she took with her to that effect. When she came home again, she washed the bairn with the water. She confessed that she had done in like manner to John Gower's bairn. May 27.—The said Isabel confessed she had given drinks to cure bairns; among the rest, that David Morrice's wife came to her, and asked thrice help to her bairn for God's sake, because it was a shargie (a fairy child). She sent forth her son to gather fairy leaves, whereof she directed the bairn's mother to make a drink. But the bairn's mother deponed, that the said Isabel Haldane came to her house unrequired, and saw the bairn, and said it was a shargie taken away. She thereupon took in hand to cure it, and to that effect gave the bairn a drink, but shortly after the receipt of the drink, the bairn died."

By this time witchcraft had lost many of its honours, and sunk into a far lower class of society than in its earlier days. Instead of the Viscountess of Kilkenny, or the wife of the protector of the realm, or even the king's mistress, we descend to the old Mother Nobs, as Archbishop Harsnet says, who if she has called some house-girl an idle drab, or bid the devil scratch her, forthwith becomes a witch, whilst the idle

drab is owl-blasted. As we see in the confession of Isabel Haldane, witches did not always use their ill-acquired powers to work harm, but, as in the case of Bessie Dunlop, in 1588, the cure of diseases, and the performance of other benevolent acts, done by the aid, not of Satan, or any of his minor imps, but by the assistance of the venerable old man of Elfland, were quite enough to substantiate the charge of witchcraft against young and old.

The influence of witchcraft on society was terrible. It showed itself at one time in an almost implicit reverence for the suspected agents of Satan; at another, in the most wide-spread mania for their persecution and destruction. The most malignant passions found vent at one time, in a secret following of the forbidden act; at another, in multiplying accusations against enemies as sorcerers. When the mania of persecution became once developed, nothing was more difficult than to prevent people, not only from accusing others, but from volunteering the most extraordinary confessions against themselves, at the time when they knew that the gallows-tree was ever ready for their execution. Indeed, the confessions voluntarily made by many of the accused in witches' trials, are perfectly inexplicable. It is evident that, in very many instances, the confessors did not speak from the suggestions of others, from the fear of torture, or from the hope of escape; they seem to have so far deceived their own imaginations, as really to believe what they confessed. There are many instances of this in the following narrative of the great Puritan persecution of the Salem witches:

For above a quarter of a century after the founding of New England by James, no suspicion of witchcraft arose among the English colonists; the ten next years witnessed the rise of the suspicion, and the execution of more than one unfortunate person for the supposed offence. In the year 1646, several persons at Springfield, on the Connecticut River, were rumoured to be under the evil hand; but no one was brought to judgment until a poor woman of the name of Oliver, five years after, acknowledged her guilt, after a long examination, and only escaped death by her voluntary confession. About the same time three persons were executed at Boston on a similar charge, and died asserting their innocence. Another lustrum elapsed before the crime was again heard of; in 1655, the widow of a magistrate of Boston, a man of note in the city, of the name of Hibbins, was tried for the offence of witchcraft, before the Court of Assistants. The jury returned a verdict of guilty, which the magistrates refused to accept; but the General Court, to which the case was carried, affirmed the verdict, and the prisoner was executed. The next fourteen years produced two cases, in both of which the accused suffered; nor would the next witch, one Elizabeth Knap, who came out within two years of the last trial, have escaped, so much had she alarmed the good people of Croton with her ventriloquism, had not her *dæmon* proved himself a liar by railing against the minister, and thus saved his mistress's life, at the expense of his

own reputation. For nearly five and twenty years the witches were at peace, except one poor old woman, whom a military man chose to accuse of putting the evil hand on him; for which some young men dragged the old crone from her house, hung her until nearly dead, rolled her in the snow, and, eventually, buried her in it. The old woman, however, would not be killed; so she survived; and the man, on whom the evil hand was, died melancholy mad. In 1692, the delusion broke out in all its fury; in that year the "Salem witchcraft" commenced: and, though there had been but few instances of late years in the province, the minds of the colonists were far from unprepared for this sudden visitation. Much as the murder of Anne Hibbins had been questioned and disapproved of, there were not wanting those, among the better educated, who believed firmly in the prevalence of witchcraft. Circumstantial accounts of the chief cases began, after some delay, to be published in the colony, and many learned arguments were committed to paper to convince the country that the Devil always kept a certain number of witches in his pay, and was very familiar with such as he found to be fit instruments for the furtherance of his schemes. The cases tried before Sir Matthew Hale were also circulated in the country: and the entire colony was very greatly scandalized by the conduct of two brothers and three sisters,—the children of one Goodwin, "a grave man, and good liver in the city of Boston,"—who declared themselves tormented by an Irish witch, the mother of their laundress; and proved the Devil's interference in the case by delighting in reading Oxford jests, Popish and Quaker books, and the Common Prayer, and becoming deaf and dumb when the Assembly's Catechism, or Cotton Mather's Milk for Babies, were ever presented to their sight. These discriminating devils at last gave way before the fastings and prayers of the Boston and Charlestown ministers, and the execution of the poor Irishwoman; whilst their sayings and doings were registered by Cotton Mather, or some of his friends, and published, with a preface by Baxter, to tell men "that the evidence was so convincing, that he must be a very obdurate Sadducee who would not believe it." On that point, there were very few Sadducees among the colonists, and not one among the ministers.

It was in the family of Parris, the minister of Salem, that the delusion or imposture originated. The bitter strife there had been between this man and some of his congregation made many, in after years, suppose that revenge, as well as blind enthusiasm, had instigated him to the course which he pursued. The first subjects were a daughter of his own about nine years old, his niece a few years older, and two other girls of his village, who complained of being tormented, and pinched, and subjected to a somewhat similar treatment to that endured by Goodwin's children only a few years before. The doctors, completely puzzled, pronounced them bewitched; and Tituba, an Indian servant of Parris's, proceeded to discover who the witch was, by experiments such as the pow-wows used in her country. The

attempt was fatal to her; she immediately became herself the witch. In despite of her asseverations that she only knew how to discover a witch, and was none herself, the children cried out against her, falling into fits at her presence, and declaring that she pinched, pricked, and tormented them. The malady spread, and two or three women and as many girls, old enough to be witnesses, united in being tormented and abusing not only Tituba but a distracted old woman, Sarah Osborn, and another bed-ridden old crone of the name of Good. This, however, did not satisfy the public appetite. In about three weeks two other women of good character were accused, and the mother of one of the children joined with them, in crying out against the last woman accused, and in complaining of her as her tormentor. To sum up the infatuation, a child of five years old was committed to prison as a witch, charged with biting some of the afflicted, who showed the marks of small teeth on their arms.*

The evidence required for a committal was almost childish. Mr. Parris preached a sermon on this text, "*Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a Devil.*" The sister of one of those who had been committed, conceiving it to apply to her sister's case, rose and left the meeting; it was enough,—she was a witch, and as such was examined and committed. Another time, this woman is accused by Parris's niece of being present at the witches' sacrament; struck with horror, she asked for water and sank down in a fit. "Her spirit is gone to her sister in prison," shrieked the afflicted; this was evidence. Against another woman the same child declared she had invited her to sign the Devil's book. "Dear child," said the accused "it is not so. There is another judgment, dear child." She was committed. The manner in which the examinations were conducted is enough to startle the most fanatic. Take this one from an eye-witness; Jonathan Carey, of Charlestown:

"Having heard, some days, that my wife was accused of witchcraft, being much disturbed at it, by advice we went to Salem village, to see if the afflicted knew her: we arrived there 24th of May; it happened to be a day appointed for examination; accordingly, soon after our arrival, Mr. Hawthorn and Mr. Curwin, &c., went to the Meeting house, which was the place appointed for that work; the minister began with prayer, and having taken care to get a convenient place, I observed that the afflicted were two girls of about ten years old, and some two or three others of about eighteen; one of the girls talked most, and could discern more than the rest. The prisoners were called in one by one, and as they came in were cried out upon. They were placed about

* More abstruse speculation has been devoted to the natures of the Devil's imps, by whom witches were said to act, than even to Alchemy or Astrology. From Plato to Cardan, men of great minds have argued learnedly, and disputed fiercely, how many orders there were in the diabolical hierarchy, whether the bodies of devils be mortal, whether they are not the souls of the departed, whether they have any shape of their own besides the power of Protean changes, some assigning to them the circle for their outline as the symbol of perfectness, others the square, on the principle of the *τετραγώνος ἀνὴρ* of Aristotle,—the "regular brick" of modern slang. Those who desire to be learned on these, in many respects, awful subjects, will find much curious information on them in the first member of the second section of the first part of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

seven or eight feet from the justices, and the accusers between the justices and them; the prisoners were ordered to stand right before the justices, with an officer appointed to hold each hand, lest they should therewith afflict them; and the prisoners' eyes must be constantly on the justices; for if they looked on the afflicted, they would either fall into fits, or cry out of being hurt by them. After an examination of the prisoners who it was afflicted those girls, they were put upon saying the Lord's prayer, as a trial of their guilt. After the afflicted seemed to be out of their fits, they would look stedfastly on some one person, and frequently not speak; and then the justices said they were struck dumb, and after a little time would speak again; then the justices said to the accusers, which of you will go and touch the prisoner at the bar? Then the most courageous would adventure; but, before they had made three steps, would ordinarily fall down as in a fit. The justices ordered that they should be taken up and carried to the prisoner, that she might touch them: and as soon as they were touched by the accused, the justices would say, They are well, before I could discern any alteration; by which I observed the justices understood the manner of it. . . . I had now an opportunity of speaking with the accuser of my wife, viz. Abigail Williams, a girl of eleven or twelve years old, but as we could not be private in Mr. Paris's house, we went into the ale-house, where an Indian man attended us, who it seems was one of the afflicted; to him we gave some cider; he showed several scars, that seemed as if they had been long there, and showed them as done by witchcraft; and acquainted us that his wife, who also was a slave, was imprisoned for witchcraft. And now, instead of one accuser, they all came in, and began to tumble about like swine; and then three women were called in to attend them. We in the room were all at a stand to see who they would cry out upon; but in a short time they cried out "Cary;" and immediately after a warrant was sent by the justices to bring my wife before them, who were in a chamber near by, waiting for this. Being brought before the justices, her chief accusers were two girls. My wife declared to the justices that she never had any knowledge of them before that day. She was forced to stand with her arms stretched out. I requested that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me;—then she desired she might lean herself on me, saying she should faint. Justice Hawthorn replied, she had strength enough to torment those persons, and she should have strength enough to stand. The Indian before mentioned was also brought in, to be one of her accusers: being come in, he now fell down and tumbled about like a hog, but said nothing. The justices asked the girls who afflicted the Indian; they answered, she, meaning my wife, and that she now lay upon him; the justices ordered her to touch him, in order to his cure, but her head must be turned another way, lest, instead of curing, she should make him worse, by looking on him, her hand being guided to take hold of his; but the Indian took hold of her hand, and pulled her down on the floor in a barbarous manner; then his hand was taken off, and her hand put on his, and the cure was quickly wrought, —then her mittimus was writ."—*Chandler*, pp. 83—86.

When such evidence was admitted it is not to be wondered that the whole country was in consternation. Nobody was safe. Confession was the easiest, nay the only, mode of escape; and many there were who were driven to this refuge by their own fears or the urgent entreaties of their friends. There were not wanting those, who, when the afflicted fell down before them in seeming agonies, cried out against them, and received relief from their touch alone, believed that the Evil Spirit had indeed got possession of their bodies, and tormented these unfortunates in their shapes; impressed with this belief they hesitated not to confess their guilt. Such is the force of imagination. Torture was resorted to, and the effects were horrible: children accused their own parents, and witnessed their execution

without a pang of regret. At other times, the artful and severe examinations of the magistrates led many to implicate those of whom they knew no guile. One wretched woman, "through the magistrate's threatenings and her own vile heart," accused her own grandfather, and brought him and her minister to the gallows by her confessions, though she saved her own life by recanting between the first and second court sittings; admitting, with every expression of sorrow, now, alas! too late, that, "everything she had said against her grandfather, and Mr. Burroughs, the minister, was altogether false, which she did to save her life and her liberty." Against such proceedings, the strictest integrity, the purest life, the most solemn asseverations, were of no avail; a wife and daughter accused the husband and father, to save themselves; a child of seven years old gave damning testimony against its mother.

So rapidly had the prisoners increased under this system, that when Phipps arrived in May, as the new Governor, he found the jails of the colony filled with victims. Firmly believing in the offence, and impressed, under such belief, with the urgency of the case, the new Governor immediately erected a special court for the trials of the witches. Of the seven named in the commission two had been educated as ministers, two as physicians, one was a merchant, and the other two were influential men of property in the colony. The very day of the date of their commission saw the seven new judges engaged in their labours at Salem; the grand jury were charged by the chief of the Commission, Stoughton, that they were not to mind whether the bodies of the afflicted were really pined and consumed; but whether they did not suffer from the accused such afflictions as *tended* to their being pined and consumed. With such instructions, such witnesses, and minds well prepared for belief, the jury could not go wrong; doubtless no bills were ignored.

The proceedings before the Special Commission were, in many respects, similar to those before the committing magistrates. There was the same confronting of the accused with the afflicted; the same taking of the evidence of confessed witches against the prisoner; a proceeding, as a contemporary remarked, "never heard of in this world, that such as confess themselves to be witches, to have renounced God and Christ, and all that is sacred, should yet be allowed and ordered to swear by the name of the great God." After this came any volunteer evidence, whether to the case in question, or to any other act, however far remote, by which the general reputation of a witch might be established. Then came the searching for the Devil's marks, performed by a jury of the same sex as the prisoner, and conducted with minuteness, cruelty, and indelicacy. If a spot was found, a pin was driven into it; should the flesh be callous, it was an undoubted Devil's mark. The conduct of the accused at the previous examination was also adduced. To have said "Deliver us from *all* evil," or "hollowed" instead of "hallowed," in the Lord's prayer, was conclusive against the unfortunate prisoner. It was a

depraving of words, a making void of the prayer, and, therefore, a conversion of it into a curse. The last evidence was the most curious, perhaps the most conclusive. The accused were made answerable, not only for what the Devil might have done in their shape, but for whatever the witnesses might choose to swear the phantom or spirit of the accused had perpetrated. The pinches, the loss of their property, the making them languish and pine, the prickings, were all attributed to these spiritual visitations, and the identical pins by which the prickings were made, were not rarely produced in court. The Devil must have been very liberal of his pins, if he could afford to leave them in the bodies of the afflicted, or the possession of them was no bad evidence of the identity of the witch and the bewitched.

The first person on whom the commission exercised their judicial powers, was a poor old woman, named Bridget Bishop, whose violent temper had for many years bred ill-will between her and her neighbours, and given her the reputation of a witch. That the persons whom she was accused of bewitching were bewitched by some one, seems to have been considered too clear to admit of doubt, or require any proof; all that was requisite was to fix the charge on the old woman; that the afflicted had fallen into fits in her presence, and had been restored by her touch, and again overcome by her look, was, of course, proved to the satisfaction of the court; and the jury of matrons, after a rigid examination, reported the finding of a "preternatural tet" on the old woman's body; which, on a second search, some two or three hours afterwards, was not to be seen. Whether visible or not, the evidence was, in the eyes of the court, equally against the accused. Matters having proceeded thus far, the deeds of the old woman's ghost were brought in evidence against her. Several swore that the shape of the prisoner sometimes grievously pinched, choaked, bit, and otherwise afflicted them, urging them with threats to write their names in the Devil's book. Sometimes,—as one Deliverance Hobbs, a confessed witch, declared,—whipping them with an iron scourge to compel their signature, and, at other times, enticing them to the Devil's sacrament. Take the evidence of two of the witnesses:—

"John Cook testified, that about *five or six years ago*, one morning, about sunrise, he was assaulted in the chamber by the shape of the prisoner, which looked on him, grinned at him, and very much hurt him, with a blow on the side of his head; and that on the same day at noon, the shape walked into the room where he was, and an apple strangely flew out of his hand, into the lap of his mother, six or eight feet from him.

"Samuel Gray testified, that about *fourteen years ago*, he waked on a night, and saw the room where he lay full of light; and that he there saw plainly a woman between the cradle and the bedside, who looked upon him. He rose and it vanished; though he found the doors fast; looking out at the entry door, he saw the same woman in the same garb again; and said 'In God's name what do you come for?' He went to bed and had the same woman assaulting him. The child in the cradle gave a great screech, and the woman disappeared. It was long before the child could be quieted; and, though it was a very likely thriving child, yet from this time it pined away, and, after divers

months, died in a sad condition. *He knew not Bishop, nor her name ; but when he saw her after this, he knew by her countenance and apparel, and all circumstances, that it was the apparition of Bishop which had troubled him thus.*"—Pp. 99, 100.

The conduct of an epileptic child of one of her neighbours, with a few other strange circumstances, were next brought against the old woman :—

"Samuel Shatlock testified, that, in the year 1680, Bridget Bishop often came to his house upon such frivolous and foolish errands, that *they suspected* she came, indeed, with a purpose of mischief. Presently whereupon, his eldest child, which was of as promising health and sense as any child of its age, began to droop exceedingly; and the oftener that Bishop came to the house, the worse the child grew. As the child would be standing at the door, he would be thrown and bruised against the stones by an invisible hand, and in like sort knock his face against the sides of the house, and bruise it after a miserable manner. Afterwards, this Bishop would bring him things to dye, whereof he could not imagine any use: and when she paid him a piece of money, the purse and money were unaccountably conveyed out of a locked box and never seen more. The child was immediately hereupon taken with terrible fits, whereof his friends thought he would have died. Indeed he did almost nothing but cry and sleep, for several months together; and at length his understanding was taken away. Among other symptoms of an enchantment upon him, one was that there was a board in the garden whereon he would walk, and all the invitations in the world could never fetch him off. About *seventeen or eighteen years after*, there came a stranger to the witness's house, who seeing the child said, 'This poor child is bewitched; and you have a neighbour living not far off who is a witch.' He added 'Your neighbour has had a falling out with your wife; and she said in her heart, Your wife is a proud woman, and she would bring down her pride in this child.' He then remembered that Bishop had parted from his wife in muttering and menacing terms, a little before the child was taken ill. The stranger would needs take the boy with him to Bishop's house, on pretence of buying a pot of cyder. The woman entertained him in a furious manner; and flew also upon the boy, scratching his face till the blood came, and saying; 'Thou rogue, what, dost thou bring this fellow here to plague me?'—Ever after the boy was followed with grievous fits, which the doctors ascribed to witchcraft; and wherein he would be thrown still into the fire or water, if he were not constantly looked after; and the witness verily believed that Bishop was the cause of it."—Pp. 101—103.

Supposing this man to have spoken what he believed to be the truth, how entirely does he fail in connecting the prisoner with the malady of his child! But, can we suppose that this witness believed he was speaking the truth? If so, how could he swear to the visit of this mysterious stranger, *seventeen or eighteen years after!* what? after his child was seized with these fits? after the year 1680, when he began to suspect that the visits of the old woman were for purposes of mischief?—the day on which he was, on his oath, swearing to the truth of this story, was in the month of June of the *twelfth* year from the commencement of the illness of his bewitched child?

But there was yet more evidence. John Lowder swore that Bishop tormented him all one night, after a dispute with her about some fowls; and that, soon after this, on the Lord's-day, when all the doors were shut, a black pig approached him; he kicked at it, and piggy vanished. Soon after, a black thing—not a pig this time—jumped in at the window, stood before him, and told him he was

come to counsel him as to his troubles. He tried to seize this black man-monkey with cock's legs, but he felt nothing; and out of the window it flew. In a little time, back came the black man through the porch doors, and said, "You had better take my counsel;" he hit at it; his stick went through the figure, and broke against the ground; his arm was disabled, and the figure vanished. Doubtless, all this was very like Diablerie, and not a little edifying to the special commissioners; but what had it to do with poor Bridget Bishop? Why, "he presently went," says Mr. John Lowder, "out at the back door, and spied this Bishop in her orchard, going toward her house; but he had not power to set one foot forward unto her." Another witness declared, that as his horse was passing the old woman, drawing but a light load, all the gear broke, and the cart fell down; and when the witness went to raise a two-bushel sack of corn, "he could not budge it with all his might;" *ergo*, the old woman was a witch. Whilst two other fellows wound up the evidence by declaring, that, when taking down a wall in the prisoner's cellar, "they found some puppets made of rags and hogs' bristles, with headless pins in them, the points being outwards, whereof the prisoner could give no account to the court that was reasonable, or tolerable;" *ergo*, Bridget Bishop was a witch.

Had not the consequences of this delusion been so truly awful, we might indulge in a smile at the legal knowledge of the special commissioners, who could admit—and the credulity of the jury, who could believe—such evidence as this; and yet, upon such testimony was the unfortunate creature condemned and executed, solemnly protesting her innocence to the last.

The ministers now discovered how much easier it was to originate than to check persecution; they had set the stone rolling, and now, when they feared that, in its erratic course, it might roll even over themselves, they strove in vain to check its progress. When called upon, on the adjournment of the court, to give their opinions to the governor and council on the present aspect of affairs, it was in vain that they recommended "very critical and exquisite caution in the prosecution of witchcraft, lest, by too much credulity for things received only on the Devil's authority, there be a door opened for a long train of miserable consequences, and Satan get an advantage over us; for," said they, "'we should not be ignorant of his devices.'" Equally vain were their recommendations to use exquisite tenderness in consideration of the nature of the evidence, and the previous unblemished reputation of the accused. Their sixth opinion, if it had been admitted, would have immediately closed the court of witchcraft.

"Presumptions," say the ministers, "whereon persons may be committed, and, much more, convictions whereupon persons may be condemned as guilty of witchcraft, ought, certainly, to be more considerable than barely the accused persons being represented by a spectre unto the afflicted; inasmuch as it is an undoubted and a notorious thing, that a demon may, by God's permission, appear, to ill purposes, in the shape of an innocent, and a vicious man. Nor can we esteem alterations made in the sufferers by a look or touch of the

accused to be an infallible evidence of guilt, but frequently liable to be abused by the Devil's legerdemain."—Pp. 108.

This blow at the very root of all the accusations was too bold to be borne, even though the Devil's shoulders were made to bear the greater part of the burden; and, in spite of the inducement held out in the succeeding opinion, of *affronting* the Devils, by disbelieving those testimonies whose whole force and strength were from them. More attention was paid to the last article of their return, in which they humbly recommended the speedy and vigorous prosecutions of the obnoxious, "*according to the directions given in the laws of God, and the wholesome statutes of the English nation, for the detection of witchcrafts.*"

The court had adjourned to the thirtieth of the month; on that day it met, and five women were accused, condemned, and ordered for execution. Again there was a respite for a few days. The next sitting sent six more unfortunates to the gibbet. Among the last sufferers was a minister of the name of Burroughs, in whose case a new species of evidence was admitted against the accused. Feats of strength were of the Devil; so thought the people of Salem, the jury and the judges. Besides the usual fits of the afflicted in the presence of the prisoner, and the evidence of the apparition to them of the phantom of Burroughs, and his application to them to sign the Devil's book, the ghosts of his two late wives were summoned against him.

"Anne Putnam testified, that, on the ninth of May, 1692, in the evening, I saw the apparition of George Burroughs, who grievously tortured me, and urged me to write in his book, which I refused. He then told me that his two first wives would appear to me presently and tell me a great many lies, but I should not believe them. Immediately there appeared to me the forms of two women, in winding-sheets, and napkins about their heads, at which I was greatly affrighted. They turned their faces towards Mr. Burroughs, and looked very red and angry at him, telling him that he had been a cruel man to them, and that their blood cried for vengeance against him. They also told him they should be clothed with white robes in heaven, when he should be cast into hell. Immediately he vanished away; and, as soon as he was gone, the two women turned their faces towards me, looking as pale as a white wall. They said they were Mr. Burroughs's first wives, and that he had murdered them. One of them said she was his first wife, and he stabbed her under the left arm, and *put a piece of sealing-wax on the wound*; and she pulled aside the winding-sheet and showed me the place, and also told me she was in the house where Mr. Paris now lives when it was done. The other told me that Mr. Burroughs, and his present wife, killed her in the vessel, as she was coming to see her friends, because they would have one another; and they both charged me that I should tell these things to the magistrates before Mr. Burroughs's face, and if he did not own them, they did not know (how cautious!) but they should appear there this morning. Mrs. Lawson, and her daughter, also appeared to me, and told me that Mr. Burroughs murdered them. This morning there also appeared to me another woman, in a winding-sheet, and told me that she was Goodman Fuller's wife, and that Mr. Burroughs murdered her, because of some difference between her husband and himself."—P. 116.

With ghosts of such memories and discrimination, it will be thought that the prisoner's chance was worse than bad. There was yet, however, another arrow to be shot at him—his bodily strength—

or rather his and others' accounts of his feats of strength,—as neither of the witnesses were present at either of the deeds to which they witness.

“ ‘Being at the house of Mr. Lawrence, at Falmouth, in Casco Bay,’ swore one Simon Willard, ‘he was commending the strength of Mr. George Burroughs, saying that none of us could do what he could; ‘for,’ said he, ‘Mr. Burroughs can hold out this gun with one hand.’ Mr. Burroughs being present, explained where he took hold of the gun to hold it out, but he did not hold it out then. The gun was near seven feet barrel, and very heavy. I could not hold it out with both hands long enough to take sight. In 1689, being in Captain Sargeant’s garrison, Mr. Burroughs said he had carried a barrel of molasses, or cyder, from a boat to the shore.’ ”—P. 119.

The next witness explained the witchcraft of the barrel of molasses.

“ ‘About eight years ago,’ said this witness, Samuel Webber, ‘I lived at Casco Bay, and George Burroughs was then minister there. Having heard much of his great strength, I conversed with him about it; he told me then that he had put his fingers into the bung of a barrel (bung hole?) of molasses, lifted it up and carried it round him, and set it down again.’ ”—P. 120.

On such evidence as this, the jury found Burroughs guilty, and he was added to the list of victims. His solemn and serious address to the people from the fatal ladder was the admiration of the auditors; and when he repeated, in a clear sonorous tone, and with entire exactness, the prayer of our Lord, the people were so moved in his favour, that Cotton Mather, and the accusers, were obliged to denounce him as assisted by the Devil, even in his devotional exercises.

The next month witnessed the condemnation of fifteen more, most of them women; eight of whom died on the gibbet, whilst one, the husband of one of those who were ordered for execution, refused to plead, and was condemned to be pressed to death. As his aged frame—he was near eighty—yielded beneath the dreadful pressure, his tongue protruded from his mouth, and was thrust back again by the sheriff. With these last eight executions, the persecution may be said to have ceased. The special court never sat again; fifty persons had been found guilty, and above twenty condemned and executed by it. The frauds and impostures attending the trials began to be discovered; fear opened men’s eyes, and the feeling of insecurity from the lax nature of the evidence which the court deemed sufficient, and the general spread of accusations, rendered the people sceptical. The wife of the wealthiest person in Salem was accused; she saw how little good it was to attempt any defence, and resigned herself to death. Eventually she escaped out of the state, but the accusation and the conduct of the accused worked the desired effect. When the grand jury met, they dismissed more than half the presentments made to them; and of the six and twenty against whom a true bill had been found, but three were declared guilty; they were all reprieved. When the reprieve arrived, Stoughton, the chief justice, exclaimed, “We were in a way to have cleared the land of these; who is it obstructs the course of justice, I know not. The Lord be merciful to

the country." Aware that his duties were concluded, he retired from the bench, and never came again to the court.

The causes of this sudden change in the public opinion have been a vexatissima quæstio from the time of its occurrence. By some it is attributed to the fact of the wife of one of the most active of the anti-witchcraft ministers having been accused; so near an approach to himself, rendered her husband open to conviction, and changed him from the firmest of supporters to the most violent of opponents. An action for slander, brought by a gentleman at Boston against an informer who had accused his wife of witchcraft, and in which the damages were laid at a thousand pounds, is cited by other writers as at least one of the causes. Such facts as these seem much more like the effects of the change of opinion than the causes of it. Until the public mind had itself begun to waver, no minister would have dared to turn against the very creatures he had raised; and no man have risked an action for slander, lest the next witness should see his apparition, and witchcraft should be fixed on him also. Without attempting to discover a reason for this transient delusion, further than as one of the many superstitions of a superstitious age, and a nation of fanatics, may we not feel assured, that Almighty God, having accomplished that work which it was His pleasure should be performed, permitted the instinctive effort of self-preservation to resume its power in the human breast? Doubtless, the New-Englanders, as a people, still believed in witchcraft as a crime; fear did not take away the general belief; but it weakened, and finally eradicated, their belief in the individual cases; it impressed them with the dangerous consequence of their proceedings, and the hopelessness of combating the Powers of Darkness with the hand of man.

The change in the public mind was as complete and universal as the delusion had been. Bitter was the lamentation, and contrite the repentance, of all who had been actors in the awful scenes. Parris, the originator of the delusion, the chief agent in these acts of frenzy and folly, could not resist the popular indignation. No confession, even the most humiliating, could save him; it was not fitting that he should minister at the altar within sight of his victims' graves; he was compelled to leave his people. Cotton Mather, whose artful appeals and wilful suppression of the truth for a time deceived the people, and, perhaps, himself, (it would be charity so to think,) was properly appreciated long before his death. The jurors signed a solemn and humble declaration of regret for the part they had borne in the trials, expressing their fear that they had been the means of bringing upon themselves and the people the guilt of innocent blood, and humbly craving forgiveness for their misdeeds. Sewall, one of the special commissioners, confessed his errors before the congregation, in the church at Boston; and the government concluded the work of reparation, so far as penitence could repair such grievous injuries, by enjoining a special fast, and bidding all men offer up prayers to God, "that He would show us what we know not, and help us, wherein we have

done amiss, to do so no more ; and, especially, whatever mistakes on either hand had been fallen into, either by the body of this people, or any order of men, referring to the late tragedy raised among us by Satan and his instruments, through the awful judgment of God." One man alone of those concerned in these trials never pleaded his penitence, that man was Stoughton, the chief justice of the commission. " When he sat in judgment," he said, " he had the fear of God before his eyes, and gave his opinion according to the best of his understanding ; and, although it might appear afterwards, that he had been in error, he saw no necessity for a public acknowledgment of it." Let it be remembered by all, and especially by those who cavil at legal trials, that these enormities were committed by no packed court of lawyers, by no quibbling and straining of points ; but by a strictly popular tribunal, on which not a single lawyer sat. The victims were demanded by the popular voice, and the law was not allowed to exercise its conservative influences in protecting the innocent.

We may reasonably conclude this article with a few thoughts on superstition, and some notice of the carefully-veiled forms under which we may, in these days, become its scholars, whilst we are congratulating ourselves on our entire freedom from its errors, only because we are free from them in those forms in which our ancestors were subject to them. Now to the two forms of superstition,—namely, the worship of false gods, as of the heathen, or the Spirits of Evil,—we are not in these times liable ; but there is another form to which we are especially subject—the worship of the true God under false emblems and unauthorized rites. The idolatry of the heathens was of the former kind, chiefly ; they worshipped false gods by their images of wood and stone ; for no one is so foolish as to believe that they worshipped the wood or the stone, as mere wood or stone ; but they also worshipped, in a manner, the true God under false emblems. The Israelites both worshipped the gods of the heathen, and also the true God with the rites of the Canaanite deities. Since the preaching of Christianity, the prevailing, not indeed the only, superstition, has been the worship of God through false emblems and unholy rites ; sometimes the Christians have inquired of the nations around them, how they worshipped their gods, and have said the same worship must be given to our God ; at other times they have transferred to the image that adoration of which they constituted it the medium ; the idolatry, though we object to the phrase in any sense, of the Romanists, even of the most illiterate of their faith, is of this latter description, and no more than this ; especially in their worship of the holy elements and of images. This was the idolatry which Bishop Lloyd was willing to admit as a true charge against the Romanists, at the time when he so strenuously defended them against that charge in its common acceptation. Theirs is idolatry of the true God through a false medium ; not of a false god, through a true emblem.

But, without distinct enumeration, few will fail in making out a long list, as well of general superstitions, especially in reli-

gious matters, in these times, as of individual tendencies towards such practices. And few will refuse to admit, that when the conscience whispers that such and such a practice is superstitious, we are too apt to quiet her warnings by the weak excuse, "an error on the right side;" "at least, I am more sure in overdoing than in falling short, either in faith or practice." We know that these times have been characterized as the times of scepticism and unbelief, and so, to a certain extent, they are; but yet who can read the diurnal accounts of frauds and impositions, especially among the poor in the country, and not acknowledge the prevalence of superstition among our people; and that, too, at times, when we should least expect it? The truth is, we do not dare to inquire into our hearts, and to ask each ourselves how superstitious we really are. Is it among the illiterate alone, that the sacramental elements, as well of baptism as of the encharist, are regarded as infallible cures for certain physical diseases? We are afraid we should put this century sadly out of conceit of itself, were we to disclose a few facts gathered in many a wandering over England, and confined, not to the poor alone, or to the child that had not ceased to listen to its nurse's tales. Many a brave man, who has stood unblanched amid shot and shell, has feared to sleep in a haunted chamber, or to cross a churchyard to which the village gossips have attached a bad name. And when people boldly point to the inconsistencies in ghost-stories, and to the manifest falsehood of the evidence in the majority of the trials for sorcery; we too often catch at the objections with a joy that is based on the remembrance, that there is not an *à priori* reason against the Almighty permitting the Evil One to inspire mortals with a portion of his evil spirit, in order to perfect our trial on earth. Nine persons out of ten invert the order of superstition and false forms of religion: they talk of this or that religion introducing superstition, as if it was non-existent until that form of religion was created; on the contrary, superstition has been, and ever will be, the mother of false religion. Nothing can be more vain than to imagine that true religion will ever be promoted by superstition.

Let us not be misunderstood: it were nothing short of irreligion to deny Satan's empire; there may possibly be strange delusions which he exercises upon men's minds quite as powerful now as the charms of Egyptian magicians: if he could hinder St. Paul, we cannot, perhaps, over-estimate his power, certainly not his malice. Witchcraft and diabolic sacraments may not be altogether one vast system of negations; it is right to fear and to suspect these evils, and it is right also to meet their supposed existence with spiritual arms. Because Cotton Mather's views were not of the Church, he was permitted to believe in self-delusion, and to commit a tremendous sin: his error was not so much faith in witchcraft, as his attempts to exorcise without the Church's gifts.

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The Church of God. By the Rev. R. W. EVANS. Cambridge: Deighton. 1832.

Testimonies of W. Wordsworth and of S. T. Coleridge to Catholic Truth. Leeds Christian Miscellany.

The Kingdom of Christ; or, Hints to a Quaker respecting the Principles, Constitution, and Ordinances of the Catholic Church. By F. D. MAURICE, M.A. Chaplain of Guy's Hospital, and Professor, &c. Second Edition. 2 vols. London: Rivingtons. 1842.

NOT quite an hundred years ago, the poet Gray, anathematizing a dull book, described it as containing "whole pages of common-place stuff, that for stupidity might have been wrote by Dr. Waterland, or any other grave divine." Now Gray was neither an unbeliever, nor a flippant nor a shallow person; but he was a man of letters, and looked on Theology as nearly any other man of letters in that day would have done. How would it have astonished him, as well as many between his time and our own, could it have been foretold that a day would arrive, when, from no lack of literature, even the very lightest—a day in which Poets were to have greater honour than ever he saw conferred on them; a day teeming with attractive Fiction of all sorts; a day in which whatever other faculties might be in active exercise, the gift of humour most assuredly should—the prominent subject of conversation should be, the Theologians of the time, and their sayings and doings! And this not in one circle only, but in every cognizable one; in the West End of London, and, as we have lately been assured, in the back-settlements of America, chance talk will naturally end in discussing the merits, or demanding the latest intelligence, of Messrs. Newman and Pusey. The great Church movement which is so associated with those two names is, viewing it merely as a Phenomenon, one of the most conspicuous features of our times; all eyes, whatever be their faculty of measuring its dimensions, or of tracing its form, are constrained to gaze upon it; and whether the attendant emotions be those of Triumph, Joy, Uneasiness, Alarm, or Hatred, the subject is an uppermost one in all minds.

Of course, those to whom the whole matter is an annoyance, are ready enough with plausible explanations of this portent, such as that an excited age must always want variety in its excitement, and that Theology may take its turn as a fashionable stimulus, quite as well as anything else. Now this may perhaps explain too much of the interest taken by the upper classes in the outward and superficial

aspects of the Oxford school ; but it will not explain the vast progress of that school itself in all educated ranks ; and still less the increasing hold that the high doctrines of the Church and the Sacraments are taking of minds unconnected with, and not always very kindred to, the Oxford writers. Make what you like of the less respectable concomitants of the phenomenon, find as many degrading explanations as you can of its more superficial manifestations, resolve the change and the seeming enthusiasm of the frivolous and the vain, into their original frivolity and vanity, as much as you please ; when you have done all these things, you still leave a great portent behind. There is still a great Church movement which you may hate, but which you cannot despise—the Catholic Church is a word which is surely fast tending to have some great meaning, for good or for ill. Mighty powers are in action ; the fountains of the great deep are opened. Whither we are tending, none may venture exactly to tell ; nor need those who feel that they are moving, and that they are moving under the guidance of a Heavenly Light, care exactly to know. For them the words, “Lo, I am with you always,” are enough. But it may serve to strengthen the Faith of such, that they are obeying no deception, and in itself it must needs be a pious and profitable work, to trace, as far as we can, the various causes which have been made in our day, to concur towards one end. If we find that the confluence has been from most distant sources, that all the great tendencies of our age have borne upon this one object—the Catholic Church—then we see enough to answer the man who sneers at those who are earnestly occupied with that object ; then too we see enough at once to solemnize and awe as well as encourage and gladden our hearts ; and then too, if we feel sure that this Catholic Church be indeed the Kingdom of God, do we see His manifold Wisdom and Might.

Before entering on this inquiry, there is a previous consideration which gives it additional solemnity. The time seems to have come for a further manifestation of the Catholic Church than we have seen for ages. Secular causes and considerations are bringing men together ; geographical distance is losing more than half its power to keep them asunder : “Many are running to and fro, and knowledge is being increased.” There is a secular gathering of men which, in order that it be blessed and sanctified, demands for them a spiritual Unity. The causes which were keeping them apart are being done away. This is an important consideration. It is undeniable that in the beginning of the Church, although we cannot ascribe her Unity to anything short of a spiritual principle, she was provided with a secular framework of society, which greatly aided her in its development. We do not mean to say that the Roman Empire was either the ideal of Human Society in earthly respects, or the best ally of the Church ; our opinion being the very contrary. But almost commensurate with the Church, and combined, coherent, bringing men together from the most opposite regions as it was, it

became, as we have said, a great assistance to her in the development of her Unity, and, in virtue of the characteristics to which we have referred, would have thrown on Herself the whole blame of any stoppage of Communion, had such then arisen to any great extent, or in any serious permanence. After its fall, a new state of things began. The history of modern Europe is a history of the growth of nations out of the great mass of the Roman Empire. The confusion into which that was thrown, was not left unvisited by formative principles, which, gradually casting off on the one hand such Imperial traditions as continued to hold Europe secularly together, and on the other, gradually aggregating all such smaller tribes as tended by great natural affinities towards union, did by this process at once of contraction and enlargement, fix and shape the great countries of Europe in their present dimensions and aspects. How slow a process this has been, how comparatively recent are the completed formation and fixing of the Britain, the France, the Spain, the Austria of our own time, we need not say at present. It is a truth which every man may master by a little reflection, but which is seldom considered, remembered, or realized as it ought to be. Now this process, as far as it has been Divine, is to be revered; and the nations in which it has issued, are to be regarded as God's Ordinance, ordained for some high end. But, as in all history we observe God's Purpose and man's infirmity strangely mingled, so here, though we cannot doubt that the formation of nations each integrally independent was ordained for good, it is easy to see that of necessity it gave scope for whatever might be tending to division in the Church. And thus, other causes conspiring, did Christendom become miserably divided.

Now in such a state of affairs, although it must still have been every man's duty to be Catholic, and though the members of a really Catholic Church must have been furnished with all essential resources for being so to the salvation of their own souls, yet there cannot have been, taking the best people at their best, all the fruits of Catholicity as manifested in the whole range and tone of thought, and in all habitual sayings and doings. Men cannot have duties beyond their allotted range. And thus, miserable as is much of our English retrospect, we may console ourselves with believing that many of our fathers were better Catholics than they seem to us, or than we should be were our words and actions the same as theirs. They may not have been called on, and not very fit, to make definitions or statements of the Church or the Sacraments, and yet may have been ranging among the immunities and privileges of the one, and living on the Heavenly nourishment that flows through the other; and they may have had what we think a very narrow range and sympathy, may have spoken, and even felt about the Church as though it were limited to their own country, and been radically Catholic notwithstanding; our Catholic duties, as we have said, being determined by the precise amount of our practical knowledge

of men, and our range of feeling and action. He who really, and in a practical way, knows no more than three adjoining parishes, may be a good Catholic in his feeling and behaviour within them. He who has not a duty, nor even a practical thought or feeling beyond his country, may be a good Catholic within its boundaries. The day will come when the world itself shall be too little for the fellowship of the Church; when he would be a sectarian, were such a case possible, who should limit himself to our planet. If, therefore, even the elect spirits of the ages immediately preceding our own, who must of necessity have been radically Catholic, present us with many phenomena which would be unsuitable amid a generally diffused Catholicism, it is easy to see that in the absence of such, the majority must have been altogether un-Catholic. And it is equally easy to see that the state of affairs which, if it did not justify, at least in great measure accounted for, the divisions of Christendom, is passing away. The formation of Nations in Western Europe seems a completed work; our instinctive feeling is that each, be it Britain, France, or Spain, must through every vicissitude continue Britain, France, or Spain, for good or for ill. While, therefore, national development is a completed work, other processes are going on, which, drawing men together as they are doing, demand, as we have said, a Catholic Church, in order that their operation may be wholesome and blessed; and the duty of keeping this object before her is especially incumbent on England, as is indicated in a thousand ways, in the wide range of thought and feeling, in the facilities of movement, and consequent enlarged intercourse with mankind now opened to us, in our ever-increasing colonial empire, in the Missionary character which we are now bound, as we would avoid National Apostasy, to take up, and in others which cannot be dwelt on at present.

That we have good reason for believing that God is mysteriously training us for a more Catholic development than we have known for ages, and, consequently, for believing that He for His Part will not be wanting to us if we dutifully endeavour after such development, it will be the aim of the following remarks to show, by means of the argument which we announced at the outset—the confluence of People and tendencies amongst us—all bearing on this one point.

Recent disclosures would at first sight seem to assign to the great ecclesiastical movement at present in progress, the origin of a political emergency. This is the impression which is made at first, both by Mr. Perceval's and Mr. Palmer's pamphlets. On the latter, by far the most important piece of recent history which has appeared, we dwelt at length in a late number. Again, however, we must express our conviction that to ascribe the progress of Church principles to the emergency of 1833,—to represent the steady and clear proclamation of them which has ever since been made merely as a means of meeting that emergency, is not more

remote from the truth than from the intention of either of the writers in question. They merely tell us how the dangers of 1833 brought certain persons together, induced them to find out a line of decisive action, and at the moment when the Church seemed environed with enemies, to call renewed attention to her Divine origin and Heavenly authority. But the least consideration will suffice to show that, as the proclamation of these things could have had no virtue, had they been other than living truths of the highest concern at all times, so it could not have been made to any effect, except by men who had been long conversant with them, and had in the first instance approached them by some other road than a mere outward emergency. From which it follows, that the great advance of Church principles was a thing to be looked for anyhow, and in fact, we think it had commenced before the date, and independently of the origin, commonly assigned to it. We must now, therefore, as we have said, trace the sources from which, under God's blessing, we think it proceeded.

And the first of these that demands attention was one which proceeded directly from Him. The majority of the clergy had ever formally held the leading doctrines, from the practical consequences of which many of them now recoil. In the year 1820, it would not be too much to say that the whole body of those called the orthodox clergy, held Apostolical Succession and Baptismal Regeneration, and would not have turned away from even high statements of the grace of the Eucharist, so long as they were only brought forward to shut out the views of the Evangelical Party. Their High Church principles were held merely negatively, and, of course, coldly. They were only brought forward when needed for a purpose which one cannot much respect, and were probably seldom heard of, except in the University pulpits, and in visitation sermons. The ordinary preaching of those men bore too near a resemblance to that of the Jortins and Paleys of last century, even when not, as was very frequently the case, *identical* with it. But in the ensuing ten years a great change was taking place among this body, and serious religion becoming far more prevalent amid their ranks. They learnt, without seemingly abandoning any part of their old position, to feel the importance of the peculiarities of the Gospel *at all times*; they learnt to make the Cross of their Lord as much their watch-word as it had ever been that of their self-styled evangelical brethren. The "Dialogues on Prophecy"—a most interesting and curious record of the state of affairs at the time to which we are referring, and one which cannot be identified in any way with the clergy in question,—speaks of "the genuine piety which is rising in the High-Church party,"* and testifies to the important fact, that it was "of a more manly kind than is to be found in the ranks of Evangelicalism."† Now, if the truths previously held by those high churchmen, not perhaps altogether in unrighteousness, but yet in coldness and mere antagonism

* Dialogues on Prophecy, vol. i. p. 361.

† Ibid.

to the inconvenient zeal of others, were the great and pregnant ones we think them, it seems to follow that it needed but the breath of a better spirit to make them start up into an activity and prominence which ought ever to have been theirs; that in the mere fact of serious and earnest Religion becoming more prevalent in connexion with them, we have a sufficient cause of the increased and increasing attention which they are commanding. Illustrations of the change to which we are referring might easily be found. The present Bishop of London may, without offence we trust, be adduced as a very prominent one; the churches under his sway supply us with another; the sermons of Mr. Le Bas and Mr. Evans, even those of Mr. Benson, will explain our meaning. Perhaps the late admirable Mr. Rose, before his entrance on the very course of action for which we are now accounting, may serve as the type of what we are referring to. He indeed was the first in our day, as far as we know, who in England called attention to the Apostolical Succession, as a truth, not of negative and antagonistic, but of positive and intrinsic importance; as one which enhanced the solemnity, while it increased the encouragement, of discharging the priestly office.

This first cause, then, may itself seem sufficient explanation of the phenomenon before us; yet it will not, we think, be unprofitable to trace the subordinate ones, which were made to conspire with this.

Obviously the state of affairs in which we of the nineteenth century find ourselves, is one which, as we have already said, gives us a much wider range both of thought and feeling than was known before, connecting us more with other countries, and opening the way for Cosmopolitanism or Catholicity, according as the spirit of Error or of Truth has possession of a man. This is effected at once by the politics and the locomotion of the time. We have come back to one of those great epochs which, whenever they occur, are portents,—epochs in which the children of men are gathered together. This portent has been thus eloquently described in connexion with another more awful subject than that which is now occupying us, though not altogether alien to it:—

“One of the most obvious” heralds of our Lord’s coming “is the communication existing, and still increasing, both in extent and intensity, between all the sons of Adam, divided though they be by sea and by land, by tongues and by customs. They are again once more gathering to a common head. Even our own life-time suffices to see a manifest increase here; almost daily the widening prospect takes in at least a nook hitherto unexplored by sight; and every nook is an hour or a day embodied, as it were, and visibly taken from the delay of our Lord’s coming. In looking with hope and joy on such a prospect, we cannot err; there is nothing in its widening extent which can nourish a carnal feeling; for it is obvious that such extent, if it be due to peace and commerce and goodwill amongst men, is also equally owing to wars, ruined empires, subjugated nations,—to pestilence, to famine, and the sword. Having received our sign from God, let us, like his prophets, be content with it; let us see in faithful hope the day of our Lord and be glad.”*

* Evans’s Church of God, pp. 94, 95.

In considering this great portent, let us at present, being unable to embrace all its features, confine ourselves to its most material, and, as many may deem it, most frivolous, one; we mean the travelling of the present day. We have never been able to join in that approved and accredited moralizing which affects partly to ridicule, partly to deplore, the extent to which our countrymen visit Southern Europe. It is easy to wax facetious upon the Cockney south of the Alps; to be humorous on his resolute demand for his beef-steak on the wildest shores of the Mediterranean; a demand which, after some experience of the facts, we pronounce to be seldom, if ever, made, the Cockney stomach being altogether ready and kindly in its reception of foreign diet; to describe the opening of bottled porter within the walls of the Coliseum,—a sight with which we are quite unable to charge our memory; or, passing from this safe and well-established sort of pleasantry, to get sentimental on a growing taste for foreign luxuries, and a growing adoption of foreign morals. Now, we are quite willing to admit that if shoals of our countrymen cross the Alps, there must be a great many who seem rather out of place in the city of Dante, or amid the sights and remembrances of Rome; many who only go to show how unsusceptible they are of the legitimate and desirable influences of such places; and not a few who have contrived only to carry back the very things which they would have been better never to have learned. We have as little mercy as anybody can have on the young gentlemen and ladies who come back from a year of Italy, feeling it next to impossible to live in England, wondering at the sluggishness of northern blood, as though any other were flowing in their own veins, and the crassitude of northern perceptions, persuaded that the arts of living, liking, and loving, exist not on this side of the Channel; and, in addition, whilst they give no symptom of anything short of perfect health, pretending to be withered by every breath of Cisalpine wind. But we submit that this is only a slight manifestation of coxcombry in persons who would be making some such at any rate, whether they had ever seen the south of Europe or not. There must always be a certain proportion of fools in any numerous class of mankind; and travellers are by this time a sufficiently numerous class to come under this rule.

Again, we frankly admit that there are sentiments now and then expressed and felt (if there be any feeling in the matter) about Italy which amount to very bad morality; we mean such as Lord Byron announced and disseminated. Of such, it seems enough to say that they are not the natural or legitimate associations with that land, and that consequently their occasional expression cannot be fairly pressed as an argument against the practice of visiting it. As to one remaining objection to which John Bull always listens with a ready and complacent ear, and which appeals to all that is most honest and genuine about him, that travelling interferes with domestic tendencies; we may ask whether all *pleasure*, as distinguished from

happiness, does not this during its continuance? A three days' walk in Wales, or a tour to the Lakes, is not compatible with domestic life at the time we are engaged in it. A winter in Rome differs from these only in duration, and the real question is, whether such difference in duration be enough to leave behind it a permanent disrelish for domestic life. We say *no*, in the case of those who ever had a relish for it, or were not on the point of losing it at any rate. Those who make the objection would do well to ponder the fact, that the most travelling, is also the most domestic, of nations. Viewing the case with reference to those who turn the seeing of foreign lands to good use, (and what advantage or blessing is there which can be commended except with reference to such?) we say that travelling, where attainable, is a more important ingredient in the education of an Englishman, than of any other man; that our abundant means of it, seem a providentially appointed remedy for the evils otherwise incident to our island condition and character, and therefore an instrument of Catholicism. As a fact, we think that our increased intercourse with the continent has tended to promote Catholic feeling and practice among us. Of course we do not refer to any *sentimentalism* which may be brought back to England about the beauties of Romish devotion, for such we class very much with the forms of coxcombry to which we have been just referring. But thoughtful Englishmen can hardly make a long sojourn in a Roman Catholic country without discovering the existence of living piety, of real spirituality there, a fact which those who were not prepared for it, of whom there have been numbers, could not but ponder, and which could not enter into minds full of Protestant prejudices, without seriously disturbing, and at least modifying them. Further, the great fabric of the Latin Church, more especially as seen in its centre, can hardly fail to awaken important musings. So distinct, so massive, so ancient, so full of relation to the whole history of the world, so definite a triumph over the vast opposing forces, on the ruins of which it originally rose, so grand a reality in the present as well as in former days,—is it not a Kingdom indeed? And was it not this, perhaps, which the Prophets foretold, and the Baptist proclaimed, and the Apostles established, as the Kingdom of God? And if not this exclusively, nay, even if this be not in all things a worthy manifestation of it; if much of the attraction and power of this proceed from a carnal perversion of the principles and character of the Heavenly Kingdom; still, if we are to meet such attraction and power, and guard against such perversion, must it not be by seeing that we are indeed part of the Kingdom, and that we are manifesting its true principles? Thus the truth of a Kingdom of God upon earth is one which a pious and teachable mind, that has but faintly possessed it before, may well learn from the sight and contemplation of Rome, awakening, as that ought to do, some such thoughts as we have been expressing. And when this has been learnt, another lesson may well follow in its train. Our own Church can only

protest against Romish perversions of the truth of the Kingdom ; she cannot protest against Rome, in respect of the Kingdom itself, or anything she may have fairly developed out of it, any manifestation of spirit or conduct really congenial to its principles. From such she must rather be willing to learn. He who has given to every member his own place and gifts, has made a similar distribution among the different branches of His Church : one makes a greater manifestation of one kind of virtue, or develops more successfully one class of powers and resources, than another. Each, therefore, should be willing to study and copy that in which another most excels ; and there is much in the Latin Church from which ours might borrow with advantage. Thus, while fortified in his Anglican position, may our traveller be preserved from a merely Anglican spirit ; *i. e.* may be made more of an English Catholic than before. And such, we feel sure, has in fact been the influence of Rome on some of the best and most dutiful children of our own Church.

Further, the effect of travelling on a thoughtful man is, we think, to give an increased reality to his mind ; and Catholic sentiment must flourish in an atmosphere of reality. This reality travelling produces in many ways, specially by stimulating a love for that which is the great intellectual instrument of it, we mean History. Disquisition may or may not be conducive to it, but *facts*, moral facts, facts connected with social or national life and character, must be so. A historical habit of mind forces us to look at things in their connexion with the past ; he to whom it belongs can never be contented with a mere paper constitution ; things are not sure to him till they are taken out of the region of mere disquisition, and made external to, and independent of, the workings of the human mind. The religious scheme will of necessity come under this law ; it will not give satisfaction unless it be connected with History ; unless it link us with the past ; unless we can feel it to be an objective reality, even as the nation and the civil polity are objective realities.

The great literary revolution which has accompanied the political ones of the age, has been a conspiring cause, and no slight one, of the furtherance of Catholicism ; indeed that furtherance may be safely pronounced to be at once its end and justification. In the most important of the works with the titles of which we have headed this article, it is very elaborately shown how the schemes of philosophy which arose in Germany during the last century, and are coming to their destined sway in this, issue in a demand for a Catholic Church. Its author finds the same want expressed in the more mystical poetry which followed in its train. Commending to our readers' careful attention the interesting chapter to which we refer, we must, for the present, avoid the large questions suggested by the subject, and confine ourselves to one or two of the broader features of the literary change, as manifested in England.

Here, as all the world knows, Poetry was the great agent of its accomplishment. Not till Wordsworth and Coleridge had wooed

their countrymen's attention by song, did the philosophy of the latter gain any ground. These two great men have, in a very remarkable way, promoted the cause of Catholicity. So important has been their influence in that direction, that the conductors of a very useful series, the Leeds Miscellany, have thought it worth while to devote a number to each, the titles and purport of which our readers will see by looking at the head of this article. Against such citations from their works we have no objection to make; they are certainly striking testimonies to a class of truths with which the public has not yet learnt to associate the two greatest minds of the age, and we therefore gladly recommend them to notice. But we shall greatly err and underrate the influence of Wordsworth and Coleridge in the direction of Catholicity, if we imagine that it principally consisted in the orthodox statements of doctrine scattered over their works, and carefully selected in the pamphlets in question. The later poems of Wordsworth contain much indeed, in this way, which it is most satisfactory to hear him saying; but full as they are of wisdom and beauty, they neither are now, nor will they hereafter be, the instruments of his sovereignty. His wizard power comes over us, when we are studying those of his poems which were written before the year 1820. It was by their means that he became a prime agent in an intellectual and moral revolution. Now these poems are less orthodox than those of his later years, and therefore of course less Catholic, as far as logical propositions, or even directly religious sentiments, are concerned. Nay, there are states of mind to which they might be dangerous, for some of them *seem* to have a Pantheistic meaning. Yet on the whole, it is by means of them that Wordsworth has forwarded the cause of Catholicity, rather than by the more strictly religious of his compositions. They are deep expressions of a longing after something truer and better than the intellectual food on which England was regaling at the time; passionate complaints of the hollowness of her worldly and Mammon-worshipping condition; great assertions in one form, of the principle that "man doth not live by bread alone." To come to particulars, their spirit is that of Humanity; or a deep, reverent interest in all that appertains to Man, when every conventional distinction is laid aside. Now, if the Church be the great human society, the brotherhood of Mankind, the society that looks at Man simply as Man, and proposes to itself, not the cultivation of anything conventional or accidental, but of the essential Manhood of her members, it is easy to see that transcendent poetry, animated by such a spirit as we have ascribed to Wordsworth's earlier poems, will do more in awakening Catholic desires, thoughts, and sentiments, than poetry, however beautiful, of inferior pitch, but more directly concerned with Catholic doctrine or practice. For example, such lines as those from the Old Cumberland Beggar—

"——Many, I believe, there are,
Who live a life of virtuous decency :
Men who can hear the Decalogue, and feel

No self-reproach ; who of the moral law
 Established in the land where they abide,
 Are strict observers ; and not negligent
 In acts of love to those with whom they dwell,
 Their kindred, and the children of their blood.
 Praise be to such, and to their slumbers peace !
 But of the poor man ask, the abject poor ;
 Go and demand of him, if there be here,
 In this cold abstinence from evil deeds,
 And these inevitable charities,
 Wherewith to satisfy the human soul ?
 No—man is dear to man ; the poorest poor
 Long for some moments in a weary life,
 When they can know and feel that they have been
 Themselves the fathers and the dealers out
 Of some small blessings ; have been kind to such
 As needed kindness, for this single cause,
 'That we have all of us one human heart'—

profound no less than impassioned as they are, produce sentiments which rise up at the assertion of a Catholic Church, and respond to it with glad welcome.

Again, that seemingly Pantheistic element to which we have alluded in Wordsworth's earlier poems, that idolatry of Nature which we have admitted to be capable of mischief to many minds, is not, viewed under more favourable aspects, without its bearing on Catholicity ; for, however wrong it may be to set up external Nature as an object of worship, yet that earnest and reverential scrutiny into its character, that wistful search into its hidden meanings, of which Wordsworth has set the example, are surely due to it, as the work of God, as "the shadow of His might," the result of His Idea. And such a faith as that the world around us cannot be dead matter, or a mere combination of mechanical forces, that it is wonderfully adjusted to the world of mind, and full of fruitful meanings, tends obviously to prepare him, of whom it has taken full possession, for the Catholic doctrine of sacraments, and for the sacramental scheme of thought. It leads people not to scorn and reject the visible as unspiritual, but to revere and cherish it *because it is spiritual*. Thus beautifully has our great poet done his part in the advance of good ; thus, without quitting his appointed post, without merging the poet in the dogmatist, has he gently led us on from a state of Conventionality, Caste, and Selfishness, to one that at least asks for Reality, Humanity, and Brotherhood.

The poetry of Coleridge, though exceedingly different in its character, has had, as far as it has gone, precisely the same sort of influence as Wordsworth's. "Beautiful exceedingly," however, though it be, there is much less of it than there is of Wordsworth's, and it is much the least part of Coleridge. It is through his prose that this latter has shaped the thoughts of more choice and earnest minds than any other man of his time ; and however people may differ in their precise estimate of him, few will now deny that his influence has seldom, if ever, been unfavourable. Of him indeed

one knows not what to say. Such a combination of magnificent strength and deplorable weakness the world perhaps never saw. But with the latter, surely we, his survivors, have nothing to do; nor have we much patience with those gentlemen who every now and then show off some detached piece of learning, which may enable them to add one humbling fact more to those which we already knew of the mighty departed, and which, taken at its worst, can hardly fail to come under the law which we had long learned to apply to the similar ones that we knew before. *Requiescat in pace.* Enough for us now to know and be thankful that the richest gifts bestowed on any man of this age were used to the glory of God, and the illustration of His Eternal Truth, and to trace, as we are now trying to do, the services he has rendered to the cause of Catholicity.

Coleridge differed from Wordsworth in exercising a directly theological influence. In addition to all his other faculties and functions, he was a divine; a deeply read, and we need scarcely say, a profound and earnest one. It will therefore be important, not merely to see how great, like Wordsworth, has been his indirect influence, but to show that as a theologian he was actually orthodox and Catholic. But before doing so, let us look at the results of such parts of his labours as were not actually theological.

Such of his prose works divide themselves into two classes—those designed to introduce into England and establish the transcendental metaphysics, and those illustrative of the English constitution. These classes are not to be found in distinct works, but in different parts of the same, and often they interpenetrate so as to render material separation impossible.

The devotees of German metaphysics consider Coleridge as having gone no further than their portal, and, we believe, as not having very accurately understood even the prospect open to him there. This is probable enough, for we think that he scarcely ever looked into them except with English eyes, or applied them otherwise than for English purposes. We mean that he saw in the Kantian Philosophy one great truth, the practical application of which would illustrate every English inquiry, remove every English perplexity, clear English doubts, and re-establish English faith. The distinction between the Reason and the Understanding was welcomed by him as a theological acquisition, and applied to theological ends. We do not think he would otherwise have succeeded in impressing his countrymen with its importance, or in calling any considerable amount of attention to it. Such importance however he has impressed us with, such attention to it he has procured, and whether or not we be led to investigate it more accurately than he, or whatever modifications of his claims to originality in expounding it an acquaintance with German Philosophy may lead us to make, it remains true that a principle has been widely circulated among us by him, which not only in its application to Theology, but even in its intrinsic character, has a necessary tendency to ripen the minds which

embrace it for the reception of Catholic truth. We say in its intrinsic character, for Mr. Maurice has shown in a very elaborate argument that the Kantian doctrine of the Reason, followed up to its legitimate conclusion, must issue in that same demand for a Catholic Church and Faith to which every thing vital and energetic in the present age is conspiring. It is enough for our present purpose to say, that whatever points to that which is common to Humanity, instead of leaving men to fancy themselves as apart from each other as they seem various; whatever lays greater stress on such common element than on the points of diversity between man and man, or race and race; whatever finds the true dignity and blessedness of Man in the development of such a common element, must pave the way for the assertion of a Catholic Church. This is done by the transcendental doctrine of the Reason; and therefore the wide dissemination of that doctrine through Coleridge's instrumentality, to say nothing at present of the subjects to which he applied it, was one among the many influences put forth among us for the furtherance of that mighty end.

We need not dwell long on Coleridge's political writings. In as far as they taught us to revere the past, the traditionary, the authoritative, —to retain and cherish ancient ordinances,—to look with awe on the mysteries of a nation's life; in as far, in short, as they taught us not to make our own conceptions the measure of right public conduct, and to see the spiritual in a nation's organization, in so far they must have been influences favourable to Catholic sentiment in a way too obvious to require illustration here.

It remains, then, that we look at Coleridge as a theologian. In this capacity few things were more conspicuous about him than his rare love of Truth. He pursued a study, which, beyond all others, is beset by the snare of partizanship with the most entire freedom from anything of the sort. He never can be caught special-pleading. His faith in Truth, in the certainty that nothing was better than Truth, that no dread of consequences could make it other than a crime to pervert or hide it, preserved him from such an evil. Hence his writings are continually baulking the spirit of partizanship. Hence much was admitted into his mind in the way of inquiry, which one would be sorry to think of as established there, to which fainter spirits, we do not say unwisely, give no entrance into theirs, and which, indeed, required a large influence of the Spirit of Truth to hinder from operating unwholesomely. We frankly admit there being things in his writings neither reverent nor safe, but it must be considered that they occur in the volumes of his Literary Remains, which are almost entirely collected from his copious pencillings on the margins of books, recording feelings and surmises to which we have no right to suppose that he would have deliberately adhered, or that he would ever have addressed in his own name to the public. They are very valuable when read with this caution, very injurious to his memory if read without it, but taken

at their worst, not absolutely incompatible with the Catholic Faith, admitted, as they were, into the mind of one who does not seem ever to have *preached* them to others.

When we come to Coleridge's deliberate writings, we find, as we might have expected, that his transcendental metaphysics reconcile him to mystery in religion, and lead him to enforce such reconciliation on others. But further, his orthodoxy on the subject of the Trinity is conspicuous in all his works, and we know in what high favour with him were both Bull and Waterland. Our own pages this month show how well he understood the relative functions of Scripture and the Church; and the mock superstitious reverence which the religionists of the present time pay to the former, he has elsewhere denoted by the happy term, *Bibliolatry*. The Leeds Miscellany likewise contains some important citations from his works on this subject.

On the subject of Sacramental Grace, indeed, a beginner in Coleridge will encounter some variety of statement. The doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration is expressly denied in the *Aids to Reflection*; but it is denied on grounds which show that he did not then understand what was meant by it. Indeed, the whole discussion on Baptism in the work in question, is more unsatisfactory than any other dissertation in all Coleridge's writings. But his views on this subject seem to have greatly risen afterwards, as must be inferred from his beautiful letter to his godchild,—perhaps the most admirable statement of Baptismal benefit to be met with out of Holy Scripture. But whatever might be his views of Baptism, he seems to have long upheld the high doctrine of the other Sacrament. We know his assertion, that Arnauld's great work on this subject was “irresistible against the Sacramentaries;” and such testimonies as his against low views of the Eucharist are especially valuable, since not even the *Record* could succeed in connecting him either with the Oxford school or with the ordinary race of High Churchmen. But of far more consequence than this, is his discussion on the Grace of the Eucharist towards the end of the “*Aids to Reflection*.” Perhaps nothing in the whole compass of English theology has thrown so much illustration on a subject, which may, though one cannot but hope and pray that so great a calamity be averted, become the battlefield of Catholicity in this Church and Kingdom.*

Such potent influences conspiring with those more direct ones to which we have already referred, were well calculated to introduce

* We have confined our remarks on the influence of contemporary literature, to Wordsworth and Coleridge, because round them has centred the whole intellectual revolution which this century has witnessed in England; and whatever literary influence has contributed to Catholicity will come, we think, under the considerations which we have connected with those two great men. More than enough in this way, has, we think, been elsewhere attributed to Scott. Beyond stimulating a taste for what was picturesque in the middle ages, we have never been able to see wherein he has been an especial instrument of Catholicity. There was nothing very earnest or wistful in his cast of thought; he has therefore been popular rather

Catholic thought among us; and no one who knows what was going on fourteen or fifteen years ago in Cambridge will doubt that the phenomenon must have appeared in the Church somehow or other, even though no Tracts for the Times had issued from Oxford, or though that university had been the scene of no combined exertion in furtherance of a theological movement. Those tracts and that exertion never could have told as they have done, were the case otherwise.

It may therefore be worth while to point out a little of the Catholic thinking which has been exhibited before, or altogether independent of, the Oxford school. The students of Prophecy, of whom we heard so much some years ago, were very often led to High-Church doctrines, partly from a growing sense of the rottenness of their self-styled Evangelical adversaries; partly doubtless from getting possessed with the thought of a Kingdom of God as the great end of the Gospel, to which even the salvation of individuals is subordinate; partly from being led to feel that the notion of "the Church's expectation" involves the notion of a Church to expect; partly from becoming more occupied with the Person of our Lord, than the most zealous religionists of the time immediately preceding. This tendency to Catholicism became very apparent, indeed, in the body of Irvingites, who we believe have now developed the true scheme of the Church in great perfection, but with this one fatal draw-back, that it is but the scheme, and not at all the reality.* But they belong not to our present inquiry, which relates only to Churchmen. Among many proofs of their minds being led, through the study of Prophecy, to orthodox and Catholic doctrine, we may adduce a book not nearly so well known as it deserves to be, entitled *Letters on National Religion*, by the Rev. C. Smith. This issued from the university of Cambridge, in the year 1832; and though disfigured by much eccentricity of style, and not a little of thought, and though containing some judgments on matters through which we cannot but think the author did not then see his way, bears the Catholic stamp deeply imprinted, and it is well worth reading as one of the most thoughtful and original dissertations on its subject which we possess.

Leaving the Millenarian school, we come to a writer who rose into conspicuous notice before an Oxford Tract was written, or the members of the Oxford school were brought together. It may seem

than adored; his influence has been wide, but not deep or potent. Still that influence, such as it was, was in the same direction as the others, by reason of the one circumstance to which we have alluded, combined with the fact that historical romances, if read with delight, strengthen a taste for History, which we have already pronounced to be a great ally of Catholicity. Before bidding adieu to the subject of Coleridge, let us call attention to the gratifying fact, that a son of his is now placed at the head of an institution, from which we hope for greater things in the direction of English Catholicity than from any other single influence at present in operation.

* The present Irvingites, dating it from a new Pentecost in which they unhappily believe, hold concerning their own body, all that Catholics, dating it from the true Pentecost, hold concerning the Church.

startling after to say that Mr. Evans's writings have not yet received either the praise or the attention which are their due; but so we think it is. Books may be very popular without being appreciated, for the public mind may misconceive their true excellence. Were we to ask people generally what is the character of Mr. Evans as a writer, from nine out of ten we should probably hear that he was an amiable sentimentalist; because the *Rectory of Valehead* is a sentimental book, and because, in addition thereto, he has written some tales, and indulged rather more of his fancy than is very desirable respecting the possible feelings and circumstances at certain times and conjunctures of some of the personages whose biographies he has undertaken. Granting all this, we say that sentiment though the most obvious, is no more the principal, than it is the most valuable, characteristic of the *Rectory of Valehead*. We consider it a hard thinking book. It is far more a treatise than a tale. The author had caught hold of a great principle, of which this little book is the exposition—the relation of the Family to the Church. Beautifully and profoundly does he trace the Divine principle of union, given to counteract Satan's work of discord, through its successive and ever-widening spheres, of family, diocese, and nation, up to the universal Church; and most practically wise are the canons and usages of the ideal family which he sets before us, not as an example to be followed to the letter, which might be often impossible, but as an image of what the Family is in the Church. And this leads us to observe, that such a method as is here pursued has been by far too much neglected by most modern writers on the Church. All the argument, and all the authority in the world, will be apt to fall dead on many minds, who might hail with delight a teacher who should point out to them that religion is an essentially social principle, and that just what a family is for our secularly childish training, is the Church for that of our spiritual childhood.

But the *Rectory of Valehead* was but the prelude to a far more elaborate work, which must always be a standard one in English Divinity. The Church of God is a treatise on the subject, than which our language contains few more philosophical or profoundly thought out. Without any parade, it is obviously the result, of much ripe learning; it is saturated with the sentiment and spirit of sacred Antiquity, and unites severe reasoning with the liveliest illustration, and the most glowing eloquence. We do not believe that it has been at all read in proportion to its deserts; but much of it was delivered from the university pulpit, to breathless audiences; and when we remember how young and old flocked to St. Mary's, to hear Mr. Evans, whenever he filled the post of select preacher, it becomes impossible to doubt that by him much Catholic seed has been sown.

Although its author is not merely numbered, but has long held, a foremost place among the Oxford school, we may consider the *Christian Year* as having exercised an influence, not merely anterior to, but independent of, it. And to those who fancy that

what startles them in the Oxford Theology is all owing to inflamed minds, rapidly catching each other's infection; who conceive that Messrs. Keble, Newman, and Pusey, have each been rapidly hurried on by the others; it seems a sufficient answer to refer to that little volume of poetry which came out in the year 1826, and will be found on examination to enunciate or imply nearly every important feature in what can fairly be called the Divinity of the Oxford Tracts. Now, we cannot think that the great hold which the Christian Year took on the public mind, is to be attributed to a mere sentimental fancy for religious verses; for its obscurity, the difficulty and delicacy of most of its thoughts, and the depth of its Theology, must have seriously stood in the way of any such influence. Its having been then so gladly received and cherished, surely indicates there having been abundant capacities of entering into its spirit. However ill-defined might be the doctrines avowed by many of its readers, they could hardly have loved the book, without some relish for that true and healthy form of Religion whereof it is an embodiment.

We need not do more than refer to the correspondence of Bishop Jebb and Alexander Knox, and the posthumous works of the latter, for they obviously bear on our argument; such Catholic results as they arrived at having been reached, not only independently of the Oxford school, but of any living one, by mental processes rather than the sympathies and contagions which accompany outward action, or the dependence of juniors on their seniors and superiors. It is worth while also to remind our readers of the time when Mr. Knox's mind and thoughts were first made publicly known: how completely that contributed to obtain for them a hearing, and invest them with an interest, which might not have been their fate had they been earlier known; and how completely, too, being the hour of need, it brought the great subjects of Church Communion and Sacramental Grace before readers who might not then have come in contact with, or might have turned away from, the Oxford writings. Of course we are speaking merely of those points wherein Mr. Knox was Catholic, there being others on which his claim to the title will be boldly denied by some, and questioned by many more.

But we must now come to a work far more remarkable than any, out of Coleridge, which has yet been occupying us. Mr. Maurice's Kingdom of Christ is perhaps one of the greatest treasures of the age. So few are competent to read it, and so few even of those laborious enough for the purpose, that many may think, that, with all its value, it can scarcely serve the present argument, or be spoken of as an illustration of the many lines which are now converging to the one focus of Catholicity. But such a book can never be still-born; there are minds of which it must take a mighty possession—which it must greatly mould—and who will work as its zealous interpreters to the many whose reasoning powers are too unexercised to receive such a banquet of pure concentrated

thought. Now, Mr. Maurice is a witness for, and propagator of, Catholicity, notoriously independent of the Oxford school. It would be saying more than could by possibility be true, to allege that, being their contemporary, and with such a mind as his, he had not come in contact with their thoughts, or in anything been influenced by them. But the traces of either are astonishingly slight, considering all the circumstances, and the identity of most of their general conclusions. He may, therefore, be cited as an independent witness, the more so that in spite of the identity of general doctrine, to which we have just referred, there are some far from unimportant points of diversity between him and the Oxford divines, and still more perhaps of difference in temper, spirit, and mode of looking at facts and events. With these, however, we are in no way concerned at present, our wish just now being to show how, independently of the Oxford writings, and by different methods and processes, Mr. Maurice arrives at the doctrine of a Catholic Church, set up in the world as a visible polity, organized by an apostolical priesthood, developed in sacraments, holding one unchangeable creed, by fellowship with which we join in the eternal fellowship of the blessed, by separation from which we separate ourselves from the promises of God.

It would be quite impossible at the end, or even within the compass of, an article, to give any worthy account of a work, which, however else it may be estimated, must be admitted by all who know it, to be vaster in its scope than any of the present day, and to carry the reader over a much greater variety of ground. We must, therefore, content ourselves with endeavouring to point out the diversity of method between Mr. Maurice and his contemporaries, in arriving at what we will call the doctrine of the Church. We may view it as the inductive or *à posteriori*, in opposition to what may perhaps be called the *à priori* method. By the latter we designate such a process as the following:—

When we look into the primitive, and as such, the true, form of Christianity, we find that it was a visible and organized polity—a polity designed to be universal—a polity founded and arranged by the Apostles, from whom alone the right to bear office in it was held to come. This was the Catholic Church, and as unbounded duration in Time was one of its characteristics, as well as extension in Space, it must still be to be found now. Where, however, can it be, except in those bodies which continue to hold the original faith, and have carefully preserved the derivation from the Apostles? This, which is the method of the Oxford Tracts, and perhaps that of High-Church writers generally, we have called the *à priori* one, as interpreting present facts by an antecedent principle (though, of course, that principle is gained inductively), rather than arriving at such principle by the investigation of present facts.—Their argument comes to this,—there must be a Catholic Church now, because Christianity at beginning came in the form of, and was altogether bound up with, a Catholic Church.

Mr. Maurice's is the latter or inductive method. He surveys all the mental and moral facts around him, and finds this common element in them all, whether they be facts of Religion, or of Philosophy, or of Politics; that they have all issued, however unconsciously on the part of such as exhibit them, in a demand for an universal constitution,—a constitution for Man as Man,—a constitution, moreover, which while it must be distinct, must be spiritual also. He then looks into early ages, and sees that the nation which confessedly was under a spiritual education, was carefully trained to cherish the thought of precisely such an universal constitution. Returning to the present, he asks whether there be any signs in the world of such a constitution, and he finds two Sacraments that originated from the very beginning of what was regarded by those who first solemnized them as an Heavenly Kingdom; one Creed, though embodied in more than one formula; one Divine volume as a storehouse of teaching; and one Apostolical ministry to expound that volume, guard that creed, and dispense those sacraments. Every one of these features has universality stamped upon it, is adapted to Humanity as such, can enter into every accidental phase of that Humanity, mingle with every local variety of constitution or usage, and remain the while essentially unchanged. Is not this, then, the Catholic Church in which all these excellences are combined, and is not this Catholic Church that which satisfies what we have seen to be alike the craving of our religionists, our philosophers, and our politicians?

Now, of course, each of these methods has its especial advantages; neither can say to the other, "I have no need of thee;" nor is there any reason why an individual inquirer should not avail himself of both. Mr. Maurice obviously presumes the investigations and their results of the *à priori* reasoners: at the same time his plan has these advantages, that it looks at present facts more unflinchingly than theirs; that it starts with sympathy with all that is around him; and that it furnishes us with a better clue to distinguish between what was accidental and ephemeral, and what essential and to endure, in the phenomena of the apostolical age.

Having placed the second edition of the Kingdom of Christ at the head of our article, we are bound, as reviewers, to tell our readers who may be in possession of the first, that on the one hand they need not dread finding the value of that first superseded by the appearance of a *new and improved edition*; on the other, that they will be mistaken if they imagine that having read the first, they can have little occasion for the second. In truth, what Mr. Maurice has called two editions, we call two separate works—on the same subject indeed, and by the same hand, but still distinct, and each well worth being read by him who has mastered the other. What the second has lost in respect of the liveliness which belonged to the epistolary form of the first, of the allusions to co-temporary facts and persons which ran through it, and many passages of most thrilling eloquence, it has gained in system and completeness, in purity and

accuracy of style, in the absence of any personal asperity, and in the accession of much valuable matter.

We have now, as far as our necessary limits would permit, completed our view of the strange gathering together of various forces upon one point which is characteristic of our day. Many, many others might be added; the experience of each individual who recalls the recent past, may throw its own tinge, and introduce its own groups, into the picture. We might have dwelt, too, on the sterner teaching which is conveying the same lesson; the way in which our thoughts are carried to a Catholic Church, from ever multiplying experience of the vanity of all else, from the distress and perplexity, the fainting, weary vanity into which men's forgetfulness and abandonment of it have brought them. But we have said enough to suggest what we mean.

Neither have we dwelt on the piety, and zeal, and labours of some who held and proclaimed Catholic principles in the worst of times; and who are now enabled to breathe a freer air, and range amid more extended sympathies than were vouchsafed to them at the beginning of their course. Their names and their case are equally obvious; nor do they bear directly on our present argument, which has related rather to the thoughts awakened, the spirits evoked, the tendencies determined in the present age. Whereas such men as Dr. Hook and Mr. Churton, though most honoured and effective instruments in promoting the present revival of Catholic feeling and practice, constitute a different, but in its place very forcible, argument for the depth and value of their principles. They can testify to having *received* them from a former generation; they are *witnesses* to no mean or worthless fact,—the fact, that neither such principles, nor their realization in practice, can be stigmatized as new. On this fact we may have more to say hereafter. It would be a delightful, and we are sure a very practicable, task to show that our Church possesses an unbroken succession, not merely of Apostolical ordination, but of Apostolical sentiment, and that, like the shadowy creation of romance, she has been begirt with a sacred girdle, which, though it has at times seemed to wax fainter and fainter, has never been dissolved, and has now again enlarged its breadth, the omen of coming spiritual prosperity.

We have written, be it observed, to exhibit signs of Hope, not to lay grounds of satisfaction. The latter spirit we deprecate as strongly as we implore the cultivation of the former. Far be it from us to say that things are right as they are. Surely we, who have ever protested against setting up any past age of the Church as an ideal, would be most inconsistent were we to try and do that for the present one. If we have warned men against such an idolatry of the beautiful and venerable Past, mellowed by time and distance, with all that must have been base and earthly removed into the back-ground, and the great pages of Holiness and Heroism standing out in full relief and unsoiled purity; surely we shall not encourage an idolatry of the Present, where

carnality and earthliness are near and around whatever that is fair, and pure, and lovely, and of good report may be contained in it also ;—where we see the good in all the imperfection which must characterise the *progress* of their course, and the bad in all the deformity of conspicuous and unsoftened intrusion. No ; at no time must the Church, any more than her individual children, count herself to have apprehended : she must *press forward*, and woe to the man who would fain make her loiter ! Woe to the man who cannot part with the feeling of comfort in the mere present organization around him ; woe to the man who cannot bear the thought of movement, and is pained by the Heavenward progress of the Church ! Woe to the man who says, who dares to say, that *things are well as they are* ! We would endeavour to say from our hearts, God speed the movement to something higher, and better, and more Catholic ! And we are encouraged to believe that He will speed it from a conviction that it is His own cause, and from the phenomenon which has been occupying our attention,—itself the most encouraging of all signs. Not one scanty rivulet alone, but the waters from a thousand springs are all rushing forward to the same mighty sea ; and for the most part each new sweep in their course is bringing them nearer to each other, as well as to their common goal. Having such a sign, we can go on with high heart and hope ; we can bear with much that seems contrary and discouraging,—with the opposing forces of this world, for their energy but manifests the rightfulness of our cause,—with the indiscretion, the eccentricity, the perversity of some who might otherwise serve us well, for such things are in their very nature ephemeral,—yea, even with the uneasiness and temporary alienation among many of the truly good, for that, calamitous though it be, cannot be more than temporary, can proceed but from misapprehension, and will vanish under the hand of Time the gradual enlightener, of Providence making all things work together for good, of Divine Grace, the increasing sway of which ever brings and binds its subjects into one.

How shall we conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England ?

By JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, Curate of Boxley. London : William Pickering, Pp. 190.

How shall we conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England ? is assuredly a question of great importance in itself to every Anglican Churchman ; and one of especial interest at the present time, when there is scarcely a possible form that it could assume, in which it is not suggested to us, and scarcely a degree of importance derived

from the authority or lack of authority of those who discuss it, with which the answer is not from time to time invested. 'For good or for ill; to direct his own conduct, or to cavil at that of his neighbours; in humility or in self-conceit, every one is asking this question. The ladies of Mr. Such-an-one's congregation: the five travellers with whom one happens to make a sixth on the railway: the "Record," and the "Christian Remembrancer," the clergy at visitation, from the deacon who seizes the auspicious moment to ask the question of his elder brethren, to the ordinary who speaks with authority from his chair: churchmen and dissenters:* men, women, and children,—all echo the question, and almost all answer it apparently to their own satisfaction, "How shall we conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?" The subjects under discussion are somewhat different, but for the obtrusiveness of ill-assorted controversialists, it is much as it was when

"The oyster-women lock'd their fish up,
And trudg'd away to cry, 'No Bishop.'
The mouse-trap men laid save-alls by,
And 'gainst evil counsellors did cry;
Botchers left old clothes in the lurch,
And fell to turn and patch the church;
Some cried the covenant, instead
Of pudding-pies, and gingerbread;
And some for brooms, old boots and shoes,
Bawl'd out to purge the Common House;
Instead of kitchen-stuff some cry,
A Gospel-preaching ministry;
And some for old suits, coats, or cloak,
No surplices nor service-book;—
A strange harmonious inclination
Of all degrees to Reformation."

It is far from our wish to deny that while what is seen upon the surface is overcharged with uncharitableness, presumption, and meddlesome impertinence, there is on both sides an undercurrent of earnestness and sincerity: indeed it is the reality of these higher principles, which has called this mere bustle and obtrusion into activity, and irritated the self-conceit and uncharitableness into malignity; but who is there that does not feel ashamed for his kind, when he sees how mixed a medley of passions are ever ready to be excited by controversies upon the most grave and solemn subjects?

* The interference of dissenters with questions which cannot concern them, but which they are too ready to use as occasions of sowing or irritating discord in the Church, must have been observed by every one who watches the signs of the times. If an unhappy young clergyman, with half a dozen of the more humble and reverent of his flock, have scandalized the rest of the congregation, by bowing at the name of *JESUS*, or turning to the East at the Creed,—by "nodding of heads, and whirling about till their noses stand eastward," as Peter Smart, one of the great persecutors of Bishop Cosin calls it,—or by any other equal enormities, the dissenters of the parish, and the "organ" of the dissenters in the next county town, are sure to be among the first and the loudest in discussing the delinquency and condemning the criminal. This may be wise warfare, but it is not Christian peace and love.

And yet the question must be asked, and that not only by the clergy but by the laity also. The laity are too apt to forget, and perhaps the clergy are not careful enough to remind them, that the Church is not a hierarchy only, but that the laity are as essential a part in its constitution, as living and active a part in its faith and ordinances, as the clergy. We fear that in nine cases out of ten the layman asks the question, "How shall we conform?" only to find occasion of praise or blame to his pastor; forgetting that it has really an answer to himself, involving conduct and duty, to which he ought first of all to listen. If the priest were absolutely perfect in his obedience and in the spirit of his obedience, yet his Church could never present a fair picture of what our Liturgy requires, so long as all the people, or the greater part of them, are careless or rebellious. But more than this, the priest cannot, in all points, conform even *personally*, without the concurrence of the people. He cannot, for instance, "openly in the church instruct and examine so many children of his parish, sent unto him, as he shall think convenient," unless "all fathers, mothers, masters, and dames shall cause their children, servants, and apprentices, to come to the church at the time appointed, &c.!"* He may admonish the people "that it is most convenient that Baptism should not be administered but upon Sundays, and other Holy-days, when the most number of people come together, that the congregation then present may testify the receiving of them that be newly baptized into the number of Christ's Church;" but unless "the godfathers and godmothers, and the people with the children be ready at the font" at the appointed time, he cannot obey the rubrics by which he is bound, in fact and in conscience, in "the ministration of public baptism of infants to be used in Church." And so in many other cases. The people also must conform, or the priest is driven to inconformity,—how sorely soever against his will. Surely, then, there ought to be more sympathy between priest and people on this question than one generally sees; and if it be right enough that a jealousy on the part of the laity should prevent the possibility of their being "brought into bondage" of obsolete, new-fangled, or superstitious usages; it is equally just that the clergy should not be forced into bondage to a broken law, by the carelessness or superstition of those who will not allow them their share of obedience. "It is impossible but that offences will come, but wo unto that man through whom the offence cometh!"—a denunciation which is ready enough upon the lips of those who cry out conscience against an ordinance *observed*; but which is surely rather to be directed against those who are the cause of an ordinance being disobeyed,—to the wounding of his conscience—by one who would obey it most readily, if he were but permitted by those on whom it is in fact as binding as on himself.

Now, these remarks, of course, are not intended to set the ques-

* Rubrics 1 and 2, after the Church Catechism.

tion, "How to conform?" at rest, either by answering or by checking the inquiry; but, indirectly, the principle on which they are founded would tend, if (which, alas! is but too improbable,) they might but be accepted as a practical lesson by those whom they most concern, to hasten the time at which the question shall be settled, and to smooth the controversy through which the answer may be attained. Moreover, if the great body of the Church, clergy and laity, would act on such principles, and make them the rule of their judgment, the answer would perhaps be different from what it may by possibility become in the present state of feeling. If we seek a high standard, it must be by high aspirations, and in meekness and love, or we shall assuredly seek it in vain. If the standard which the Church proposes to herself in the Liturgy be above and beyond any we have yet attained to,—and none can gravely deny that it is,—we must not think to raise ourselves up to it by descending to low, uncharitable, rebellious, self-willed conduct. If we would attain to uniformity, and that which is the soul of uniformity, truth, and love, it must be by exertions which have truth as their object, and charity as their measure. Truth may be the result of conflicting arguments, but those arguments must have truth for their object, not victory;—still less, hatred and partizanship. No; let us, if it be possible, draw together, not in opinions, perhaps, at first, that will come;—not in external observances, for the present we are not worthy so much as to seem united;—but let us have one aim towards which we would work;—obedience. If we could all alike, clergy and laity, of one party or another, seek this in sincerity, the question, "*How shall we conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?*" would not be far from its solution.

But why is the question difficult? Is there not a written form, and rubrics, to direct the minister and the congregation in almost every minute point? Are these so vague in their meaning, or so inconsistent one with another, or so insufficient in number and exactness, that the question is rendered necessary by their defect? Whether or not there is any such defect, it certainly is not from thence that the question actually arises. It is not the doubtfulness of laws, but the differences of preconceived opinions, and the diversities of temper, that occasion questions and disputings; and where there are those differences, just in proportion to the authority of the law, and without the smallest reference to its perfection or plainness—will be the questions arising out of it. *Because* it is of paramount authority in its own sphere, an act of parliament affords matter of discussion to a thousand lawyers, and it may be for as many years. *Because* the vow of obedience is on him, and the stringency of the law ought not to be denied, the rubrics are not simply accepted or rejected, but submitted to processes of interpretation; and canons and injunctions are explained, or explained away, or modified in a thousand different ways. Not the very highest authority can rescue its behests from this treatment. We revenge ourselves on the authority which we must

admit, by questioning the meaning or the application of its requirements; and so, under the form and pretence of a more cautious obedience, render the greatest homage after all to ourselves. Thus it is with the Word of God;—and if the source of all authority is thus treated, what can any subordinate authority expect. All men admit the authority of the sacred Scriptures, yet each understands them according to his own bias. It follows of necessity that some at least reject *the thing revealed*, while they reverence *the words of the revelation*, and adore the Allwise and Almighty Lord God, who thus speaks His will to man. The true qualification for a right understanding and obedience in all these cases is moral and not intellectual. *The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him: Love is the fulfilling of the law.*

Hence, then, the question proposed by Mr. Robertson, is a moral question, as well as a question of the authority and interpretation of our Liturgy; and without assuming, for the present, on which side the ritual itself should be ranged,—on the side of ceremonies instinct with life and truth,* or of a cold and puritanical meagreness, misnamed simplicity,—this at least we may assume; that its worthiest and most successful expounder will be the man who most feels with its spirit. Even *opinion* is less important here than *feeling*; the two may be opposed, and if *opinion* be right and *feeling* wrong, the practical result will follow the worse guide. The question proposed may be, “How shall we conform?” The *opinion* may be *by a more literal and strict obedience*, yet the *feeling* may be, *by submission to the prevailing customs of the day*: and then the question may as well have been, “How shall we excuse inconformity?”

We do not mean to insinuate that he is conscious of it, but we do mean to assert, and we shall prove it, that this is very much the case with Mr. Robertson in the book before us. His question is one worthy of most diligent attention. His *opinions* of what is right are, perhaps, more frequently than not, on the side of obedience; but his *feeling* is singularly against conformity, in the only sense in which the word is not a mere quibble: the consequence is, that while he has collected authorities with some care, which may be very useful in other hands on the right side of the argument, the practical result of his work on the reader's mind is sadly against obedience to the ritual of the Church. We shall exemplify this incongruity by following Mr. Robertson through part of his argument.

* But there would seem to be little difficulty in deciding on which side the Anglican Church would rank herself, since, in the account “of ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained,” by way of apology for the disuse of some, she says that the gospel is “content only with those ceremonies which do serve to a decent order of godly discipline, and such as be apt to stir up the dull minds of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some notable and special signification, whereby he might be edified.” And again; giving the reason for retaining others: “They be neither dark nor dumb ceremonies, but are so set forth that every man may understand what they do mean.” It may be worth noting, that this article is in both the prayer-books of Edward VI., as well as in the present book.

In his introduction he thus states his view of "our engagements," and evidently believes that he is about to support his view through the following pages.

"That the Book of Common Prayer expresses, what is for the present the ideal of the Anglican system, rather than any thing which has been generally realized; that, while a conscientious clergyman will strive after the realizing of it, he is not bound to put every thing in practice at once, if there be difficulties in the way from the circumstances of the time, from prevailing notions and tempers, but is at liberty to go to work gradually and cautiously; and, that those who are over us in the Lord, *have* an authority (different, it is conceived, from that contemplated in the last charge,* but yet)—sufficient to warrant us in any such variations as do not contradict the spirit of the Prayer Book, and proceed, not from any unwillingness to conform, but from a desire to work prudently and effectually towards a conformity entire, general, and lasting."—P. 9.

How thankful should we be to any one who would really lead us to this conclusion, in such a way that our hearts might be warmed towards it, and our arm nerved for it as we went along. How just a thought, how full of the occasions of energy and courage:—that the Book of Common Prayer expresses an *ideal* towards which we may and should strive; one which, even to the framers of it, was only an *ideal*,—for the present distant, yet still to be reached after; so that their imperfection, the discrepancy, if there were any, or rather the disparity between the liturgy and their ministrations, should not teach us to sit still as being no worse, no less consistent than they; but should animate us with the thought that we are one with them in a struggle. And yet even that *ideal*, much as it was beyond their reach, and our endeavours, though we ought to have been striving for it these three hundred years, was even as an *ideal* only *for the present*.† A better and brighter was, and is beyond. Let us at least labour to attain "a conformity *entire* and *general*" to the *interim*, if we may so call it for argument's sake; which is only not permanent because it is to be perfected into, not superseded

* The Charge of the Bishop of Worcester, in which his lordship, with the greatest tenderness for the parochial clergy, takes all the burden of inconformity upon his own order; and in which he says, among other things of the like tendency, "when you sign a declaration that you will conform to the Book of Common Prayer, and to every thing contained therein, you bind yourselves to use in general that form—rather than the Missal of the Roman Catholics on the one hand, or the Directory of the Puritans on the other; and not that you will with more than Chinese exactness make a point of conscience to adopt every expression, and implicitly to follow every direction therein contained, notwithstanding any changes which altered habits of life, or altered modes of thinking may have rendered expedient."

† We subjoin Mr. Robertson's own note to these words, but not without a remark which it seems to demand. "I say *for the present*, because the Church herself, in the Communion Service, acknowledges a want of discipline, and expresses a wish for its restoration. And this may be considered as a kind of sanction to my argument, that we are not bound, because something appears desirable in itself, to establish it forthwith, without regard to any consideration of circumstances."

Surely Mr. Robertson forgets that from the moment that a thing, good in itself, is *also* commanded, it ceases to be *merely* good in itself. In truth, there is no parallel between the declaration of the Church to which he refers, and the partial nonconformity (to say no more) which he would make it indirectly sanction.

by, something better, as the bud is expanded into the blossom, and the blossom ripened into the fruit.

But in the very next page we begin to find symptoms of a much altered tone. With considerable *naïveté* he introduces his argument with a passage from Bishop Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, which has very little indeed, if any thing to do with the subject :—

"It occurred to him that he might do well, and even might be of service to others, by inquiring into the history of the manner in which the orders of the Prayer Book had been obeyed; and before proceeding far, he was much pleased to meet with the sentence printed in the title-page, and which shall be here reprinted, as giving the sanction of a great divine and casuist to the course which he has pursued. 'Nothing,' says Bishop Taylor,* 'is more reasonable, in questions concerning the interpretation of a law, than to inquire how the practice of people was in times bygone; because, what they did when the reason and sense of the law were best perceived, and *what the lawgiver allowed them to do in obedience of it*, may best be supposed to be that which he intended.'"—P. 10.

We have directed attention to the words printed in italics, because in fact, so far is Mr. Robertson from maintaining his argument, as he says he does, on evidence such as Bishop Taylor speaks of in this passage, that there is seldom a question of *interpretation* to which Bishop Taylor's words refer, but of *obligation*, which is quite another thing; and besides, Mr. Robertson does not adduce what *was allowed* by way of *obedience*, but what *was taken*, in *disregard of the law*, and *often in contempt of it*, as the staple of his reasoning. Thus much appears without opening Bishop Taylor's work, but if the reader will turn to the passage adduced, he will find that the whole "rule" under which it occurs, is clearly subversive of the argument which is followed in Mr. Robertson's book. The "rule" is, "A custom can interpret a law, but *can never abrogate it*, without the consent of the supreme power." And the Bishop shows at length, that even though custom can originate a law, yet "when a law is established and is good," [and surely we are not now to prove that the law of the liturgy is established and good,] "the force of custom is not sufficient, of itself, to annul it, and to cancel the obligation of conscience." This is all that we contend for. But almost the next words offer a very useful hint in arriving at a fair presumption of what the custom may have been for which we seek. "*It is to be supposed that the law was obeyed.*" Now, the whole of Mr. Robertson's argument is that the law was not obeyed; and unless there is express testimony to obedience, he will not admit that it was given: whereas the rule of Bishop Taylor would certainly have us presume that obedience was given, and not admit the contrary without flagrant proof.

But we are keeping the reader too long from Mr. Robertson's argument, which is something of this kind: At no time was the Book of Common Prayer ever fully obeyed: "obedience [to it] without

* *Ductor Dubitantium*. III. vi. 6.

abatement was never required or given;”* not even by those who compiled it, nor by those who may be supposed to have been most anxious to carry it out; therefore entire conformity is not necessary. Nay, the argument is so managed as almost to leave an impression that at no previous time was it, on the whole, better obeyed than now; therefore we need not be very earnest to get rapidly nearer to the *ideal*.

The whole argument, then, is historical. It is of two parts; the general history of the Church, so far as conformity is concerned, and the history of particular usages, as obtaining more or less since the Reformation.

“The first English Prayer Book was set forth in 1549; the second in 1552. This latter, as is well known, was more agreeable than the earlier to the principles of the foreign Reformed, and of those who afterwards became known at home as *Puritans*. Among the changes, were the omission of some vestments which had been retained before, and the substitution of the surplice as the only attire to be worn by priests and deacons in their public ministrations.

“We find, however, that while the first book was still in force, the *copes*, which were vestments prescribed to be used at the administration of the Holy Communion, were taken away from Westminster Abbey, by an order of the Council, (Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 239;) and that during Edward's reign, the offices of the Church, including the celebration of the Lord's Supper, were very commonly performed by ministers who wore only their ordinary dress. No one, of course, would wish to bring back such a state of matters: but it is plain, from these circumstances, that the first compilers of our book allowed people to do things very inconsistent with that rigid interpretation of the ordination-vow, which some would now force upon us. For be it observed, that the pledge already quoted, was in our ordinal from the first.”—Pp. 11, 12.

In like manner, we are reminded that when Archbishop Parker was consecrated, no pastoral staff was delivered to him, though a rubric was then in force which required it; and it is said with a sneer, “it is very doubtful whether any eyes, from that day to this, have been more fortunate than Dr. Hook's, who ‘does not remember to have seen an English Bishop attired as this rubric directs.’”† We

* Page 126. We give his own words, though we cannot tell how he uses, or would have us understand, the word *required*. To plain men, the very act of promulgation seems to be a *requiring* of obedience; the imposition of vows, and the framing of canons in support of the authority of the liturgy, seem to be a *cumulative requiring*; and for the very matters which are at present most in question, the article on ceremonies at the beginning of the Prayer Book expressly says, “although the keeping or omitting of a ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing; yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression and breaking of a common order and discipline is no small offence before God, ‘Let all things be done among you,’ saith St. Paul, ‘in a seemly and due order:’ the appointment of which order pertaineth not to private men; therefore no man ought to take in hand, nor presume to appoint or alter any publick or common order in Christ's Church, except he be lawfully called and authorized thereunto.”

† “At the end of the Common Prayer Book, established in the second year of Edward VI., which is referred to as still obligatory, so far as the ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof are concerned, in the rubric immediately before the Morning Prayer it is ordained, ‘Whensoever the Bishop shall celebrate the

are reminded that Coverdale, at the same consecration, wore only "a long cloath gown." That Parker never succeeded in subduing the "Germanical natures" of the Puritans. That even Archbishop Bancroft succeeded only partially in enforcing conformity, and that with him "died the uniformity of the Church of England." Now we do not question the statements here made; but is not this the burden of the argument; the framers of Edward VI.'s first book were inconsistent, Parker, Bancroft, Abbott, all were inconsistent, or disobedient, or missed their ideal, why then should we strive to get nearer to it than they did?

Again, Laud, Wren, and Andrewes are thus mentioned, and Wren alone without *some* sympathy, because he was the most exact conformer to the Common Prayer. The *animus* of such a passage is clear enough, and surely it tends to excuse inconformity, not to further conformity.

"Laud and Wren, in fact, do not appear to have had any notions more extreme than those of Andrewes; but there can be little doubt that, if that wise bishop had been raised to the primacy when Laud was, he would have taken a different way of bringing the face of the Church to agree with his ideas from that pursued by his less discreet admirers. It by no means follows, from his having drawn up the rules just quoted,* with a view of producing an opinion favourable to the English Church, among a people devotedly attached to the Romish worship, ceremonious even in their common life, and prejudiced against our Reformation by the most extravagant fables,—that he would have attempted to establish a similar form of worship, as general in a land where the wiser heads had come to understand the indifferency of some things, while the prejudices of the multitude were in favour of Puritanism. Nay, it will rather appear likely that he may have erred in an opposite direction, if we may believe what is stated of him by Fuller, (Ch. Hist. Book xi. p. 127,) that 'Wheresoever he was, a parson, a dean, or a bishop, he never troubled parish, college, or diocese, with pressing other ceremonies on them than such which he found used there before his coming thither.' Indeed, Laud himself seems to have been exceeded by some of his friends. 'The compliancy of many, to curry favour,' says Bishop Hackett, 'did outrun the archbishop's intentions, if my opinion deceive me not.' (Life of Williams, p. 100.) And he himself tells us, (Troubles, p. 345,) 'That his own articles of enquiry were not excepted against, while he was treated as if accountable for those of Bishops Wren and Montague.'"—P. 19.

We should have thought that the struggles of these holy men, confessors and martyrs as they were, might have read us a different lesson. It is too cold to make their efforts and sufferings only cry aloud to the slothful or the coward, "There is a lion without, you will be slain in the streets."† And again, it is too much to bring

Holy Communion, or execute any other public office, he shall have upon him, besides his rochet, an alb, and cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne by his chaplain.' The writer of this article does not remember to have seen an English Bishop attired as this rubric directs. Most, if not all of the Bishops probably omit this observance in condescension to the superstition of those whose consciences, though not offended at a transgression of a command of the Church, might be offended at ornaments which many pious persons reverence as emblematic."—*Dr. Hook's Church Dictionary, Art. Crosier.*

* Those for the arrangement of Prince Charles' Chapel in Madrid.

† See Proverbs xxii. 13.

in the methods by which such men as Sanderson, Jerèmy Taylor, and Bishop Bull, continued to maintain a service as nearly like that of the Church as possible, without incurring extreme penalties, as proofs that rigid conformity cannot be a matter of conscience, or, at least, did not seem so to them. There are circumstances under which authority loses a part of its prerogative, and cannot shield those who obey it from destruction; and then surely it willingly relaxes its rule in things not in themselves essential, but only right because they are appointed; and a man need not fear to be justly drawn into an example of inconformity, although he may freely confess, with Archbishop Sancroft, that he does not "count himself obliged to go to chapel and read Common Prayer till his brains be dashed out."

So much for the use which he makes of the general history of ritual conformity. The first of the particular usages which Mr. Robertson touches, is the daily service, and it is that perhaps on which he has most freely expressed an opinion in favour of conformity. He says:—

"Let me state clearly that I am fully convinced of the desirableness of daily public prayer, and rejoice to think that our people are becoming prepared for it, and that it is growing more general. In what follows, I only wish to establish on historical evidence, the principle that we are at liberty to use caution and consult expediency in striving after the fulfilment of our Church's intentions in this respect."—P. 32.

Yet, in the next page, we find him saying,—

"It is, as *I hope to show*, a mere imagination to suppose that daily service was ever general in England."

Now, however stubborn the facts might be, and however inflexible the argument derived from them, yet one who longed for conformity in this great matter, would rather *hope to show* that daily prayers were once very general in England; especially if he feared that the finding it otherwise would suggest an argument against their very general adoption now. This is, in fact, the opposition between opinion and feeling. *I think it desirable*; *I hope to show* that there are reasons *against pressing it*. We need not say whither, practically, the subsequent reasoning tends.

The next subject on which we shall follow Mr. Robertson, is that of "*Lights on the Altar*:" in which conformity is desired on higher ground indeed than as *a matter of taste*, on which Mr. Robertson himself would not unwillingly see them restored; yet "not so much," even by the most rigid ritualist, "for the sake of the things themselves, as because the principle of obedience is involved."* On this subject, the ground that Mr. Robertson takes, is, that the authority on which they are pleaded for, extends not to parochial churches; though there is surely no law which can be urged for their use in cathedrals, that does not equally affect all other churches; and Cranmer, in his articles of visitation framed upon the injunction

* Page 50.

which appoints their use, certainly presumes that the law is for all churches alike. But let us follow Mr. Robertson in his argument.

‘The argument,’ he says, “for lights runs thus:—By an act of parliament in Henry the Eighth’s reign, the authority of law was given to his proclamations, and those which should be issued in the minority of his son. While this act was in force, injunctions were published in Edward the Sixth’s name, (1547,) whereby it was ordered that the clergy ‘shall suffer from henceforth no torches or candles, tapers or images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar before the sacrament, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still.’ This, *it is said*, was law in the second year of Edward; the Rubric,* therefore, *we are told*, now binds us to adorn our altars with the lights here sanctioned.”—P. 55.

This statement of the argument is clear enough, although the “*it is said*,” and “*we are told*,” show that it is about to be attacked. The answer given to it is, that by “*the sacrament*” in the injunction is meant the consecrated wafer suspended in a pyx over the altar; so that *the sacrament* being taken away, its attendant lights would have now no more authority than those which were the accompaniment of the rood-loft and the sepulchre.

But it is singular enough that it has never been understood in cathedral churches, and royal and college chapels, (as Mr. Robertson would admit,) that this injunction is thus avoided, so far as the lights upon the high altar are concerned; and we must have a special reason why they still have authority in cathedrals, though *the sacrament* is removed, and yet have lost all authority in parochial churches because *the sacrament* is removed, or we shall scarcely admit the conclusion.

It is strange, too, that all the commentators on the Prayer-book, so far as we know, to whose judgment churchmen are wont to defer on other points, agree in stating that the two lights ought still to remain on the high altar, in obedience to the Rubric and injunction above referred to. And canonists are not wanting to maintain the same opinion.

But may not the injunction be allowed to speak for itself, and to give the reason upon which the lights were retained? If there be no trace of any farther meaning than an act of adoration to *the sacrament*, then we may admit that the lights should depart, albeit the high altar remains, and the sacrament also, in its true sense and glory. But the first year of Edward VI. was not likely to be marked with any such ascription of homage to *the sacrament*; and in the first book of Edward VI., it is expressly declared that there shall be no “elevation or showing the sacrament to the people.”†

* Viz.—The Rubric immediately preceding this order for morning and evening prayer daily throughout the year, which stands thus:—

“And here it is to be noted that such ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof at all times of their ministration shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of Edward VI.”

† Rubric after the prayer of consecration.

Some other reason then, and one which need not necessarily, even if it could possibly, be connected with *the sacrament*, in that sense in which it is taken away, is to be sought, for the continuing of the lights upon the high altar. Now the injunction actually gives the reason; and it is the more remarkable, because although in the article of ceremonies, it is declared in general terms that the things retained “be neither *dark nor dumb* ceremonies, but are so set forth that every man may understand what they do mean, and to what use they do serve;” yet this is the only instance in which the symbolical meaning of the rite retained is actually given. The reason then is this, “*for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world.*” Surely we may allow the injunction to defend itself thus clearly, against all the explaining away to which it may be subjected.

Mr. Robertson requires proof that the lights were retained in parochial churches before the Puritan ascendancy. Surely if the law be admitted, (and Cranmer certainly understood it as we do,) obedience to it ought to be supposed, and the *onus probandi* lies on those who deny that they were retained. This is reasonable in itself, and according to the letter of Jeremy Taylor’s rule, to which we hope Mr. Robertson will defer, even when it makes against him. “*It is to be supposed that the law was obeyed.*” However, we do not shrink from proof; and here the *Hierurgia Anglicana* steps in to our assistance, and proves that, in several cases, lights were used in parochial churches, and that whether or no the “Puritans never complain of being obliged to set up candles;” they do rail against the setting of them up, as if it was, to say the least, very general, and certainly extended far beyond the cathedral and royal chapels. Thus we have (page 1,) items of expense connected with the candlesticks and candles in the churchwarden’s account of the parish of St. Martin’s, Leicester, anno 1548. In 1637, the Puritans of Ware, now again, after an interval of two hundred years, embittered against the Church on some such reasonable grounds, were scandalized by *tapers*, among other things:—

“But see the practice of these times. They will have priests, not ministers; altars, not communion-tables; sacrifices, not sacraments: they will bow and cringe to, and before their altars; yea, they will not endure any man to inquire after what manner CHRIST is in the sacrament, whether by way of consubstantiation, or transubstantiation, or in a spiritual manner; yea, they will have *tapers*, and books never used, empty basons and chalices there: what is this but the mass itself, for here is all the furniture of it?”*

And again,—

“Placing candlesticks on altars in parochial churches in the day-time, and making canopies over them with curtains, in imitation of the veil of the temple, advancing crucifixes and images upon the parafront or altar-cloth, and compelling all communicants to come up before the rails.”†

* Retraction of Mr. Charles Chancey, formerly minister of Ware, in Hertfordshire; written with his own hand before his going to New England, in the year 1657.

† Neale’s History of the Puritans, 1640, 1641.

And some other proofs there are of the use of lights in parochial churches; as many, indeed, as can reasonably be expected; for it is not generally considered how difficult it is to find proofs of such things even where the fact is undoubted. Suppose that the general laxity of the age should discard, and suffer to be destroyed, the fonts of stone, which are certainly required by the canon, and as certainly still exist in most churches; and that it became a matter of importance to find out whether they were generally in existence between the times of Edward VI. and Charles I. We may reasonably doubt whether the direct contemporary proofs would be very numerous. Of late years such things have become a subject of antiquarian research,* and the *Archæologia* and the like works record fonts which must be of a very remote antiquity; and just at present we have them figured and described in every variety of form; but, we repeat it, the contemporary direct evidence of their existence at any specific time, some generations past, would be extremely scanty. Yet in this case there is no doubt. Why, then, just for want of a large amount of direct contemporary proof should we doubt of the existence and use of what are equally with the font appointed by authority?

Perhaps, however, we have given too much space to the question of "*Lights on the Altar*," which we confess we had thought was settled long ago, and the more effectually since the *present Dean of York* discarded a pair of candlesticks presented to the altar of York Minster by *Archbishop Sancroft*.

And we have not space to carry farther the detailed examination of Mr. Robertson's argument. We must, however, note a few more instances of the *animus* which pervades his book.

It will be found then, throughout, that though his question is, "How shall we conform?" his arguments are, almost all of them, directed against those whose real desire it is to conform; and that his sneers are expended altogether on those who think themselves honest in wishing for a perfect conformity, and in seeking it in the wisest and best way. He does, indeed, more often agree with them on the meaning and authority of a rubric, than with the puritan faction; yet still the discouragement of banter and ridicule is cast entirely upon them: showing once again the strange opposition between opinion and feeling. Neither does he fairly represent their principles and habits of mind. Which of the most ardent lovers of ritual conformity would say or feel thus?

"I cannot pray unless I may turn my face eastward, unless I may kneel on encaustic tiles, unless the light which falls on me be tinted by the rich hues of holy figures and emblems in surrounding windows, unless two fair candles of purest wax flame in sight amid jewelled plate on a garlanded altar."—P. 151.

* For example, the contemporary print, reproduced in Markland's *Remarks on English Churches*, of Cromwell's soldiers desecrating a church, is that of a *parish church*; here the altar is decked with tapers, a crucifix (most probably, but certainly a cross), and a triptych; a more direct proof that these symbolical ornaments were actually in use before the revolution cannot be expected.

Surely the feeling is different from this, and intelligibly different, too,—“I would dedicate, where it is to be had, the best to God; and where there is wealth and pomp to be expended, I would not have the church alone desolate; but if all be poor, the church poor though it be, is richer than all palaces of cedar, gold, and vermillion, because it is the house of God. Yet *everywhere* I would see an

‘ordered pomp,
Decent and unreprieved.’

I would see obedience, even where there may be little circumstance; and to this I can see no bar in the poorest and most retired country church.”

But it should seem that, contrary to the proverb concerning other laws, rubrics are made only for the great, and not for the little:—

“Mr. Poole tells us, in his argument for lights, that ‘cathedrals are regulated by no authority which does not equally bind the most private chapel, or the most remote parish church.’ Buttermere must be a mimic York Minster, Capel Curig as ceremonious as Canterbury! I cannot understand on what grounds this is said.”—P. 130.

Mr. Robertson’s assertion that he cannot understand on what grounds this is said, should have followed the position he does not understand, and not his own ludicrous exposition of it: and then he would have himself seen that he was forgetting the difference between the same authority binding, and that authority binding to the same thing. But surely this is sufficiently intelligible: the canon and the rubric which regulate the ritual of the cathedral, regulate also the ritual of the remotest chapel, though, in some things, with a specified difference: but when there is no specified difference, the rule as well as the authority is the same. And there is no danger that Buttermere and Capel Curig shall become so ceremonious, or ape the splendour which is or ought to be in the solemn offices of York Minster. The same authority required an earl to attend the king’s banner with so many men at arms, while it required of the yeoman only his personal attendance with his bow: surely John in the Wood, or Richard Cowherd, did not therefore ape my lord of Warwick or of Salisbury. The truth seems to be, that Mr. Robertson has written with the prior conviction, that there can be no sound sober sense in those whom he thinks

“Too ceremonious and traditional,”

and so that they are fair game for polemical ridicule.

But to be serious, it does seem to us, that whatever was his intention, he has written a book which will not greatly subserve the cause of conformity. He himself tells us for whom he has written; for those “who, without going so far, at least in practice,” as the more rash upholders of ritual, “have felt the impulse of the time, and wish to do their duty in this respect to the best of their ability;

while this wish is accompanied by some perplexing uncertainty as to what their duty really is."* Now, let us appeal to the experience of such persons. Is there not a little temptation to subserviency to the superstitious fear of obedience which they see around them, and of which perhaps they have, already, even for their slight efforts, been the victims? Is there not a little whisper of indolence, or cowardice, or prudence, as it would fain be called, dissuading them on all sides from doing that which they yet feel to be incumbent on them? Now these temptations should be opposed and checked, and these whisperings answered at least, if not silenced: we do not mean utterly, but that the tendency of our own heart is to listen and to yield; and therefore we want help on the other side to restore the balance. Now, it is this which Mr. Robertson's book might have given, and which it ought to have given. As it is (it is a grave thing to say, yet we are constrained to say it) it is a very forcible and vivid embodying of the temptations and whisperings to which we ought to listen with suspicion at best. It is such that a man will get up from the perusal of it, not determined to conform with prudence, but reconciled to the worse alternative, of prudently remaining as he is.

But we shall be greatly misunderstood if we are thought to deny the necessity of wisdom and prudence in every step that we take. But when is it that this prudence is to be most prominently set forth? Not, surely, when all the clamour and odium are against ritual obedience, so that those who are purposed in their hearts to obey, want encouragement and sympathy. On whom is this prudence, not to say timidity, to be pressed? Surely on those too forward spirits who are as self-willed and self-opinionated, and perhaps even as superstitious (though this were difficult) in their observance, as the puritanical are in their fear of ritual and hatred of order. It is to such as these, and some such we confess there are, that the line of argument which Mr. Robertson adopts, or any line of argument which can tend to the same practical result, ought to be addressed; and not to those who are willing, but with prudence enough, and with caution and consideration, to commence or maintain an upward course.

Nor will we deny that there are some who stickle for canons and rubrics with a temper as little worthy of the cause of ritual conformity, as that of its loudest opponents; in whom, in fact, self is still the mainspring of action, and to whom the prospect of an impending struggle ministers occasion rather of vanity than of humiliation. In reasoning with these, or rather in rebuking them, we should not indeed pursue the same line or tone, which Mr. Robertson has adopted, which seems rather likely to irritate than to allay the bad elements of their character, and against which they will, without any great effort, reason triumphantly; but against the conceit, affectation, and coxcombry, which he fears, we will ever protest, not only as mean and frivolous in themselves, but as among the worst enemies of *ritual conformity*.

1. *A Treatise on Roads.* By Sir HENRY PARNELL, Bart.
London: Longman & Co. 1838.
2. *English Pleasure Carriages.* By W. B. ADAMS. London:
Knight. 1837. 1 vol. 8vo. Pp. 315.

"A ROAD," says Mr. M'Adam—who has been designated by professional joke-makers, "the Colossus of Roads,"—"ought to be considered as an artificial flooring; forming a strong, smooth, solid surface, at once capable of carrying great weights, and over which carriages may pass without meeting any impediment."

The very earliest roads may be said to have been formed involuntarily. Successive footsteps on the same track leave an impression behind them; yielding soils become indurated, and grassy meads become barren, along the line of march. According to traditional superstitions,—the unwritten poetry of unlettered hinds,—even fairy footsteps, as they weave their sportive dance beneath the soft light of the unclouded moon, impress a mystic ring on the spot which has witnessed their cheerful revels. It is only under the influence of that impassioned desire which finds utterance in hyperbole, that even the classical queen of love ventures to commend the absolute lightness of her tread:—

"Bid me discourse, I will enchant thine ear,
Or, like a fairy, trip upon the green,
Or, like a nymph, with long dishevell'd hair,
Dance on the sands, and yet no footing seen:
Love is a spirit all compact of fire,
Not gross to sink, but light, and will aspire."

But we must leave these gentle paths to those who love to thread the simple tracks which intersect our fields and meadows; or wind, with capricious yet delightful undulations, through our woods and coppices. Our present concern is with roads of a much more hard and utilitarian nature; with those artificial paths which are the intentional creations of the hand as well as the foot of man; who is scarcely less nomadic in his civilized than in his savage state. The hand must assist the foot, and the head the hand, before we can obtain those paths, which, by their hardness, width, and definiteness of direction, constitute roads, properly so called.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the social value of roads. "Let us travel," says the Abbé Raynal, "over all the countries of the earth, and wherever we find no facilities for travelling from city to town, or from village to hamlet, we may pronounce the people barbarians." Although, indeed, in such cases, the "cities" and "towns" would themselves but little deserve these ambitious names, according to present notions: but would correspond, rather, to the description given by Cæsar of the earliest British towns, "A thick wood surrounded by a ditch and bank;" or, at best, to Strabo's more flattering description, "Woods of a broad circuit, in the midst of

which they (the Britons) clear away a part of the trees, and build huts, in which they and their cattle live together."

Accustomed to these means of easy and rapid transit, we can hardly picture to ourselves the condition of a country destitute of roads. Yet many years have not passed, since the northern and southern parts of our own island, in consequence of the absence of highways, were hardly less separated, than if the waters of ocean had rolled between, and made them as mutually insulated geographically, as they were isolated in regard of social and commercial relations. Nay, while a ship can plough its way through the pathless but yielding waters, the weary foot of man and beast forces itself, with toil and pain, and ever-growing difficulty, over the rugged surface of the stubborn earth, or wades through a treacherous morass, more toilsome and perilous than the hard irregular rock. At the period to which we refer, weeks were required for the passage of a conveyance. In many parts, wheel-carriages could not travel at all. Passengers and goods, and even articles so little able to bear any heavy expenses of transit, as grain, coal, manure, &c., were obliged to be transported on the backs of horses. A waggon, with but a moderate load, travelling only a few miles a day, required eight or ten horses to draw it over the soft and unequal ground. And it would be easy to multiply examples of the almost total absence of internal traffic, in numerous districts, in consequence of absence of roads, or the excessive badness of such as happened to exist. "Around every market-place," says Dr. Anderson, "you may suppose a number of concentric circles to be drawn, within each of which articles become marketable, which were not so before, and thus become the sources of wealth and prosperity to many individuals. Diminish the expense of carriage but one farthing, and you widen the circles; you form as it were a new creation, not only of stones and earth and trees and plants, but of men also, and, what is more, of industry and happiness."

In a more detailed history of roads than our limits will allow us to sketch, some notice would properly be taken of the roads of ancient Greece; of Egypt, where, however, during its more prosperous periods, roads were in great measure sacrificed to canals conjoined with the navigation of the Nile; of Phœnicia, the land of commerce; of the fertile regions of Syria; of the vast empires of Assyria and Babylonia; of Persia, extending into India; and of all or most of which sufficient historical records, and some few actual memorials, still exist, to attest their importance, and to shed a faint gleam of archæological light upon their obscure histories. But with the exception of the wonderful Roman roads, there are but few remains of the roads of antiquity.

And yet the Romans were but learners in an art which they afterwards carried to such an extraordinary degree of perfection; having derived their knowledge of road-making from the Carthaginians. This Tyrian colony, while, from their origin, they were essentially a commercial people, were remarkably attentive to agriculture; and as

their nation advanced in prosperity, the wealthy citizens employed their surplus revenues in the cultivation and improvement of their estates. The country in the immediate neighbourhood of Carthage, and indeed all that tract which formed its real territory, and which corresponds to the present state of Tunis, was thoroughly cultivated. "When Agathocles landed in Africa, (B.C. 308-7) : and when Regulus, half a century later, and Scipio Africanus, half a century later still, and Scipio Æmilianus, another half century after that, invaded the Carthaginian territory, their march lay through rich fields covered with herds of cattle, and irrigated by numerous streams ; vineyards and olive-grounds were spread on every side ; innumerable small towns and villages were strewed over the country ; and as they drew near to '*Magna Carthago*' herself, the neighbourhood was thickly studded with the country-seats of the wealthy citizens." In such a country, the art of road-making must have attained considerable maturity ; and it is to the Carthaginians that we are indebted for the invention of paved roads.

The Roman roads present an interesting subject of study. Several thousand miles of highway were constructed in Italy alone ; while every country which this iron-handed people brought under their control, was more or less intersected by these channels of communication. Although originally constructed for military purposes only, they became, to a great extent, the arteries and veins, as it were, of the whole body politic, through all its gigantic limbs. They were, in many respects, very characteristic of the resolute spirit of the nation that planned and executed them. "*Aut inveniam, aut fiam,*" was the maxim of the old Roman road. Like an arrow from a bow, like a bolt from a catapult, onward it went through the heart of every obstacle ; now cleaving its straightforward course through the bowels of the earth, by means of tunnels, which were often of considerable length ; now converting the marsh into a solid pathway ; and again, spanning opposing rivers with bold bridges. So firm were they in their construction, that many of them have borne the traffic of nearly two thousand years without material injury. The strength of the Roman pavements is shown by the fact, related by a modern traveller, that although the substratum of one still in use has been completely washed away by a current of water sweeping beneath, the surface remains undisturbed, and is still so secure that carriages pass over it as over a bridge.

The Roman roads were principally designed for military purposes and the immediate affairs of state. The roads constructed for this end were called Prætorian roads, being under the immediate government of the Prætors ; and were strictly confined to their original purposes. For the purposes of commerce, and the ordinary intercourse of the Romans and strangers, Consular roads were constructed ; and where military and commercial communications both took place between the same places, the two kinds of roads were found, often running side by side, as may be seen amongst ourselves,

in the not unfrequent parallelism of roads, railroads, and canals. These roads usually bore the name of the consul under whom they were first made. Thus the *Via Appia* was so called, because constructed during the consulate of Appius. In addition to these two great classes of roads, there were the *Vie Vicinales*, or bye-roads, which branched off from the Consular roads to places in their vicinity, or which lay between places lying out of the range of the great lines.

The Prætorian roads were, for the most part, at least sixty feet wide; of which space the elevated centre occupied twenty feet, and each of the slopes twenty more. Only a part of this appears to have been paved. These roads were crossed, at right angles, by the *Vie Vicinales*, or *Vie Patriæ*, (that is, the neighbouring or country roads, or, as we should term them, the cross-roads,) and where four roads thus met, square gate-houses were erected, having arches opening upon each side.

The Consular, or high-roads, claim from us a more detailed consideration. Many remains are still to be seen. The *Via Appia*, lying between Rome and Naples, and extending to the distance of 350 miles, had a causeway, (as we by corruption call it,) or pavement, twelve feet broad. This pavement was composed of square blocks of freestone, each, for the most part, a foot and a half in measure; and this road, now 1800 years old, is still, for several miles in uninterrupted succession, along many parts of its line, as sound as when it was first laid down. Not indeed that it is the smoothest of roads; but this it probably never was:—

“— Minus est gravis Appia tardis,”

says Horace, speaking of the Appian road in his day; and this was probably the character of most of the Consular roads. They were solid enough; but perhaps not even a modern corduroy road can surpass them in the property of jolting. These Consular roads were of considerable breadth; although not equal, in this respect, to our own roads, thirty feet being the ordinary width of the carriage-way of English high-roads, exclusive of the foot-paths on either side, for the use of passengers.

Solidity, however, was the great quality aimed at by the Roman engineers. They first rammed the ground with small stones, fragments of bricks, and the like; then they spread upon it layers of flints, pebbles, or sand; and upon this carefully-prepared foundation, they would deposit, when necessary, a pavement of large stones, firmly set in cement; the stones being occasionally squared, but more commonly of irregular shapes, although in all cases accurately fitted to each other. For this purpose, many varieties of stone were used; but basalt seems to have been preferred, when it could be had. In many instances, basalt was employed when other materials might have been procured with less labour and expense. Whe—

large blocks could not conveniently be obtained, small stones of hard quality were sometimes cemented together with lime, forming a kind of concrete; masses of which, extending to a depth of several feet, still exist. In the neighbourhood of Lyons, there exist remains of Roman road-making, composed of beds or masses of flint-stones not bigger than eggs, laid in mortar, from twelve to fifteen feet in depth, and as hard and compact as marble. After a period of 1600 years from their formation, it is almost impossible to penetrate or dislodge these ancient masses by any force of hammers, mattocks, or other instruments, that have been brought to bear upon them.

Another kind of Roman road was the subterranean. These roads were carried under-ground, like our modern tunnels, and were constructed for the purpose of shelter from the sun;—subterranean parasols, first invented, it is generally considered, by the Egyptians, and afterwards adopted by the self-indulgent sons of Italy. They prevailed among the Romans during the period of their luxury, with their consequent national decay; and numerous vestiges of them still remain.

The earliest Roman roads in Great Britain do not date further back than about A.D. 45, under the reign of the emperor Claudius; but there existed native British roads anterior to the invasion of Great Britain by Julius Cæsar. That invasion was unquestionably the beginning of a great social revolution in our island; but Britain, long before ever Roman foot trod her soil, or Roman civilization cast her manners into a new mould, had her cities, towns, and villages; her roads for internal communication; her ships for the sea, as well as her wicker coracles for the river and the lake. Four great roads departed from London, before the time of the Romans in Britain, in the respective directions of southern, south-western, eastern, and north-eastern; namely, Watling-street, Ikenild-street, the Foss-way, and Ermin or Hermining-street. It is exceedingly probable that London Stone was the standard, or point of departure, of these ancient roads. Watling-street is that most known to travellers in England of the present day. This street was probably a *via patriæ*; and is supposed to derive its name from the same root as the rustic word “wattle.” A wattle is the same as a hurdle, and, like it, used as a kind of fence; it is sometimes made with the small osier, in the manner of basket-work, sometimes with stronger pieces of wood, such as we see in the hurdles composing sheep-pens, and in yet larger and stronger fences. According to Cambray (*Monumens Celtiques*,) Watling-street was so named by the Britons because it was a paved road leading to a sacred enclosure: “Chemin pavé de l’enceinte sacrée,” he observes, “de *Wattling*, substantive et participe présent de *Wattle*, ‘claire,’ ‘fermer de claires:’ d’où le pluriel *Wattles*, ‘parc fait de claires.’” Ikenild, or the Essex road, left London in an eastward direction, and penetrated into the country of the Iceni, corresponding nearly to the modern county of Essex. Hermining or Ermin-street was a considerable one, and it is supposed

to have run first to Colchester, (which was a place of rank under the Britons, as well as under the Romans,) and thence to Carlisle or to Chester. Its name is not improbably derived from Ermin, the subject of the celebrated monument of stone, the Erminseul. The Ermin-säul, or Irminsul (Heer-man-saul, the pillar of the Warman), destroyed by Charlemagne, in his zealous wars against the heathen Saxons, appears to have been the same, in many respects, with the statue of Mercury, or Hermes, among the Greeks and the Romans, which was erected in the market-places, the gymnasias, and where several roads met.

While the Roman roads, as we have already observed, proceeded straight on, without regard to natural obstacles,—the engineer's skill being exercised in raising causeways through marshes, throwing bridges over rivers, levelling mountains, and filling up valleys,—the British roads generally wound along the ridges and high ground, following the natural inequalities of the soil. A foundation of gravel, or the verdant turf, were preferred; the sides of hills and ridges of land were chosen for the sake of dryness; and the natural openings between hills were made subservient to the general purpose, because of the facilities of passage which they afforded, and because roads of this accommodating nature required less science and skill in their construction, and were laid down with much less expenditure of labour and cost than those in which art triumphed more fully over nature. The beautiful Pilgrim-Roads to St. Thomas' of Canterbury still remain; and we know not more lovely English scenery than where they dip down into, or skirt the noble Weald of Kent.

With the decay of the Roman power, the roads began to be neglected; until at last their ruins alone remained to attest their former greatness. From that time, the art of road-making appears to have been quite dormant, until its revival in periods of comparatively very recent date. In our own country, from the time of the departure of the Romans, to the revolution of 1688, foreign invasions and intestine commotions distracted our ancestors so much from the arts of peace and order, as to make them incapable of improving their means of internal communication. The roads over which merchandise was carried on horses' backs, seem to have been little better than foot-paths, or well-beaten sheep-tracks. The subject of highways had, however, occasionally engaged the legislature for many years. In the year 1285, the first act of parliament was passed relating to roads. In 1346, a toll was levied on carts or carriages travelling from St. Giles's-in-the-Fields to Temple-bar.

But it was not until the reign of Henry VIII. that the first decided attempt at improvement was made; by an act allotting to parishes the care of the roads passing through them, and appointing road-surveyors. The funds were to be obtained from a pound-rate, levied on the landholders, and assistance in labour was enforced. Little, however, was done until the reign of Mary. The first really important act passed on this subject was the statute 2 and 3 Philip

and Mary, c. 8. This was the first legislative enactment in which a regular provision was made for the repair of public highways. At common law, every parish was bound to keep its own roads in good serviceable condition. But as this duty was not assigned to any particular person, it was much neglected; so that in the preamble to the above act, the roads are declared to be "tedious and noisome" to travel on, and dangerous to passengers and carriages. The description of the streets of London, in the act for improving and paving the city, passed in 1532,—that they were "very perilous and noxious, as well for all the king's subjects on horseback as on foot, with carriages,"—was not less applicable to roads in general. By the act 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, c. 8, it was enacted that in every parish two surveyors of the highways should be annually chosen by the inhabitants in vestry assembled, and that the inhabitants of all parishes should be obliged, according to their respective ability, to provide labourers, carriages, tools, &c. for four days each year, to work upon the roads under the orders of the surveyors. Although the great lines of road have long been exempted from the operation of this act, its principles still regulate the construction, repair, and police of the cross or parish roads throughout England.

This system was improved and consolidated by acts passed in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.; and worked sufficiently well, until the great increase of population and wealth under the Stuarts, bringing with it an increase of travelling and internal communication generally, rendered this mode of road-keeping quite inadequate to the maintenance and repair of the great roads, especially in the neighbourhood of London. This led to the establishment of a toll, to be paid by passengers and carriages travelling along the road, in order to defray the whole or a portion of the expense incurred in keeping the road in repair. An act was passed to this effect, 26 Charles II. c. 1, which imposed tolls, payable at toll-gates (called turnpikes); ordaining the justices of the peace to appoint persons to take "sumes of money in the name of toll or custome, to be paid for all such horses, carts, coaches, waggons, droves, and gangs of cattell as shall pass that waye." This act did not apply, in the first instance, to England generally; but was confined to the Great Northern Road, passing through Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire.

For a long time this system was very unpopular. This unpopularity was anticipated in the original statute so far, that it was enacted, that if any person refused to pay the toll, the horse, coach, or whatever else the mode of conveyance might be, should be detained and distrained until the toll was paid. More stringent clauses were introduced into subsequent acts; but the resistance to the payment of tolls long continued. Mobs used to collect for the purpose of destroying turnpike gates, as we have seen in our own days, in the "Rebecca" riots of Wales; and the military were not unfrequently called out. A penalty of seven years' imprisonment was attached to these acts of violence; and when improved turnpike roads were made

in 1754, it was found necessary to pass an act making it felony to destroy a toll-bar.

It was not till after the peace of Paris, in 1763, that turnpike roads began to be generally extended through all parts of the kingdom. Since that time they have ramified in all directions; and the turnpike roads of England and Wales, now extend to the distance of more than 23,000 miles. The roads of Scotland, originally among the very worst, have now become about the very best in the world.

The early history of the Highland roads is interesting. During the rebellion of 1715, the government was led to see the policy of rendering the fastnesses of the north accessible, by means of military roads. At that time the royal troops were unable to penetrate beyond Blair, in Athol. But, in 1725, General Wade was appointed by George I. to draw up a report on the state of the Highlands generally. In this report, the General observes:—"Before I conclude this report, I presume to observe to your Majesty, the great disadvantage which regular troops are under, when they engage with those who inhabit mountainous situations. The Savennes in France, the Catalons in Spain, have at all times been instances of this truth. The Highlands in Scotland are still more impracticable, from the want of roads and bridges, and from the excessive rains that almost continually fall in those parts; which by nature and constant use become habitual to the natives, but very difficultly supported by the regular troops. These, being unacquainted with the passages by which the mountains are traversed, are exposed to frequent ambuscades, and are shot at from the tops of the hills, which they return without effect; as it happened at the affair of Glensheal."

In consequence of this report, General Wade was appointed, with several regiments under his command, to construct certain military roads in the Highlands, adapted to the conveyance of troops and stores. The first line of road which they formed was from Stirling, across the Grampians, to Inverness; and from thence along the chain of forts, including Fort George, Fort Augustus, and Fort William, between the east and west seas. By means of this line, troops and artillery were carried into the central Highlands in '45, and the disturbances were repressed with comparative ease.

"These roads," says Pennant, "were begun in 1723, under the directions of General Wade, who, like another Hannibal, forced his way through rocks supposed to have been unconquerable. Many of them hang over the mighty lakes of the country, and formerly afforded no other road to the natives than the paths of sheep and goats, where even the Highlander crawled with difficulty, and kept himself from tumbling into the far subjacent water, by clinging to the plants and bushes of the rock. Many of these rocks were too hard to yield to the pickaxe, and the miner was obliged to subdue their obstinacy with gunpowder, and often in places where nature had denied him footing, and where he was forced to begin his labours suspended from above by ropes, on the face of the horrible precipice. The bogs and

moors had likewise their difficulties to be overcome, but all were at length constrained to yield to the perseverance of our troops. In some places I observed that, after the manner of the Romans, they left engraven on the rocks the names of the regiment to which each party belonged, who were employed in these works. These roads, began at Dunkeld, are carried on through the noted pass of Killiecrankie, by Blair, to Dalnacardoch, Dalwhinnie, and over the Coryarich, to Fort Augustus. A branch extends from thence eastward, to Inverness, and another westward, over High Bridge, to Fort William. From the last, by Kinloch Leven, over the Black Mountain, by the King's House, to Tyendrum; and from thence, by Glen Urquie, to Inverary, and so along the beautiful boundaries of Loch Lomond, to its extremity."

These roads now present but a poor specimen of road-making, according to modern ideas, and when estimated by the standard of modern improvements; but still they deserve much praise, as having greatly contributed to the present comparatively advanced condition of the Highlands of Scotland. Our readers are doubtless familiar with the encomiastic epigram upon their maker:—

"Oh! had you only seen these roads before they were made,
You'd lift up your hands, and bless Marshal Wade!"

"The epigram on Marshal Wade," says a modern querulous topographer, "is well known, but we might easily make a Marforio to it, and turn up our eyes at the manner in which the roads are made. If Fingal was a far greater hero, he was unquestionably, also, a much better road-maker; and really it is somewhat marvellous how the Marshal could have imagined, how he could have adopted the best of all possible plans when he formed the heroic determination of pursuing straight lines, and of defying nature and wheel-carriages both, at one valiant effort of courage and science. His organ of quarter-masteriveness must have been woefully in arrear, for there is not a Highland Donald of them all, nay, not even a stot or a quey in the country, that could have selected such a line of march. Up and down, up and down, as the old catch says, it is like sailing in the Bay of Biscay. No sooner up than down, no sooner down than up. No sooner has a horse got into his pace again, than he is called on to stop; no sooner is he out of wind than he must begin to trot or gallop; and then the trap at the bottom which receives the wheels at full speed. The traveller, says some sentimental tourist, is penetrated with amazement and gratitude, and so forth, at General Wade's road:—the amazement is probable enough. Pennant, who, if he is not very sentimental, is at least the very pink of good-humoured travellers, supposes the General had some valid military reasons for his hobby-horsical system; this is very kind."

The Lowland roads of the last century, were as bad as possible. "Persons are still alive," says Mr. Buchanan, "who remember per-

fectly the carriers between Edinburgh and Glasgow, going regularly with five or six horses in a train; and so narrow was the track, that the leading one had a bell at his head, to give warning of their approach to the party travelling in the opposite direction, that the one might have time to get out of the way, while the other was passing." Robertson, in his *Rural Recollections*, informs us that the common carrier from Selkirk to Edinburgh, thirty-eight miles distance, took two weeks for his journey between the two towns, going and returning. His fellow-townsmen, on the morning of his departure, took an anxious leave of him, fearing every time that their farewells might be final. At this time the mail between Edinburgh and London was conveyed on horseback, and required six days for its transmission: but so little communication was there between the two capitals, that when an order was sent, in '45, in consequence of the rebellion, to intercept and open all letters, not above twenty were found in the London bag. Between 1750 and 1760, a coach travelled from London to Edinburgh in thirteen days. The late London mail performed the journey in forty-three hours and a half. The first coach between Edinburgh and Glasgow was started in 1765, and occupied twelve hours on the road. Shortly afterwards "The Fly"—so called from its reputed great velocity—was started, and performed the journey in ten hours. Coaches can now complete the distance in five hours.

We can hardly expect that our readers would follow us with much interest into the details of the art of road-making; and we will confine ourselves to a few general notices; referring those who may be desirous of prosecuting the subject, to Sir Henry Parnell's very complete and valuable "*Treatise on Roads*." A perfect road ought to be straight, level, smooth, and hard; and that is considered to be the best practical road, which conforms most closely to these four theoretical conditions, or which makes the best compromise, in those cases in which it is impossible to satisfy them all.

And yet it may reasonably be doubted, whether a long line of road which exactly conformed to all these conditions, would be the most desirable. In the first place, the arrow-like straightness of the old Roman military road would not find favour in the England of to-day. A gentle curve adds greatly to the beauty of a road; and even in these degenerate days of hard utilitarianism, the absence of the beauty thus obtained, would be deplored. "These little turnings," says Dupin, in his comparative work on England and France, "produce an agreeable effect with reference to the surrounding scenery; so that the road becomes an ornament to the country, and the country itself is exhibited to the best advantage to the eye of the traveller, who, by the course of the road, is led to those points which command the most pleasing prospects. Why should we neglect this mode of enhancing the enjoyment of the beauties of nature, when in our cities we expend such considerable sums in futile amusements, and in pleasures less pure and positive?" In the second place, a perfectly

level road is found to be much more fatiguing to man and beast, than one that occasionally and moderately undulates. A horizontal road requires the unvarying action of the same muscles; but the alternation of ascending, descending, and level ground, by bringing different muscles into play in their turn, affords relief, and creates an agreeable diversity of action.

These two first qualities of rectilinearity and horizontality, belong to the laying out of a road, or *the line of direction*; the qualities of hardness and smoothness belong to the execution of the road, and the materials of which it is composed, or *the line of draught*. Between these two sets of conditions there ought to be a very careful adjustment. Modern engineers are, in general, of opinion, that the line of direction has not been made sufficiently subordinate to the line of draught. One of the greatest impediments in travelling on a soft road is, that the wheel forms a ridge in front as well as at the sides, which has been calculated to create a resistance never less than one-seventeenth, and more frequently equal to one-ninth of the weight. Roads were formerly made unduly convex, in order to allow water to drain off; but Mr. M'Adam would make the road as flat as possible, consistent with effectual drainage; and Mr. Telford, in his celebrated road, has given no more for the transversal inclination, than that which is produced by a rise of eight inches in a width of thirty-three feet; or rather, we should say, he has made the convexity elliptical, the fall being half an inch at four feet from the centre, two inches at nine feet, and six inches at fifteen feet.

We will now endeavour to give our readers a popular account of the principles and methods of constructing the chief kinds of roads. And first, with respect to metalled or broken-stone roads. As there are some differences in principle, as well as in detail, between M'Adam and Telford, we will confine ourselves chiefly to the plans of the second and greater engineer. The characteristic feature of Telford's system is a *pavement* composed of hand-laid stones, placed on the natural bed of the road, technically called the foundation, for the purpose of supporting the small broken stones of which the surface is composed. M'Adam considered paving to be unnecessary; and even preferred a soil consisting of a mixture of hard and soft materials to one quite hard. His reason for this preference was, that an elastic bed was, as he presumed, more durable than an unyielding one; as an anvil will last longer when mounted on a block of wood than when mounted on a block of stone. But experience has not confirmed Mr. M'Adam's opinion; and Mr. Telford's plan of interposing a pavement between the natural soil and the superficial road, is decidedly and justly preferred. The foundation is first well rammed with chips of stone, especially if it is of a wet or spongy texture; then the pavement is laid down; consisting of a stratum, from five to seven inches deep, of stone of moderate and *uniform* size, broken into angular pieces, and placed with their broadest ends downwards. These stones, which are technically called *metal*, have

a strong tendency to bind together into a solid, compact, tenacious mass. The quality of a road depends essentially on that of its pavement. The absolute necessity of a firm bottoming of this kind was strikingly shown in the case of the Highgate Archway-road. That road rests upon a subsoil of sand, clay, and gravel, and is much exposed to the influence of water. It originally consisted of gravel and sand, covered with broken flints and gravel; and when this failed, the road was taken up, pieces of waste tin were laid on the subsoil, and over these were spread gravel, flints, and broken stone. This plan also failed. Twelve hundred cubic yards of gravel were used annually over an extent of a mile and a half in length; but in vain. In 1829, the road was placed under the management of the Holyhead-road Commissioners. As paving-stones could not be obtained, except at a great and undue expense, the Commissioners tried a coating of Roman cement and gravel, as a pavement or bed; and the experiment was completely successful. In the first winter after the cement was laid, four horses were able to trot a heavily-laden coach; while before these improvements were made, six horses with difficulty performed the same work at a walking pace. "Well-made roads," says Mr. Macneill, "formed of clean, hard, broken stone, placed on a solid foundation, are very little affected by atmospheric changes. Weak roads, on the contrary, or those which are imperfectly formed with gravel, flint, or round pebbles, without a bottoming, or foundation of stone pavement or concrete, are much affected by changes of weather. In the formation of such roads, and before they become bound or firm, a considerable portion of the subsoil mixes with the stone or gravel, in consequence of putting the gravel on in thin layers; this mixture of earth or clay, in dry warm seasons, cracks by the heat, and makes the road loose and open. The consequence is, that the stones are thrown out, and many of them are crushed and ground into dust, producing considerable wear and diminution of the materials. In wet weather, also, the clay or earth mixed with stones absorbs moisture, becomes soft, and allows the stones to move and rub against each other, when acted upon by the feet of horses or wheels of carriages. This attrition of the stones against each other wears them out surprisingly fast, and produces large quantities of mud, which tend to keep the road damp, and by that means increases the injury." Although, as a general rule, hard stone is the best for road-making, yet it is found that such stones sometimes wear out more rapidly than stones of a softer but tougher quality. The best kinds of road-material, according to Sir Henry Parnell, are basalt, granite, quartz, syenite, and porphyry rocks. Schistus stones, being of a slaty and argillaceous structure, make smooth roads, but are rapidly destroyed by wet. Limestone also is faulty in this respect. Sandstone makes a good pavement, but is too weak for the surface of a road. Hard flints are nearly as good as limestones; but the softer flints soon yield to the grinding pressure of wheels, and make the roads dirty and heavy. Gravel is

a good material, when it consists of hard and large pebbles, which admit of being broken ; but when it consists of limestone, sandstone, or flint, it is too friable to be an effective material for roads. "Throughout Scotland," says Mr. Stevenson, "and even as far south as the approaching sources of the rivers Tees and Ribble, good road-metal is generally to be met with, containing the numerous varieties of granite, greenstone, basalt, porphyry, and limestone. South of this boundary, as far as the Trent and the Dee, in Cheshire, the formation is chiefly coal, sandstone, and the softer varieties of limestone. In the southern counties, chalk and gravel soils chiefly occur, affording flint and gravel, both of which, under proper management, make excellent roads. In North and South Wales we have all the varieties of road-metal which are common to Scotland. In Ireland they have excellent road-materials, as granite and limestone are pretty generally distributed."

From metalled we pass to paved roads. The construction of paved roads appears to have been well understood by the Romans, who were very careful to secure those two essentials to a successful pavement,—a good foundation, and an accurate fitting of the stones. Some of the modern stone-pavements of Italy are constructed upon these ancient models ; and the stones are set with such accuracy in mortar, on a concrete foundation, that they have been designated *horizontal walls*. The *chaussée*, or roughly-paved causeway, which is used in the principal highways of France, and some other parts of the continent, is also considered to be derived from the Romans. In Holland, pavements of brick, probably suggested by the practice of the Roman engineers, are used for footpaths and for roadways for light vehicles. "Two kinds of pavement," observes a recent writer on this subject, "are chiefly adopted in the capitals of Great Britain and Ireland ; the one is termed the *rubble* causeway, and the other the *aisler* causeway. In the rubble form, the stones are slightly dressed with a hammer ; in the aisler form, the stones are nearly of determinate dimensions, varying from five to seven inches in thickness, from eight to twelve in length, and about a foot in breadth. A good specimen of the aisler causeway is to be seen in the Commercial-road, leading from Whitechapel to the India Docks, at Blackwall and Poplar. This road is seventy feet wide, and two miles long. The footpaths are laid with Yorkshire flags, and the roadway with granite. The tramway consists of large blocks of stone, eighteen inches wide by twelve inches deep, and from two-and-a-half to ten feet long. These are placed in rows, four feet apart, on a hard bottom of gravel, or on a concrete foundation ; and their ends are firmly jointed together, so as to prevent any kind of movement. As an example of the value of this road, it is stated that a loaded waggon, weighing ten tons, was drawn by one horse from the West India Docks, a distance of two miles, with a rise in the road of 1 in 274, at the rate of nearly four miles an hour. In English towns generally the carriage-roads, if paved, are covered with blocks of

stone, more or less resembling cubes; while the footpaths are covered with broad thin flag-stones. In Florence, the whole breadth of the streets is paved with flag-stones, placed diagonally; and in Naples the surfaces are nearly as smooth. In both these cases, it is necessary to roughen the stones frequently with chisels, wherever there is a hill or bridge, to prevent horses from slipping; but in both cities, the horses, from habit, are sufficiently sure footed, even when running with some rapidity. In Milan, both kinds of pavements are mixed together in the same street; the smooth kind in two double lines for the wheels of carriages coming and going, and the rougher in the intermediate parts for the feet of the horses."

Roads of asphalt, and pavements of wooden-blocks, have been introduced of late years, with varying degrees of success. The asphalt appears to be well suited for side pavements for foot-passengers; the wooden blocks promise well, but are still in the hands of experimentalizers.

From the subject of roads we pass, by an easy transition, to that of carriages. The sedan-chair, the palanquin, and the litter, were among the simplest and earliest modes of conveyance, in which some kind of carriage was made use of in addition to animal power. The horse-litter, a native of Bithynia, was introduced into this country by the Normans. The body of William Rufus, as we learn from Malmsbury, was placed upon a "*rheda caballaria*," which Fabian renders, "a horse-litter." King John, in his last illness, was conveyed from the abbey of Swinstead in "*lectica equestre*." Froissart says, with reference to Isabel, the second wife of Richard II., "*La june Royné d'Angleterre en une litier moult riche qui estoit ordonnée pour elle.*" When Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII. visited Scotland, she rode upon a "*faire palfrey*;" but two footmen followed her with "*one vary riche litere, borne by two faire coursers vary nobly drest; in the wich litere the sayd queene was borne in the intryng of the good townes, or otherwise to her good playsher.*" The litter continued in use long after the introduction of coaches. The mother of Henrietta, queen of Charles I., entered London in a litter, having previously travelled from Warwick in a coach. These litters were seldom used except on state occasions, and were often of a rich and gorgeous description, as may be seen in Holinshed's description of the litter in which Queen Katherine was borne at her coronation.

Wheel carriages were at first of the very simplest description. The carts used by the Chilian peasantry are probably among the rudest: they are constructed of wood and hides, and are sometimes tilted with canes and straw; not a particle of iron or any other metal being employed. The *essedum* of the ancient Britons, referred to in Cæsar's Commentaries (lib. iv. c. 29), was one of the simplest vehicles belonging to the class of chariot. As the Britons, when engaged in battle, used to run along the pole, the chariot must have been low in front; while the war-chariots of the Romans were

there breast-high, and the front was called ἀσπίδισκη, or the shield-part. Strutt describes a kind of chariot in use among the Anglo-Saxons, as closely resembling the old British *essedum*. This rude contrivance was improved upon by the Saxons. In the Cotton Library there is a valuable Saxon illuminated MS., attributed by some to Ciedna, by others to Elfricus, Abbot of Malmesbury. In this, a slung carriage is represented, the delineation being an illustration of the meeting of Jacob and Joseph. The chariot in which Joseph is seated is a kind of hammock, (most probably made of leather, which was much used by the Anglo-Saxons,) suspended by iron hooks from a frame-work of wood; the whole resting on four wheels. Jacob is seated in a cart only, of the most primitive simplicity.

Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, contend for the honour of having first introduced private carriages. Beckman states that when Charles of Anjou entered Naples, (towards the end of the thirteenth century,) his queen rode in a *caretta*, covered without and lined within with sky-blue velvet, interspersed with golden lilies. In 1294, Philip the Fair, of France, issued an ordinance forbidding the general use of "cars," "chares," or "charats," as they were afterwards called. In the "*Anciennes Chroniques de Flandres*," a manuscript of the date 1347, there is an illustration of the flight of Emergard, wife of Salvard, Lord of Rousillon; where she appears seated in a "chariette" of a sufficiently clumsy and cumbrous construction, but curiously carved and fitted up with purple and crimson hangings. The "chare" was soon known in England. In "*The Squyr of Low Degree*," the father of the Princess of Hungary says:—

"To-morrow ye shall on hunting fare,
And ride my daughter in a chare.
It shall be covered with velvet red,
And cloths of fine gold all about your head;
With damask white, and azure blue,
Well diapered with lilies new:
Your pomelles shall be ended with gold,
Your chains enamelled many a fold."

Coaches were known in France and Spain sooner than in England. Stowe, in his *Summarie of the English Chronicle*, says that coaches were not used in England until 1555, when Walter Rippon made one for the Earl of Rutland: and that the same builder made one for Queen Mary in 1564; and, again, that he built, in 1584, "a chariot throne with foure pillars behind, to beare a crowne imperiale on the toppe, and before two lower pillars, whereon stood a lion and a dragon, the supporters of the arms of England." Taylor, the Water Poet, in his life of old Parr, says: "He (Parr, who was born in Edward the Fourth's reign, 1483) was eighty-one years old before there was any coach in England: for the first ever seen here was brought out of the Netherlands by one William Boonen, a Dutchman, who gave a coach to Queen Elizabeth, for she had been seven years a queen before she had any coach."

As coaches began to increase, a general outcry was raised against them. In 1588, Duke Julius of Brunswick issued an edict, forbidding his vassals to ride in coaches; because by that means "the useful discipline and skill in riding had been almost lost." In 1668, Philip, Duke of Pomerania Stetten, expressed his disapproval of coaches: and in the Churmark Archives there is an edict still preserved, in which the use of coaches is prohibited under pain of incurring the punishment of felony. But these and all similar prohibitions shared the natural and necessary fate of all sumptuary laws. In London, the watermen, led on by Taylor, the Water Poet, already referred to, were lustily clamorous in their opposition. Taylor's logic appears to have been on a par with that of the worthy who traced relations of cause and effect between Tenterden steeple and Godwin Sands. Hackney coaches, he says, "never swarmed so much to pester the streets as they do now, till the year 1605; and then was the gunpowder treason hatched, and at that time did the coaches breed and multiply." He is more successful in his direct vituperations; when he launches out in this strain:—"The coach is a close hypocrite; for it hath a cover for knavery, and curtains to vaile and shadow any wickedness. Besides, like a perpetual cheater, it wears two bootes and no spurs, sometimes having two pair of legs to one boote, and oftentimes (against nature) it makes faire ladies weare the boote; and if you note, they are carried back to back, like people surprised by pyrats, to be tyed in that miserable manner and thrown overboard into the sea. Moreover, it makes people imitate sea-crabs, in being drawn sideway as they are when they sit in the boote of the coach; and it is a dangerous kinde of carriage for the commonwealth, if it be considered." In 1635, Sir Saunders Duncombe obtained a patent for sedans; which were intended to diminish the use of coaches. There is a lively tract, dated 1636, in the *Archæologia*, entitled, "Coach and Sedan: a pleasant dispute for precedence, the brewer's cart being moderator." "Sedan was in a suit of green, after a strange manner, windowed behind and before with isinglasse, having two handsome fellows in green coats attending him; the one ever went before, the other came behind. Their coats were laced downe the back with a green lace suitable; so were their half-sleeves; which persuaded me at first they were some cast suites of their masters. Their backs were harnessed with leather angles cut out of a hide as broad as Dutch collops of bacon." Then comes the description of Coach. "The other was a thick, burly, square-sett fellow, in a doublet of black leather, brasse-buttoned downe the breast, back, sleeves, and winges, with monstrous wide bootes fringed at the top with a net fringe, and a round breech guilded, and on the back an achievement of sundry coats in their proper colours, &c. Hee had only one man before him, wrapt in a red cloake, with wide sleeves turned up at the hands, and cudgelled thick on the back and shoulders with broad shining lace (not much unlike that which mummers make of strawen hats); and of each side of

him went a lacquey, the one a French boy, the other Irish, both suitable alike." In this dialogue, Coach is hardly prest by Sedan, who cudgels the "thick, burly, square-sett fellow" after this fashion:—"And, Coach, twice or thrice a year, you must needs take a voyage to London with your ladie, under a cullor, to be new cullored, guilded, or painted, covered, scated, shod, or the like; when her errand indeed is, as one saith well, speaking to such ladies who love to visit the city:—

" 'To see what fashion most is in request,—
How is this countess, that court ladie drest.' "

Hence it happens, Coach, that, by your often ambling to London, Sir Thomas or Sir John sinks, as in a quicksand, by degrees, so deep into the merchant, mercer, or lawyer's booke, that hee is up to the cares ere hee be aware; neither can hee be well drawne out without a teame of usurers, and a craftie scrivener to be the forehorse, or the present sale of some land; so that wise men suppose this to be one maine and principal reason why within a coach journey of a day or two from the citie, so many faire inheritances as have been purchased by lord mayors, aldermen, merchants, and other rich citizens, have not continued in a name to the third—yea, scarce the second generation; when, go far north or westward, you shall find many families and names of nobilitie and gentrie to have continued their estates two or three hundred years, and these in a direct succession." The decision of the moderator is as might have been expected: "Coach and Sedan, you both shall reverence and ever give way to Beere-cart wherever you shall meete him, either in citie or countrie, as your auncient and elder brother."

From these rude and early times as regards the art of coach-building, let us pass to our own days; or rather, to a period of fifteen or twenty years ago, when stage-coaches had attained their perfection; and before the resistless Fire-King, the "giant Atmodes" of one of Mr. Gresley's cheerful holiday tales, had invaded their province, and outstript them in the race against old father Chronos. The late Mr. Apperley, better known as "Nimrod," has given a spirited sketch of the rise and progress of the stage coach, in his lively work, entitled, "The Chace, the Turf, and the Road." Neither the chace nor the turf have charms for us; but who has not thoroughly enjoyed a seat on the box? And if those days are past, why should we not recal their healthy luxuries? So we will even look back for fourteen years, and with the "Nimrod" of 1832, take a brief retrospective glance at the "Road" of that date. We must, however, take the liberty of considerably condensing Nimrod's vigorous sketch; hoping, at the same time, that we shall not cause its lively spirit to escape.

Suppose a worthy old gentleman of 1742—when the Oxford stage-coach consumed two mortal days in travelling from London to the metropolis of learning,—to have fallen comfortably asleep *à la Dodswell*, and not to awake till some Monday morning, 1832, in

Piccadilly. "What coach, your honour?" says a ruffianly-looking fellow. "I wish to go home to Exeter," replies the old gentleman, mildly. "Just in time, your honour, here she comes—they there grey horses—where's your luggage?" "Don't be in a hurry," observes the stranger; "that's a gentleman's carriage." "It ain't! I tell you," says the cad, "it's the Comet; and you must be as quick as lightning." The old gentleman is hurried in, gasping with apprehension lest his luggage should be left behind, and finds a clergyman and one of the proprietors of the coach as his fellow-passengers. Five-and-thirty minutes bring them to the noted town of Brentford; our friend's alarm at the rate of travelling having hardly been dissipated by the proprietor assuring him that they "never go fast" over that stage. "Hah!" says the old man, becoming young again, "what, no improvement in this filthy place? Is old Brentford still here? A national disgrace. Pray, sir, who is your county member now?" "His name is Hume, sir," was the reply. "The modern Hercules; the real cleanser of the Augean stable." "A gentleman of large property in the county, I presume?" said the man of the last century. "Not an acre," replied the communicative proprietor, "a Scotchman from the town of Montrose." "Aye, aye; nothing like the high road to London for these Scotchmen. A great city merchant, no doubt, worth a plum or two." "No such thing, sir," quoth the other, "the gentleman was a doctor, and made his fortune in the Indies." "No quack, I warrant you," said the ancient, doubtingly. The proprietor was silent; but the clergyman in the corner muttered something, which, however, was lost, owing to the coach coming at the instant, at the rate of ten miles an hour, upon the vile pavement of Brentford.

We must give our next extract entire; it is too graphic to be touched by any other pen than that of "Nimrod."

"In five minutes under the hour the Comet arrives at Hounslow, to the great delight of our friend, who by this time waxed hungry, not having broken his fast before starting. 'Just fifty-five minutes and thirty-seven seconds,' says he, 'from the time we left London!—wonderful travelling, gentlemen, to be sure, but much too fast to be safe. However, we are arrived at a good-looking house; and now, waiter! I hope you have got breakf—' Before the last syllable, however, of the word could be pronounced, the worthy old gentleman's head struck the back of the coach by a jerk, which he could not account for, (the fact was, three of the four fresh horses were bolters,) and the waiter, the inn, and indeed Hounslow itself disappeared in the twinkling of an eye. Never did such a succession of doors, windows, and window shutters pass so quickly in his review before—and he hoped they might never do so again. Recovering, however, a little from his surprise—'My dear sir,' said he, 'you told me we were to change horses at Hounslow? surely they are not so inhuman as to drive these poor animals another stage at this unmerciful rate!' 'Change horses, sir!' says the proprietor; 'why we changed them whilst you were putting on your spectacles, and looking at your watch. Only one minute allowed for it at Hounslow, and it is often done in fifty seconds by those nimble-fingered horsekeepers.' 'You astonish me; but really I do not like to go so fast.' 'Oh, sir, we always *spring* them over these six miles. It is what we call the *hospital ground*.' This alarming phrase is presently interpreted; "

intimates that horses whose 'backs are getting down instead of up in their work'—some 'that won't hold an ounce down hill, or draw an ounce up,'—others that kick over the pole one day and over the bars the next,—in short, all the reprobates, styled in the road slang *bokickers*, are sent to work these six miles—because here they have nothing to do but to gallop—not a pebble as big as a nutmeg on the road, and so even, that it would not disturb the equilibrium of a spirit-level."

After this, the resuscitated traveller, having safely arrived at Staines, travels somewhat more comfortably from Staines to Bagshot;—that stage being performed, not by "bokickers," but by staid strong horses, able to contend with hilly and severe ground;—save that he at last finds himself galloping over "a long fall of ground," at a furious pace; the coach rocking awfully, as its momentum continually increases, until the rise of the ground, after the "fall" had been traversed, meets and "steadies" the perilous vehicle. But our "ancient" has had enough of it, and accordingly alights at Bagshot.

"The worthy old gentleman is now shown into a room, and after warming his hands at the fire, rings the bell for the waiter. A well-dressed person appears, whom, of course, he takes for the landlord. 'Pray, sir,' says he, 'have you any *slow* coach down this road to-day?' 'Why, yes, sir,' replies John, 'we shall have the *Regulator* down in an hour.' 'Just right,' said our friend, 'it will enable me to break my fast, which I have not done to day.' 'Oh, sir,' observes John, 'these here fast *drags* will be the ruin of us. 'Tis all hurry-scurry, and no gentleman has time to have nothing on the road. What will you take, sir? mutton chops, veal cutlets, beef-steaks?'

"At the appointed time, the *Regulator* appears at the door. It is a strong well-built *drag*, painted what is called chocolate colour: bedaubed all over with gilt letters—a bull's head on the doors, a Saracen's head on the hind boot—and drawn by four strapping horses; but wanting the neatness of the other, the passengers may be, by a shade or two, of a lower order than those who had gone forward by the *Comet*, nor perhaps is the coachman quite so refined as the one we have just taken leave of. He has not the neat white hat, the clean doe-skin gloves, the well-cut trowsers, and dapper frock; but still his appearance is respectable, and perhaps in the eyes of many more in character with his calling. Neither has he the agility of the *artiste* on the *Comet*, for he is nearly double his size; but he is a strong, powerful man, and might be called a pattern-card of the heavy coachman of the present day:—in other words, of a man who drives a coach which carries sixteen passengers instead of fourteen, and is rated at eight miles an hour instead of ten. 'What room in the *Regulator*?' says our friend to the waiter, as John comes in to announce its arrival. 'Full inside, sir, and in front; but you'll have the *backgammon-board* all to yourself, and your luggage is in the hind boot.' 'Backgammon-board? Pray, what's that? Do you mean the *basket*?' 'Oh no, sir,' says John, smiling,—'no such thing on the road now. It is the hind dickey, as some call it; where you'll be as comfortable as possible, and can sit with your back or your face to the coach, or both, if you like.' 'Ah, ah,' continues the old gentleman, 'something new again, I presume.' However, the mystery is cleared up; the ladder is reared to the hind wheel, and the old gentleman is safely seated on the backgammon board."

But unfortunately, even the steady *Regulator*,—although, according to the old conundrum, "all the other coaches *go by* it,"—can play tricks upon occasion; and when she reaches the "Hertford-bridge flat,"—a piece of ground at once firm and elastic, smooth but undulating, and therefore favourable to vigorous and continued

draught,—she flies along the springing, varying surface, at a rate which sadly discomposes the solitary tenant of the “backgammon board.” Whoever is acquainted with the principles of mechanics, knows that under the circumstances we have just described, the hinder part of the coach would swing more than any other part; so that our resuscitated traveller was worse off than ever. At the time that the Regulator was in one of her best gallops, and the “backgammon board” was oscillating fearfully, she was met by the Comet up coach, driven by the “artist” whom we parted with a short time ago: and who thus describes the situation and appearance of his quondam passenger.

“He was seated with his back to the horses—his arms extended to each extremity of the guard-irons—his teeth set grim as death—his eyes cast down, as if he thought that the less he saw of his danger the better. There was what was called a top-heavy load,—perhaps a ton of luggage on the roof, and, it may be, not quite in obedience to the act-of-parliament standard. There were also two horses at the wheel whose strides were of rather unequal length, and this operated powerfully on the coach. In short, the lurches of the Regulator were awful at the moment of the Comet passing her.”

At Hertford-bridge, our friend is only too happy to part company with the Regulator; and as he descends from his perilous elevation, magnanimously resolves to *walk* into Devonshire; while at the same time he indignantly dismisses the coachman shillingless, accounting him “dangerous.” But his hasty resolve to pedestrianize passes away with his tremour and wrath, and when he finds that he cannot post it for less than twenty pounds, he concludes to trust himself to a coach once more. As luggage had been the chief source of his terror, as he swung to and fro on the backgammon board of the deceitful Regulator, he now inquires anxiously for a coach that carries no luggage whatever upon the roof.

“‘Have you no coach that does not carry luggage on the top?’ he asks. ‘Oh yes, sir,’ replies the waiter, ‘we shall have one to-night that is not allowed to carry a band-box on the roof.’ ‘That’s the coach for me; pray what do you call it?’ ‘The Quicksilver mail, sir; one of the best out of London,—Jack White and Tom Brown, pick’d coachmen, over this ground,—Jack White down to-night.’ ‘Guarded and lighted?’ ‘Both, sir, blunderbuss and pistols in the sword-case; a lamp each side the coach, and one under the footboard,—see to pick up a pin the darkest night in the year.’ ‘Very fast?’ ‘Oh no, sir, just keeps time, and that’s all.’ ‘That’s the coach for me then,’ repeats our hero; ‘and I am sure I shall feel at my ease in it. I suppose it is what used to be called the old Mercury.’

“Unfortunately, the Devonport (commonly called the Quicksilver) mail, is half a mile in the hour faster than most in England, and is, indeed, one of the miracles of the road. Let us, then, picture to ourselves our anti-reformer snugly seated in this mail, on a pitch-dark night in November. It is true she has no luggage on the roof, nor much to incommode her elsewhere; but she is a mile in the hour faster than the Comet, at least three miles quicker than the Regulator; and she performs more than half her journey by lamp-light. It is needless to say, then, that our senior soon finds out his mistake; but there is no remedy at hand, for it is the dead of night, and all the inns are shut up. He must proceed, or be left behind in a stable. The climax of his misfortunes approaches. Nature being exhausted, sleep comes to his aid, and he awak-

on a stage which is called the fastest on the journey,—it is four miles of ground, and twelve minutes is the time! The old gentleman starts from his seat, having dreamt the horses were running away with the coach, and so indeed they might be. He is, however, determined to convince himself of the fact, though the passengers assure him ‘all’s right.’ ‘Don’t put your head out of the window,’ says one of them, ‘you will lose your hat to a certainty.’ But advice is seldom listened to by a terrified man; and the next moment a stentorian voice is heard, crying, ‘Stop, coachman, stop; I’ve lost my hat and wig!’ The coachman hears him not; and in another second the broad wheels of a down wagon have for ever demolished the lost head-gear. But here we must take leave of our adventurous Gilpin of 1742. We have taken a great liberty with him, it is true, but we are not without our precedent. One of the best chapters in *Livy* contains the history of ‘an event which never took place.’ In the full charm of his imagination, the historian brings Alexander into Italy, where he never was in his life, and displays him in his brightest colours. We father our sins then upon the Patavinian.”

We had intended to have traced, in connexion with our account of mail-coaches, the history of the successive arrangements for the conveyance of letters. But our limits forbid our entering upon this subject in our present paper; and, indeed, it may very fitly lie over until we resume the general subject, and treat of the rise and progress of railroads; which have now, for some years, cast all the ancient glories of “the road” into Cimmerian darkness, and involved them in hopeless eclipse.

We conclude, for the present, with a short account of private carriages. “Nimrod” has furnished a rapid and lively sketch of their later history; their earlier history we have already given. “Nimrod” *loquitur* :—

“As a fac-simile of the gentleman’s family coach of fifty years back is now become difficult to produce, we will describe it. It had a most comfortable and roomy body, quite fit to contain six portly persons, and suspended by long leather braces, affixed to nearly upright springs. To enable the body to hang low, the perch of a bent form, called the compass-perch, was used, and the carriage was of great length and strength. In fact, it was, coachman and all, in strict accordance with the animals that drew it, and came under the denomination of ‘slow and easy.’ The fashionable open carriage of this day was a still more unsightly object,—the high, single-bodied phaeton, all upon the fore-wheels, and looking as if the hinder ones had nothing to do but to follow. This was the favourite carriage of the late king (George IV.) when Prince of Wales, and was commonly driven, by such as could afford it, with four horses in hand. Indeed, it may almost be said to have given birth to our gentleman-coachmanship, as well as to the well-known epigram :—

‘What can Tommy Onslow do?
He can drive a phaeton and two.
Can Tommy Onslow do no more?
Yes; he can drive a phaeton and four!’

“The phaeton was succeeded by the no less classically yclept curricule—a carriage, when properly appointed, and followed by two well-dressed and well-appointed grooms, of singular elegance certainly. It had a long run in the fashionable world, but being, like the phaeton, only calculated to carry two persons, and requiring no less than three horses, taxation and economy put an end to it. Then came the reign of the gig. The curate’s wife, a gouty attorney, or a rich old farmer, fifty years ago, might be seen boxed up in

a whiskey—which being hung on hind and fore braces, with a head to protect its inmates from weather, made a convenient family conveyance, and, with a steady dobbin to draw it, a safe one. Economy induced a leader of *ton* to cast favourable eyes on this snug whiskey—and hence the airy gig, with a hundred-guinea horse in it, has been the best friend to doctors and undertakers they have ever yet found. The race has multiplied, and many names and varieties have been adopted in succession. The quiet movement of their wheels, the nice equilibrium in which they are placed on the axle, the evenness of their motion by reason of their being detached from their shafts, and the ease with which they follow the horse, make gigs delightful carriages to ride in, and we could wish they were not so dangerous. The Stanhope, so named after the Honourable Fitzroy Stanhope, who planned it, succeeded the Tilbury, so called from the well-known coachmaker. . . . The Buggy, Stanhope, Dennet, and Tilbury, have all, during some seasons past, been supplanted by the cabriolet for town work. . . . But this is now rather on the decline; and the light and airy Tilbury is making its appearance again."

Our limits will not allow us to take any notice of the cariole, britzscka, droitzschka, carriages introduced from Norway, Germany, and Russia respectively; nor of any other of the very various vehicles which throng the streets of the metropolis.

THE LIFE OF TORQUATO TASSO.

PART III.—FROM 1577—1586.

Tasso having left Ferrara in this deplorable state, avoided the great towns and even the high roads, for fear of being pursued and recognised. He arrived in a few days in the Neapolitan states: his design was to seek his sister Cornelia, who then dwelt in their native town, Sorrento. After the death of her mother she remained at Naples, under the care of her uncles, who resisted all Bernardo's entreaties that she might be sent to him. They gave her in marriage to a gentleman of Sorrento, named Serrale; she had been a widow many years, but it seems with an independent fortune. Though the brother and sister had not met since their infancy, they retained their affection for each other, and Tasso had no reason to doubt that he should be well received. However, the distrust natural to the unfortunate, suggested the idea of making an experiment on her affections. He exchanged his dress with a shepherd, and presented himself to his sister, as a person who was commissioned to bring her news of her brother. Her extreme emotion on hearing his misfortunes left no doubt on the mind of Tasso. He made himself known to her, and found in the affection of this beloved sister the sweetest consolations he had experienced since his distress.

There, in one of the most beautiful spots on earth, in a pure atmosphere, and watched over with the tenderest care, he soon found relief. The melancholy and dark fears which haunted him abated, and he began naturally to perceive that he had quitted Ferrara on too slight grounds, and to regret that he had excited the duke's displeasure. He

passed, as is commonly the case in this fearful malady, from one extreme to the other. He wrote to the duke and the princesses, entreating to be restored to his place, and, above all, to their favour. Neither Alphonso nor the duchess made any reply. Leonora's was calculated to deprive him of all hope. His next idea was, that it would be a noble action to place his life in the hands of the duke. Cornelia's entreaties were of no avail; and, whilst yet scarcely recovered from a dangerous illness, he left Sorrento to execute this design.

When arrived at Rome, he wished to give a public proof of his confidence in the duke, by going instantly to his agent: the agent and the ambassador of the duke both received him with kindness, and wrote to their prince to intercede for him. Scipio Gonzaga and the cardinal Albano, who was nearly as much attached to him as Scipio himself, recommended him not to return to Ferrara till he was invited thither; that he should only ask Alphonso's forgiveness, and request to be allowed to have the property and papers he had left in the palace at Ferrara. The cardinal wrote to the duke to this effect, who replied that he had given orders that all the papers Tasso had left behind him should be collected and remitted to him; but he expressed himself vaguely as to the rest. The papers were never sent, perhaps because the duke and the princesses having lost the poet, wished to retain possession of his valuable works. Tasso was not discouraged; he addressed fresh entreaties through the agent and the ambassador. At last the duke yielded to the request of his ministers, and consented that he should re-enter his service; but that he must first acknowledge that all his fears and suspicions originated in his disordered mind. He must submit to proper medical treatment; and, if he should again annoy him as heretofore with his complaints, the duke on his part was resolved not to admit him to his presence; and, should he refuse to follow the advice of his physicians, he would be immediately banished for ever from Ferrara.

Notwithstanding the dryness of this answer, and the indifference it betrayed, Tasso submitted to everything, and returned to Ferrara with the ambassador whom the duke had recalled. He was received kindly, and had the same access to the duke and his sisters as before; but he soon perceived, or fancied he perceived, that his talents were no longer held in the same estimation; that they sought to draw him aside from the pursuit of fame, and encourage him to lead a life of luxury and idleness. Probably this arose from a kind though mistaken idea, that amusement and rest from his wonted occupation would restore the balance of his mind. However, his manuscripts were still withheld; in spite of his repeated applications, they remained under the custody of one of the great officers of the household, which Tasso justly complained of as arbitrary treatment. He appealed to the princesses, to the duke; they refused to listen to him—to their confessor, who would not interfere. Such treatment would have exhausted the patience of one in the best state of health and reason. At length he grew weary of remaining where he could obtain neither compassion nor justice, and, abandoning his books and manuscripts, he again left the court, to seek under the protection of some other prince, an asylum, and the means of repairing his shattered fortunes.

He first proceeded to Mantua, hoping that the duke, his father's and his own former friend would be disposed to receive him, but he there experienced much the same treatment as at Ferrara. He was destitute of money; and, in order to proceed, he was obliged to sell the valuables he had in his possession. It was with great reluctance he parted with a gold chain and the ruby given him by the duchess of Urbino. Advantage was taken of his distress, and he could only obtain for them a third of their value. He went to Padua and to Venice, where he met with little kindness. Maffeo Viniero, a patrician, wrote in his favour to the grand duke of Tuscany; but before a reply could reach him, he had quitted Venice for Urbino, and here at last he was received with the respect due to his genius and his misfortunes.

It is remarkable that his poetical powers never forsook him; he gave a proof of this on arriving at Urbino. The duke was in the country; Tasso wrote to him from his palace, and whilst waiting there for his reply, he began the celebrated Canzone:—

“O del grand 'Apennino,
Figlio picciolo sì, ma glorioso.” •

CANZONE AL METAURO,

FIUMICELLO DEL CONTADO D'URBINO.

O del grand 'Apennino
Figlio picciolo sì, ma glorioso,
E di nome più chiaro assai che d'onde !
Fugace peregrino,
A queste tue cortesi amiche sponde
Per sicurezza vengo, e per riposo.
L' alta Quercia che tu bagni e seconda
Con dolcissimi umori (ond' ella spiega
I rami sì ch' i monti e i mari ingombra;)
Mi ricopra coll' ombra;
L' ombra sacra, ospital, ch' altrui non nega
Al suo fresco gentil riposo e sede,
Entro al più denso mi racoglie e chiuda;
Sì ch' io celato sia da quella cruda
E cieca Dea; ch' è cieca e pur mi vede,
Bench' io da lei m'appiatti in monte o'n valle,
E per solingo calle
Notturmo io muova, e sconosciuto il piède;)
E mi saetta sì, che ne' miei mali
Mostra tanti occhi aver quanto ella ha strali.
Oime! dal dì che pria
Trassi l'aure vitali, e i lumi apersi
In questa luce, a me non mai serena.
Fui dell' ingiusta e ria
Trastullo e segno, e di sua man soffersi
Piaghe che lunga età risaldà appena.
Sassel la gloriosa alma Sirena
Appresso il cui sepolchro ebbi la cuna.
Così avuto v'avessi o tomba o fossa,
Alla prima percossa!
Ma dal' sen della Madre empia Fortuna
Pargoletto divisel; ah! di que' baci,
Ch' ella bagnò di lagrime dolenti,

This son of the Apennines was the small river Metaurus, which flows through the duchy of Urbino. The poet goes on to say, that he is come to repose under the lofty oak that overshadows this river. (The duke bore an oak on his escutcheon.) Under this hospitable and sacred tree he hoped to find shelter and protection from the cruel goddess who, though painted blind, pursues him day and night, on plains and mountains, with her unerring darts. This stanza is poetical, but the two following, perhaps, surpass any that even Petrarch ever wrote, in truth and depth of feeling, as well as in poetical beauty. He retraces the misfortunes that had assailed him from his youth—his separation from his mother—his grief for the loss of his father. The arrival of the duke, who hurried back to welcome Tasso, checked this burst of poetry and feeling, and he never afterwards resumed the poem. It is to be regretted that the duke returned so soon, especially as all his kindness could only soothe for a moment the over-excited imagination of the sufferer. His melancholy increased in spite of every effort to remove it. Some able physicians recommended cautery; and an affecting little incident testifies the regard and interest he excited in the ducal family. The young and beautiful Lavinia della Rovere, a relation of the duke, prepared with her own hands, and assisted in applying, the bandages to the wound. His gratitude was expressed in a madrigal :—

“ Se di sì nobil mano
Dibben venir li fasche all' mie piaghi.”

But nothing could check the impulse which led him to restless change of place, and to rush into real danger in order to avoid imaginary ones. Believing himself no longer safe at the court of Urbino,

Con sospir mi remembra, e degli ardenti
Pregghi, che sen portar l'aure fugaci,
Ch' io giunger non dovea più volto a volto
Fra quelle braccia accolto
Con nodi così stretti e sì tenaci.
Lasso! e seguì con mal sicure piante
Qual Ascanio, o Camilla, il padre errante.
In aspro esiglio e in dura
Povertà crebbi in quei sì mesti errori;
Intempestivo senso ebbi agli affanni
Ch' anzi stagion matura
L'acerbità de' casi e de' dolori
In me rendè l'acerbità degli anni
L'egra spogliata sua vecchiezza; e i danni.
Narrerò tutti, or che non sono io tanto
Ricco de' propri guai, che basti solo
Per materia di duolo:
Dunque altri ch' io da me dev' esser pianto?
Già scarsi al mio voler sono i sospiri,
E queste due d'umor sì larghe vene
Non agguaglian le lagrime alle pene.
Padre, o buon padre! che dal ciel rimiri
Egro e morto ti piansi, e ben tu'l sai
E gemendo scaldai
La tomba e 'l letto; or che negli alti giri
Tu godi, a te si deve onor non lutto
A me versato il mio dolor sia tutto.

* * * *

the duke of Savoy appeared to him to be the only prince in Italy capable of affording him protection. To him, therefore, he resolved to go, and secretly took his departure on a hired horse. He bent his course towards Piedmont; and years afterwards he recorded in one of his dialogues (*Il Padre del Famiglio*) an incident which befel him on that occasion, and which seems to have made a pleasing impression on his memory. In the beginning of this dialogue, he thus describes his adventure: "It was in autumn, that, as I was travelling on horseback between Novara and Vercelli, seeing the clouds collect, and the air darken around me, I began to press forward, in hopes of reaching a shelter before the storm came on, when I suddenly heard a confused noise of dogs and hunters; looking back, I saw a hare, followed by two swift greyhounds, which fell breathless close beside me. In a few moments a youth tall, active, handsome, and well-proportioned, came up, and calling off the dogs, gave the game in charge to a countryman. Then turning to me, he begged to know whither I was travelling. To Vercelli, I replied, which, if time will permit, I hope to reach to night. 'It would have been easy to do so,' said he, 'but for the flooded state of the river which divides Piedmont from the Milanese, and which will make the passage difficult, if not dangerous; let me, therefore, request you to become my guest for the night.' As he spoke, I was struck with his noble air and the courtesousness of his demeanour. He was on foot, and I therefore dismounted, and, returning my horse to its owner, who accompanied me, I told him that, when we came to the river, I would be determined by his advice whether to attempt to cross it, or to accept his hospitable offer. Seeing that he fixed his eyes on me, as if desirous to learn who I was; I said I was a stranger. Not satisfied with this, he inquired from whence I came, and what induced me to come into that country. I replied, I was born in the kingdom of Naples; my name is too obscure to be known to you, were I to mention it; I fly from the frowns of fortune and of princes, and intend to take refuge in Savoy. 'You could not seek the protection of a more just and generous prince,' he observed, and, seeing I was unwilling to say more, he forbore to press me. We soon arrived at the river, which shot along with the swiftness of an arrow, and overflowed its banks. Some peasants assured me that the passage would be attended with danger; so, turning to the youth, I said, 'Necessity compels me to accept your hospitality, which, indeed, I feel no wish to decline.' 'I rejoice in the accident that makes you my guest,' he replied, 'though I should rather have been indebted solely to your inclination.'

"Our home is close at hand," continued he, pointing out a house not far from the river. 'The mansion is elegant,' I observed, 'and betokens that its lord possesses in this retreat the taste and refinement of a court. Are you the owner of it?' 'No,' returned he; 'it belongs to my father, and long may he live to possess it! he is not unknown in the world, though he has spent the greater part of his life in this retirement.' As he spoke, a youth younger, but not less prepossessing, in appearance, approached, and announced his father's return, who presently arrived on horseback. He appeared to be about sixty,

though his silver hair and beard spoke a still more advanced age, and increased the dignity of his appearance. I saluted him with the respect his years and demeanour claimed. 'From whence comes our guest?' said he to his son; 'his person is unknown to me.' 'From Novara,' answered the youth, 'and he is on his way to Turin;' then drawing nearer to his father, he spoke in a low voice. The old man desisted from any further inquiries, saying, 'Whoever he may be, he is welcome.'

He goes on to relate that, during the repast, the conversation happened to turn on astronomy; and that his host, astonished by the knowledge he displayed on the subject, observed, "that he was now convinced he was a person whose fame had reached those parts."

The next day he pursued his journey, escorted by the good old man and his sons to Vercelli, and from thence continued it on foot, through rain, and rugged, and miry roads; thus he arrived at the gates of Turin. The guards, seeing him in such a wretched plight, and without a passport, roughly refused him admittance. In this dilemma, Angelo Ingegneri, a literary man whom he had known at Venice, chanced to pass by, and, recognising him, procured him leave to enter the city, and conducted him to the palace of the Marquis Filippo d'Este, then General of the Horse to Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and high in his favour. He received him with kindness, and provided him with every accommodation.

Here Tasso began to feel at ease; the Archbishop of Turin, a friend of his father's and the Marquis d'Este, disputed the pleasure of entertaining him, and he was presented to the Prince Charles Emanuel, who wished to engage him in his service on the same footing as he had been in the Court of Ferrara. His compositions at this time prove that his genius retained all its former energy. It was at Turin that he wrote his "Discourse on Nobility;" and there, also, that charming Canzone addressed to the Marchioness D'Este, on seeing her dance with four of her companions. The last stanza betrays that, if all were beautiful, one far surpassed the rest in his eyes, and awoke in him those sweet emotions to which he had formerly been so prone to yield. We cannot see without pleasure this ray of light gilding, for a moment, the dark cloud that hung over his mind.

It was of short duration. The recollection of Ferrara, his attachment to the duke, his anxiety to recover his manuscripts, again took possession of his mind. It seemed as if an invincible destiny impelled him to seek in that court the extreme point of his misfortunes. He employed the Cardinal Albano to negotiate his return, and was informed that the duke would receive him with pleasure if he would attend to the directions of the physicians, and refrain from any aggression on the persons attached to his household.

The duke was making preparations for his second nuptials with Margaret di Gonzaga, a daughter of the Duke of Mantua, and Tasso was assured that, if he returned to Ferrara in so auspicious a moment, he would not only regain possession of his books and manuscripts, but probably receive marks of favour which would enable him to live honourably at the court. His joy and impatience to set out were

unbounded. In vain the Marquis D'Este advised him to wait till the spring, when he promised that he would himself conduct him to Ferrara: in vain did all his other friends at Turin, join in entreating him to listen to this advice—a fatality seemed to urge him on.

He arrived at Ferrara the 21st February, 1579, on the eve of the day when the bride was to make her entrance. The whole court was occupied in preparing for her reception; no one had leisure to announce his arrival to the duke or the princesses. His acquaintance in the palace, from whom he expected a welcome, treated him with rudeness and unkindness. We may imagine what were his feelings amidst the general joy, condemned to wander through the palace, in which no apartment was assigned him, unnoticed, and almost unrecognised, seeking in vain some place where he might obtain a short repose. The festival lasted many successive days, and when at last it ended, his situation did not improve. Excluded from the presence of the duke, and his sisters, neglected by his friends, rallied by his enemies, derided by the domestics, he lost all patience, his natural gentleness forsook him, and he vented his fury in a torrent of reproaches on Alphonso, the house of Este, and the whole court, cursing the years he had spent in their service, and retracting all he had written in their praise.

The duke, on being informed of his violence, instead of acknowledging that he had given him cause of complaint—instead of feeling some kindness for a man whom he had caressed and flattered in his happier days—to whose talents he had for eleven years owed his chief solace from the cares of state—gave orders that he should be instantly conducted to the Hospital of St. Anne, in which lunatics were confined, and there kept under restraint as a furious madman.

This stroke plunged Tasso into a kind of stupor; he remained thus for many days. Bodily illness was added to the disorder of his mind; and, when the fever which his agitation had produced abated, he felt still more acutely the misery and disgrace to which he had been subjected.

Every thing marked his degraded situation: deprived of even the means of personal cleanliness, to which he had always been scrupulously attentive, his hair, his beard, his dress, the cell in which he was confined, in a state that excited his disgust; condemned to solitude, which he had always disliked, and which was now insupportable to him; the ill-treatment he experienced from the subordinate attendants of the Hospital, and even from the prior himself, plunged him into the most pitiable state. A letter written at this time to Scipio di Gonzaga gives so simple and touching a description of his sufferings, that I have inserted it in a note.* Even the consolations of reli-

* "Oimè misero me! Io aveva disegnato di scrivere, altre due Poemi Eroici di nobilissimo ed onestissimo argomento, quattro Tragedie, delle quali aveva già formata la tavola, e molte opere in prosa, e di materia bellissima e giovevolissima alla vita degli uomini, e d'accoppiare con la Filosofia l'eloquenza in guisa che rimanesse di me eterna memoria nel mondo; e m'aveva proposto un fine di gloria e d'onore altissimo. Ma ora oppresso dal peso di tante sciagure, ho messo in abbandono ogni pensiero di gloria e d'onore, ed assai felice d'esser mi parebbe, se senza sospetto potessi trarmi la sete, dalla quale continuamente son travagliato; e se com' uno di

gion were denied him : in a letter to Buoncompagno, in the fourteenth month of his captivity, he complains that the chaplain of the Hospital had never visited him, and that his request to be allowed to confess and to receive the eucharist had been constantly refused.

The prior of the hospital, Agostino Mosti, had been a disciple of Ariosto, to whose memory he had erected a monument. Capable, as he was, of feeling the charms of poetry, and educated in such a school, it might reasonably have been expected that he would have pitied the misfortunes of a poet, and sought by every means in his power to soothe and alleviate them. On the contrary, he seems to have taken pleasure in inflicting on him every species of persecution, and making him acquainted with all the horrors of his prison. There appears to be only one way of accounting for this. His admiration for Ariosto approached to idolatry ; in Tasso, he beheld a successful rival to his fame. Incredible as this solution may appear, party spirit has, ere now, aroused passions equally malevolent.

Tasso would, perhaps, have sunk under this treatment, but for the kind offices of Giulio Mosti, a nephew of the prior, who sought by every means to make amends for his uncle's severity. He was well educated, and capable of appreciating the charms of Tasso's conversation ; he passed many hours of the day with him, listening with interest to the verses he recited, and occasionally writing them from his dictation. He also undertook to convey the letters he wrote, and to bring him the replies. Tasso was touched with his attention, and took much pleasure in his society.

While thus confined as a dangerous madman, and subjected to treatment calculated to aggravate rather than to cure his malady, Tasso's greatest mark of insanity was the obstinacy with which he clung to the hope of obtaining either pity or justice from the Duke of Ferrara. He wrote the most submissive letters ; he addressed verses to him and the princesses, in which he described his sufferings in the most lively and affecting manner. Sometimes he could playfully allude to his privations. Being left one evening in darkness, a cat entered his cell, whose eyes shone in the obscurity ; he addressed a sonnet to her, comparing her to a star which arose to guide him through the storm. Another cat followed the first ; they were the Great and

questi uomini ordinari potessi in qualche povero albergo menar la mia vita in libertà, se non sano, che più non posso essere, almeno non così angosciamente inferno ; se non onorato, almeno non abominato ; se non con le leggi degli uomini, con quelle de' bruti almeno, che ne' fiumi e ne' fonti liberamente spengono la sete, della quale (e mi giova il replicarlo) tutto sono acceso. Né già tanto temo la grandezza del male, quanto la continuazione ch' orribilmente dinnanzi al pensiero mi s'appresenta : massimamente conoscendo che in tale stato non sono atto nè allo scrivere nè all' operare. E 'l timor di continua prigionia molto accresce la mia mestizia ; e l'accresce l'indignità che mi conviene usare ; e lo squallore della barba e delle chiome, e degli abiti, e la sordidezza e 'l succidume fieramente m'annoiano ; e sovra tutto m'affligge la solitudine, mia crudele e natural nemica, della quale anco nel mio buono stato era talvolta così molestato, che in ore intempestive m'andava cercando, o andara ritrovando compagnia."

This last sentence strongly brings to our mind the habits of Johnson, who suffered from the same awful malady.

Little Bear. He calls them his flambeaux, and entreats the aid of their light to write his verses :

“ Se 'l ciel voi pasca e di carne e di latte
Fate mi luce a scriver questi carmi.”

He also composed philosophical dialogues in the manner of Plato, in which he discusses the most abstruse and elevated subjects with profound sense, as well as eloquence.

What, then, was the cause of his malady? Was it love, as some of his biographers have asserted? Was that passion as foreign to it as others maintain? Was his confinement owing to the circumstances we have related, or must we attribute it, as others have done, to indiscretion and transports, which the pride of the Duke of Ferrara, and perhaps even the honour of his family, commanded him to restrain? This might supply matter for a long discussion, but we can only treat of it briefly.

Manzo, an intimate friend, indeed, of Tasso, but who only became acquainted with him in the latter part of his life, first authorized the belief that Leonora d'Este had inspired him with an ardent passion, which she doubtless shared; and that her reiterated invitations, and almost commands, were the cause of his return from Sorrento to Ferrara. He has diligently searched his poems to support this opinion, and discovered that the object of his love was named Leonora, and that there are two Leonoras whom he has celebrated—three indeed he imagines, but he appears to have been entirely mistaken as to the third.

The name of Leonora, sometimes disguised after the manner of Petrarch, sometimes openly appearing in many of his sonnets and madrigals, leave no doubt on the first point; but was this Leonora, or one of these Leonoras, the sister of the duke? Manzo, in addition to many other reasons which incline him to this belief, thinks it may be inferred from many poems addressed expressly to her, and which breathe a passion, pure and respectful, indeed, but tender and ardent; amongst others, in a sonnet on her being forbidden to sing, by her physicians :

“ Ah! ben è rio destin ch' invidia e toglie
Al mondo il suon de tuoi chiari accenti.”

The concluding lines speak clearly of his attachment :

“ E basta ben che i sereni occhi e 'l riso
M'infiammin d'un piacer celeste e santo.”

In a canzone he writes still more openly; one stanza describes the effect of her charms upon him from the moment he first beheld her—checked indeed by awe :

“ Ma parte degli strali e de l'ardore
Sent' io pur anco intro il gelato marmo.”

Perhaps still more convincing proofs may be found in a canzone dictated by jealousy, when Leonora was sought in marriage by some prince; and in a sonnet, on the same occasion, the last verse of which expresses his envy of the fortunate person who might obtain her.

Leonora, however, persevered steadily in her resolution to lead a single life, and Tasso continued to abandon himself to the passion which formed at once his happiness and his torment. It was after fifteen years of constancy that he addressed a sonnet to her, in which he declares that time had not diminished his love. It was then also he wrote that beautiful sonnet, already referred to, in which he speaks so poetically of her age. Serassi imagines that it was addressed to the Duchess d'Urbino, but there are traits which mark it for Leonora's. The words *ora*, *aura*, *Aurora*, were often used by him to typify the name of Leonora; her neglected dress also accorded with her delicate health and love of retirement, and not at all with the habits and character of Lucretia.

The second Leonora was the beautiful Countess Sanvitali, to whom he publicly offered his homage, and who was certainly the subject of many of his poems. But this was a mere poetical passion, not inconsistent with, and perhaps assumed to conceal, a more profound and lasting one. The same may be said of his professed admiration for Lucretia Bendidio in the early part of his residence at the court of Ferrara. It is true that he was then only twenty-one, and Leonora was thirty; but she was beautiful, accomplished, fond of arts and poetry; her delicate health, her retired habits, her dislike to the glitter of the world, would all conspire to awaken an interest and passion in a young and susceptible heart, which overcame the inequality of age; and the constant access he had to her, her regard, and her admiration for his poetry, blinded him to the inequality of their rank. If he feared the fate of Icarus and Phaeton, he derived hope from other examples in fable. "What cannot love effect?"

" Egli giù trahe da le celesti rote
Di terrena beltà Diana accesa
E d' Ida il bel fanciullo al ciel rapisce."

Such is the subject of a sonnet which must relate to his love for the Princess of Este.

But, how was his temerity rewarded? It is impossible to know. We can scarcely believe that she ever gave encouragement to his passion; that would sully the fair portrait imagination loves to draw of her who had inspired such deep and constant love. But that Leonora should have been flattered by the devotion of such genius, of so noble a heart, that she took an affectionate interest in him—that her soft and pensive mind nourished in retirement some feelings that approached to love, it is scarcely possible to doubt.

Let us call to mind his testamentary paper; the sonnet which he wished to rescue from oblivion, and in which the name of Leonora is disguised in the same manner in which it confessedly is in other poems: his appeal to her aid, which she will grant for *his* sake. Is not this the enthusiastic feeling of a young lover, that, should he die in a distant land, he should still live in the memory of her he adored? Tasso, however, though ardent as a poet, was discreet as a cavalier; and I feel persuaded that the secret betrayed some years afterwards by his false friend, had no reference to Leonora. His verses, even those which contained her name, could not compromise her reputation.

Manzo himself confesses that doubts were entertained as to which of the several beautiful Leonoras, who at that time graced the court of Ferrara, they were addressed; and the manners of that age permitted ladies of the highest rank to listen to strains of gallantry without injury to their character.

Of all the verses she inspired, perhaps, the most flattering are those in which he describes her so beautifully under the name of Sophronia, in the second canto of his *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Every one recognised her in the

“ ——— Vergine di già matura
Verginità, d' alti pensieri e regi,”

who shunned all notice and admiration, and hid her charms in retirement. The whole portrait is characteristic: we see her covered with a veil—her eyes cast down—her air at once modest and noble—her unstudied dress. But sufficient attention has not been paid to Olindo, her young lover, as unpresuming as she was beautiful, who

“ ——— full of bashfulness and truth,
Loved much, hoped little, and desired nought.”*

Is it not evident that Tasso thus described himself in the first transports of his passion? This episode, beautiful as it is, has always been considered out of place in this poem. All the friends he consulted advised him to leave it out. He agreed with them, but, though on other occasions docile to a fault, persisted in retaining what he himself perceived was a blemish to his work; and Serassi, incredulous as he is on the subject of his love for Leonora, assigns the resemblance to her as the motive.

His passion was liable to fluctuations. We have seen him pass many months with the Duchess d'Urbino; at which time there appears to have been some coolness between him and Leonora. A letter he addressed to her strengthens this supposition, and there are traces of jealousy in it. “He had not written to her for some months; having some recollection that he had promised to send her any new composition of his, he encloses, in obedience to her commands, a sonnet he lately wrote. Unlike the fine productions he imagines she is now listening to, this sonnet is as devoid of poetry as he himself is of happiness; in his present state he is incapable of producing anything better. But, lest she should imagine that any new attachment had engrossed his mind, and rendered him unfit for poetical composition, he must inform her that he wrote this sonnet at the request of an unhappy lover, who, after having for some time quarrelled with his mistress, is not able to endure his situation any longer, and is compelled to seek her forgiveness.”†

* Fairfax's Translation.

† “Non ho scritto alla Eccellenza Vostra tanti mesi sono più tosto per difetto de' soggetti che di volontà: perciò ora che mi s'è appresentata una occasione benché picciola di farle riverenza, non ho voluto lasciarla. Le manda dunque un Sonetto, il quale per questa volta sarà mio introduttore con l'Eccellenza Vostra, parendo di ricordarmi ch'io le promisi di mandarle tutto ciò, che mi venisse fatto di nuovo. Il sonetto non sarà punto simile a quei belli, che m'immagino che ora l' E. V. sia solita di udire molto spesso, ed è così povero d'arte e di concetti, com'io sono di ventura;

Serassi, who inserts this letter in his work, informs us that "the fine productions" mentioned were those of Pigna and Guarini, who were both admitted to read their works to the princess; and we may conjecture that Tasso took umbrage at the favour shown to Guarini, who always affected to rival him; that he was piqued, and that in this temper he accompanied Lucretia to Castel Durante. He passed months without writing to Leonora, but his anger abated, and love resumed its empire. The fiction of having composed the sonnet for a friend is the same he had already used when departing for France. On the whole, this letter, which Serassi quotes as a proof of Tasso's indifference for the princess, is one of the most convincing proofs of his passion.

Muratori has attempted to give an air of authenticity to the silly story of Tasso, having been so far transported by his love as to have embraced Leonora in the presence of the whole court; that the duke, on witnessing this audacity, calmly observed to his attendants, "How sad it is to see so great a man suddenly deprived of his senses!"—and to give a colour to this explanation of so daring an act, he ordered him to be confined in the Hospital of St. Anne. This Muratori professes to have heard from a certain old abate, who was secretary to the celebrated Tassoni, a contemporary of Tasso.

Serassi justly treats this improbable tale as a fiction. Besides all the other objections that might be made to its credibility, Tasso's letters to the duke prove clearly that the cause of his detention was the furious transport of indignation to which he gave way on seeing himself neglected on his return to the court.* Nor let our pity for Tasso lead us to overlook much that extenuates, though it does not justify,

nè in questo mio stato presente potrebbe venire altro da me. Pur gliel' mando, parendomi che o buono o cattivo farà quell' effetto, ch'io desidero. Ma perchè non si creda ch'io per adesso sia tanto vacuo di pensieri, che potessi dare nel petto mio luogo ad alcuno amore: sappia che non è fatto per alcun mio particolare (che peravventura sarebbe men reo) ma a requisizion d'un povero amante il quale essendo stato un pezzo in collera con la sua donna, ora non potendo più, bisogna che si renda, e che dimandi mercè.

"Sdegno debil guerrier campione audace,
 Che me sott' armi rintuzzate e frali
 Conduci in campo, ov' e d'eterni strali
 Armato Amore, e di celeste face:
 Giù si spezza il tuo ferro, e già si sfaccia
 Tuo gelo al primo ventilar dell' ali:
 Che fia se il foco attendi, e l'immortali
 Saeite? Ah temerario, ah chiedi pace!
 Grido io merce, tendo la man che langue,
 Chino il ginocchio, e porgo ignudo il seno,
 S'ci pugna vuol, pugni per me pietude.
 Ella o palma m'acquisti, o morte almeuo;
 Ma s'a colei stilla di pianto cade,
 Fia vittoria il morir, trionfo il sangue."

* "Mi gitto ai piè della vostra clemenza, clementissimo signore; e la supplico, che voglia dare il perdono delle false, e pazzie, e temerarie parole, per le quali io fui messo prigioniero."—*Lettera alla Duca Alfonso.*

"Io venni già due anni sono a Ferrara, chiamato dall' autorità di Monsig. Illustriss. Albano alle nozze della Sig. Margherita Gonzaga, nelle quali non impegnando io dal Sereniss. Duca de Ferrara quelle grazie, che 'l cardinale m'aveva data intenzione che impetrassi, per soverchio d'ira e d'immaginazione trascorsi in alcuni errori per li quali fui imprigionato."—*Al Sig. Ercole Rondinelli.*

Alphonso's conduct. We have seen, that, on his first seizure, the duke and his sisters did all in their power to soothe his mind; but when their repeated efforts proved ineffectual—when he obstinately refused to submit to the advice of the physicians, which they considered the only means of cure—is it wonderful that they became somewhat weary of listening to complaints and terrors which they believed chimerical, but which no reasoning could induce him to lay aside? His enemies, probably, did not neglect to alarm their fears, and to represent all his well-founded complaints as the effect of a disordered mind.

The duke's impression of his insanity appears to have been strong. That he should submit to medical treatment was always the first condition on which he was to be restored to favour. Nor could he feel safe from the personal violence of a man who had once attacked a domestic in the ducal hall, and who had so little command over himself as to load his patron with imprecations in his presence. For the credit of human nature we must wish to believe, that, in commanding Tasso to be shut up in the Hospital of St. Anne, he persuaded himself he was taking the best method to restore him to reason, as well as to protect himself and others from his desperate sallies. When there, the prior's malignity would doubtless lead him to confirm Alphonso in the belief that the harsh measures he had adopted were necessary, whilst he concealed the cruelty by which they were aggravated. Painful as it is to think of the indignities and sufferings inflicted on such a man, we must remember, that, even in his own letters, there is abundant evidence of the unsettled state of his mind. He repeatedly mentions a spirit he calls "*Il Foletto*," who took away his food from before his face, stole his money and letters, and scattered about his writings and books. He describes his night visions; the sounds he heard, the flames and apparitions which he saw; and, speaking of a vision he had had of the Virgin with the Infant Saviour in her arms, he uses this expression—"penche potesse facilmente essere una fantasia ch'erch' io sono frenetico e quasi sempre perturbato da varii fantasmi, e pieno di maniconia infinita."

It seems clear, therefore, that he was a prey to delusions which justified the belief of his insanity, and how little it was the practice in those times to apply a balm to wounded minds, we may infer from the barbarities that have been exercised even within our own recollection. It is the glory of this age that science and humanity are abolishing the chain and the scourge; they are opening the cells, where the wretched victims languish in solitude and darkness, and restoring them to the air and light of heaven, and to kindly intercourse with their fellow-creatures. They are rescuing them from the tyranny of ignorant menials, whose power lies wholly in brute force, and substituting a moral influence, to which the fury of the maniac and the despair of the melancholy man have alike been found to yield. The health, the liberty, and the enjoyments of these sufferers under the worst of human ills, are now rendered compatible with the safety of their fellow-creatures, and they return to society undegraded by the bitter sense of having crouched under insolence and cruelty.

This mighty work is proceeding silently. Every English heart throbs high at the emancipation of the Africans; but the emancipation

of thousands of our own countrymen from worse bondage, severer woe, excites but little attention. Whilst the name of Howard has obtained—justly obtained—a deathless fame, theirs are little known who are now patiently devoting the whole energies of high and benevolent minds to the welfare of the innocent, not the guilty, to restore not merely health, but reason, to heal the broken in heart. The meed of human praise will surely not always be withheld from their labours, but, whether it be or not,

——— “ There is a book,
By seraphs writ in beams of heavenly light,”

in which they will be registered, when all earthly records, and the very earth itself shall be no more.

The event which Tasso had so long foreseen and feared, was now superadded to his misfortunes. Fourteen cantos of his *Gerusalemme liberata* were printed at Venice in 1580, full of errors and gross faults, from an imperfect copy which the grand duke of Tuscany possessed. He had confided it to Celio Malaspino, one of his followers, who did not even attempt to conceal the base act of which he was guilty, but named himself on the title-page as the editor, and dedicated it to a Venetian senator.

Tasso, justly enraged and deeply afflicted, complained to the Venetian senate of the injustice of this proceeding; he also represented to his friend, Scipio Gonzaga, the irreparable injury he had sustained through this breach of the grand duke's confidence. But the mischief was done; and, when his first feelings of indignation had subsided, he again applied himself to composition to beguile the tediousness of solitude, and to console himself under his various misfortunes. It was at this time he wrote the beautiful dialogue, “*Il Padre del famiglia*,” which has been already mentioned, and dedicated it to Scipio Gonzaga. He then collected all the poetical pieces he had composed during the last two years, many of which are admirable, and all interesting from the circumstances under which they were written, and dedicated them to the two princesses of the house of Este. The duchess d'Urbino was touched with the compliment, and evinced some pity for the misfortunes of the unhappy author. Leonora was probably unconscious of the circumstance: she was now fast sinking into the tomb. It is remarkable that at her death, which took place soon afterwards, Tasso, who had seldom failed to pay a poetical tribute to the memory of the illustrious persons he had known, does not appear to have done so to that of his loved Leonora.

Angelo Ingegnavari, whose assistance so much availed him at Turin, now came forward ostensibly to vindicate his fame. He possessed a copy of the *Gerusalemme liberata*, which he had made from a manuscript corrected by Tasso himself. When he heard of the imperfect faulty Venetian edition, he imagined it would be doing him a service to print the poem from this manuscript; and he published at the same time two editions—one at Casal Maggiore, the other at Parma,—dedicating both to the duke of Savoy, who expressed his satisfaction to the editor.

This has been recorded as an act of friendship, and a service

rendered to Tasso. But, though detained in confinement, the author still lived, and Ingegnari had the power of communicating with him. What right had a pretended friend to take such a step without consulting him? To appropriate to himself the fruit of so many years of labour, the only resource of this unhappy man, and his sole means of obtaining an independence, and escaping the evils of poverty? We are not told that the duke of Savoy extended any of the favour he showed the editor to the author of the poem, nor that any of the profits arising from the sale of these editions were remitted to Tasso. Unless this had been done, we must consider Ingegnari to have violated the rights of justice and friendship.

All that is known is, that the two editions sold in a few days, so eagerly was the poem sought for. Malespina, the Venetian editor, having been out-done by Ingegnari, surpassed him in his turn in a new edition from a more perfect copy which he had obtained, and that also being soon exhausted, he published another still more complete, being the fifth which had appeared without the consent of the unfortunate author. At last Febo Bonna, a young Ferrarese belonging to the court, and intimately acquainted with Tasso, undertook to publish one superior to any which had hitherto appeared. He had the advantage of consulting the original copy corrected by Tasso, and of applying to him personally in every difficulty; but the haste with which it was put forth, gave rise to many inaccuracies, which did not, however, prevent its selling as rapidly as the others had done. The same editor immediately prepared another, the first, according to Fontanini, which can be looked upon as correct. Three months afterwards, a still superior edition appeared at Parma, which has served as a model to all future ones; and thus, in the course of eight months, the work passed through eight editions—seven in Italy, and one in Paris,—and enriched all who were concerned in the publication, whilst the great and ill-fated genius, who filled all Europe with admiration, languished in confinement, neglected, despised, and in want of the common comforts of life. It appears from a letter of Tasso, that Bonna, though he availed himself of his assistance, unjustly and ungratefully withheld from him that share of the profits he had led him to expect.*

The duke's agents, instead of mitigating the severity of his treatment, doubtless increased it. The few indulgences permitted him seem to have been studiously withheld, till he had no longer any desire or need of them. The most insupportable part of his captivity was the constant interruption to his studies by the wild cries of the maniacs confined in the hospital—sounds, which (to use his own expression, in a letter to Maurizio Cataneo) might deprive the wisest man of his reason. In the year 1580, Montaigne saw him; and in his essays, thus records the impression made on his mind—"J'eus plus de d'espit encore que de compassion de le voir à Ferrare en si piteux estât survivant à soy mesme, mescoignoissant et soy et ses ouvrages, lesquels, sans

* "Febo m'è molto avaro, il quale avendo fatto quell' arte di stampare e di vendere i libri miei, ch' io pensava di fare, se ne sta in Parigi fra Dame e Cavalieri, e si dà bello e buon tempo, ne mi fa parte alcuna de' denari che se ne ritraggono, come m' avea promesso per sua polizza."

son seen et toutefois à sa veuë on a mis en lumière incorigez et informes." Tasso had, doubtless, been exhibited to him in his cell, in the same manner as the unhappy beings who stunned him with their cries. It is difficult to repress our indignation at the idea.

Goselini, in one of his letters, speaking of the younger Aldo, says, that he had seen Torquato Tasso at Ferrara in the most miserable state—"Non per lo senno del quale gli parve al lungo ragionar ch' egli ebbe seco, intero e sano, ma per la nudessa e fame ch' egli pativa, prigionie, e privo della sua liberta."

The afflicted sufferer earnestly entreated some mitigation of the cruelties inflicted on him, and which he persuaded himself were unknown to the duke. They probably were; but is his heartless indifference excusable? Could he read that touching invocation—

" Te magnanimo Alfonso, il qual ritoglie
Al furor del fortuna, e guidi in porta
Me peregrino errante, e fra gli scogli
E fra l'onde agitato, e quasi absorto,"

without feeling that his remorseless hand had thrust back into the billows the grateful and confiding heart, whose effusions now filled all Europe with the praise of his generosity.

At last he was touched with some compassion, and gave orders that Tasso should be removed from the cell in which he had been confined nearly two years, and be allowed the use of some apartments in the same hospital, in which he could have space to walk when composing and *philosophizing*, as he says himself in a letter to the duke—a remarkable expression for a man supposed to be deprived of reason. He was indebted for this concession to Scipio Gonzaga, and his nephew, the prince of Mantua, who came at this time to Ferrara, and visited him in his prison. Their visit, and the indulgence they procured him, revived the hopes of Tasso, and he flattered himself that in a short time he should be restored to liberty.

The admiration excited by his poem induced many eminent scholars to visit Ferrara, for the sole purpose of conversing with him. Giulio Segni, a native of Bologna, of much talent and learning, obtained a letter of introduction to him from Passio, professor of law in that university, and an intimate friend of Tasso. It is remarkable that, in his first visit, he was so much overwhelmed at finding himself in the presence of that lofty genius, that he was unable to utter a word, and Tasso, had he not been assured to the contrary, would have supposed him devoid of sense. On his second visit, he acquired more confidence, and showed him some of his Latin compositions, which Tasso found to possess much merit, and, admiring the singular modesty which accompanied great skill and attainments, conceived a friendship for him. Segni repaid it by sincere affection and active kindness. Bernardo Castello, a celebrated Genevese painter, was also induced to make a journey to Ferrara for the purpose of seeing him. He brought him some of his designs from the *Gerusalemme liberata*, which Tasso admired and received with pleasure, and also a painting of the head of Christ which he prized highly, and kept till his death.

But his reputation procured him a still more valuable friend in

Padre Angelo Grillo, a monk of Monte Casino, well known for his own compositions, but still more for his friendship with Tasso. He introduced himself to him by a letter and two sonnets, which he requested a friend to deliver. Tasso warmly expressed his gratification, and replied in terms which increased the good father's desire to see and become acquainted with him. He hastened to Ferrara, and obtaining the duke's permission to share Tasso's apartments, they passed many days together in friendly discourse. He often afterwards returned to Ferrara to visit and console him, and, to the indefatigable exertions of this kind friend, Tasso was at last mainly indebted for liberty.

His patience had, however, still to endure long trials, rendered, perhaps, still more bitter by the gleams of hope which occasionally brightened his prison. The duchess d'Urbino sent one of her attendants at this time to assure him he should soon be released. The beautiful Marfisa d'Este, a cousin of the duke, princess of Massa and Carrara, was an enthusiastic admirer of the Gerusalemme liberata. At her entreaties, Alfonso consented to her taking the author with her for one day to her villa near Ferrara, on condition that he should return at night to the hospital. She assembled there several ladies distinguished for their wit and beauty. Tasso, who always shone in the society of women of talent, now appeared among them as amiable and brilliant as ever, and returned to his confinement with pleasing recollections, and brightened hopes.

But time passed away, and no favourable change took place in his lot. The Muses were his only resource. His studies were constant, except when interrupted by illness, by the visits of eminent men from all parts of Italy, whom the madman of St. Anne astonished by his wisdom, no less than by his genius and learning—by letters from Rome and other states, bearing testimony to the general admiration his poem had excited—or by promises which were often renewed, and still unfulfilled.

At last, in the year 1584, the solicitations of the Cardinal Albano, the duchess of Mantua, and others who had influence with the duke became so pressing, that he sent for Tasso, received him graciously, even kindly, and assured him that he should soon be set at liberty. He ordered that more apartments should be allotted to him, and allowed him to leave the hospital occasionally, when accompanied by some friend who would be responsible for him. This enabled him to frequent the houses of the most distinguished persons in Ferrara, and to enjoy his favourite pleasure—animated conversation on literary and philosophical subjects. Many of his dialogues composed at this time appear to have been suggested by these conversations. During the carnival, he went accompanied by two friends to the masques—an amusement in which he always took delight, and to the tournaments, which were held this year with unwonted splendour. But in a short time all these indulgences were withdrawn, and he was again condemned to solitude and despair.

In this sad condition, an unforeseen and dreadful storm burst on his head. Camillo Pellegrino, in a discourse on Epic Poetry, had drawn a comparison between Ariosto and Tasso, and warmly maintained the

superiority of the latter. This discourse proved the apple of discord to all Italy. The admirers of Ariosto were indignant, but none came forward publicly in his defence till Leonardo Salviati, who had lived on terms of intimacy with Tasso, entered the lists against him.

He was deeply skilled in Italian literature; and, when Tasso began to consult his friends respecting his *Gerusalemme liberata*, Salviati, who had seen some cantos, wrote him a letter full of commendations, and declared his design to make honourable mention of the poem in his *Commentary on Aristotle*, a work which he was then composing, but which he never published. Tasso entered into a friendly correspondence with him, communicated to him the whole of his work, and received fresh applause. On the present occasion, Salviati's object appeared to be to destroy the reputation of Tasso still more than to exalt that of Ariosto. The only motive that can be conjectured for so base and inconsistent a proceeding is, that he was poor and involved in debt; he wished to enter into the service of the duke of Ferrara, and he thought he could not do a more acceptable service to those who had most influence over the mind of that prince, than to defame the victim of their jealousy and hatred, and exalt their illustrious countryman, Ariosto.

He dared not, however, openly attack an unhappy man of genius, whose friendship he had sought, and whose fame he had loudly sounded. He sheltered himself under the authority of the Academy della Crusca. This academy, which afterwards became so famous, was then in its infancy. It originated with a few poets and critics, who met occasionally to discuss literary subjects, and to recite poems and burlesque pieces, composed expressly for their own society. As their professed object was to refine and sift the Italian language, their device was a sieve, and their motto—"Il piu bel fior ne coglie." Crusca signifies bran. Each member assumed a name relating to some branch of a miller's trade—*l'Infarinato*—*l'Inferigno*—and their writings were filled with conceits and allusions to the same. Salviati's first step was to contrive that Bastiano de Rossi, a tool of his, should be elected secretary to the Academy, and, with his assistance, published a work, which he called "*The Academy della Crusca's defence of the Orlando Furioso, against the Dialogue on Epic Poetry, by Camillo Pellegrini.*"

Tasso was thunderstruck at this attack. Never having heard of the Academy della Crusca, he fancied that the Grand Academy of Florence was concealed under this strange appellation, as Plato relates the images of the gods were under the form of Silenus, and that they spoke the sentiments of the whole nation. He had always been a warm admirer of Florentine literature; and he had reason to imagine, from the kindness of the grand duke and other distinguished persons of that state, that he was favourably looked upon there, and little expected to find enemies among a nation he so highly esteemed.

(To be continued.)

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Notes of the Ministry of Cardinal B. Pacca, Secretary of State to his Holiness, Pope Pius VII., &c. Translated from the Italian.
Dublin: Cumming. London: Dolman. 1843.

IN every respect a remarkable book; we are speaking of the original, for the translation is also remarkable in its way, being the most extraordinary attempt at English, which it has been our fortune to fall in with. Cardinal Pacca—he still survives, though very old—carries us back to the thrilling days of the Contarini and Aldobrandini: he was the life of the pontificate during the eventful years which commenced the present century; and could his prudent and religious energy have directed the actions of the curia, unswayed by Italian duplicity and treachery, or by Gallican worldliness, the whole aspect of Europe might, at the present day, have been very different. As long as the good and weak Pius VII. was entirely under Pacca's influence, his resistance to Napoleon's policy presented but a well-principled and thoughtful, and, in the end, it would have been a successful barrier. Pacca was eminently skilled in disentangling that complex problem—the Pope's temporal and spiritual rights. As a prince, the Cardinal was willing that his master should take cheerfully the spoiling of his goods: but as a christian patriarch, the Pope had duties boldly to rebuke vice, tyranny, and oppression, to defend with spiritual arms those millions of faithful Catholics who, whether right or wrong in this their belief, looked to Rome not only as the citadel of the faith, but as the very arsenal of heaven itself. And if Pius had possessed a tithe of the firmness of the Victors and Innocents, who had gone before him, he would have earned a name before which the proudest in the long list of pontiffs, even that of Gregory VII., would have grown dim.

Never was so magnificent a position before a christian Bishop: Napoleon's power, eminently the most anti-christian and awful development of evil which the world since Mahomet has been cursed with, had attained all but universal empire: the Pope himself had been—and surely this in itself was a righteous delay—backward in interfering with the course of Divine judgment, till at length he was compelled, on the 10th June, 1809, to publish the famous bull of excommunication—*Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*. Then followed the violent deportation of Pius from Rome; and, in 1812, the still more atrocious scenes at Fontainebleau, which ended so calamitously for the fame of Chiaramonti: principally, because Cardinal Pacca was still kept in captivity at Fenestrelles. But we must give specimens of our author:—

"In the beginning of 1812, the glory and power of Napoleon had reached their height; and it might be said, without exaggeration, that the Continent of Europe trembled at his look. Emperor of the French, which was then an empire of immense extent, comprising all the Belgian provinces, Austria, as well as those composing the republic of Poland, many and the most fertile principalities of Germany on both sides of the Rhine, Dalmatia, all the states of the kingdom of Sardinia, (excepting the

island itself,) the duchy of Parma, and Piacenza, Tuscany, and Rome. He was, besides, king of Italy, and, if not in name, he was in fact, also of that part of Spain occupied by his troops, as well as of the kingdoms of Westphalia and Naples. Under the majestic title of Protector, he ruled over that part of Germany which formed the Confederation of the Rhine, the princes of which, raised to the royal and grand-ducal dignity, depended on his will, as in ancient times the Roman Senate and the Reguluses of Asia did on that of the Cæsars. Add to that the relationship and alliance of the house of Austria, and the succession to the throne assured by the birth of a son scarcely one year after his marriage. However, in the midst of such glory and power, an event was preparing in the latter months of that same year, in the designs of Providence, which 'dissipates the counsels of princes,' that for the moment eclipsed his glory, and disposed of things towards the fall of his colossal power.

"Nothing worthy of remark happened in the fort in the course of this year. Towards the middle of June, the news arrived that the passage of foreigners across the Mount Cenis was stopped for some hours, and the reason was afterwards known to be the arrival of the pope from Savona at the hospice of the monks, whence, as we shall relate hereafter, he was transported to Fontainebleau, though infirm, and with great danger to his life.

"I shall speak of this journey more than once in the sequel; I shall at present observe, that the violent and almost barbarous transportation of the pope from Savona to Fontainebleau was in Buonaparte the last crime which, as the holy Scriptures teach, tire at last the longanimity of the Lord, and caused him to take in hand the till then suspended scourge. 'Thus saith the Lord, for three crimes of Damascus, and for four, I will not convert it.' In fact, I must remark, that on the 20th June, the pope arrived at Fontainebleau a prisoner, and in a dying state; and on the 22d day of the same month, Napoleon, intoxicated by an uninterrupted and wonderful prosperity of fifteen years, made his troops pass the Niemen, and invade the Russian territory; thus beginning that war so fatal to him, which hurled him from the throne, and made him lose in a few months the fruit of so many victories and triumphs. The account of the ever memorable expedition of the French and allied troops in Russia in the year 1812, does not belong to the subject of my present history. The omnipotent hand of God, and not that of man, destroyed there one of the most numerous and best-disciplined armies ever known.

"I must now add an anecdote, with an observation of my own, which will be read with scorn and derision by our modern free-thinkers; but which I relate for all pious and religious souls, who always recognise and acknowledge the hand of an invincible and superior Being in the events of the world, governing them all. In a letter written by the Emperor Napoleon to the viceroy of Italy, the Prince Eugene complaining of Pius VII. for not having agreed to some of his requests, the following notable words are to be remarked: 'Does he not know how much times are changed? Does he take me for Louis the Débonnaire? Or does he think that his excommunications will cause the arms to fall from my soldiers' hands?' After the noted excommunications issued by Pius VII., Napoleon, in the discourses and conversations which he held with the Cardinal Caprara on this subject, frequently told him, between sarcasm and irony, that as the excommunication had not caused the arms to fall from his soldiers' hands, he only laughed at it. But God permitted that the fact should really occur. I read with wonder and dismay in the history of Napoleon, and the grand army of 1812, written by the Count Segur, one of the generals and eye-witnesses of that great catastrophe, 'that the arms of the soldiers appeared an insupportable weight to their frozen limbs. In their frequent falls, they dropped from their hands, were broken, and lost in the snow. If they rose again, they found themselves without them; for they did not throw them away, but hunger and cold made them absolutely fall from their hands.' The fact is mentioned in vol. xx. chap. 5, of the above quoted work, 'Memoirs of the History of Monsieur de Salgues:' 'The soldier could not hold his arms; they fell from the hands of the bravest.' And again, in the 7th chap. p. 164: 'The arms fell from the frozen hands which held 'em.' Our free-thinkers will say, that this was the effect of the snow, frosts, and ms. But whose command do these meteors obey? What says the sacred Scriptures in the 148th Psalm? 'Snow, ice, and stormy winds obey the word of the Lord.' " p. 185—188.

Upon which we have to remark, that we agree entirely with the good Cardinal, that the excommunication of Pius was instrumental in the

destruction of Napoleon : and it is with more surprise and regret than we choose to express that we find Mr. Palmer, in his recent *Narrative of Events*, p. 56, objecting to our contemporary, the *British Critic*, a sentence such as this :—

“ This little act of the pope is almost imperceptible : but who knows what unseen powers fought with England against Napoleon, whom the Church had condemned ? ” — *British Critic*, No. LXIV. p. 295.

We presume that Mr. Palmer will not dispute that Pope Pius VII. was a christian Bishop : and that he was bound,—“ unless,” to use his own, or rather Pacca's, glowing words, in the bull of excommunication :—

“ Unless we would be taxed with cowardice and apathy, or perhaps of shamefully abandoning the cause of God, but to lay aside every earthly consideration, and rejecting all human prudence, follow that evangelical precept : ‘ He that hears not the Church, let him be to thee an heathen man and a publican, ’ ” (*Pacca's Memoirs*, p. 416.)—

to use the keys, which were committed to him, with the care of the flock, against such a godless power as Napoleon's : and if Mr. Palmer is prepared to doubt the efficacy of a Bishop's curse, pronounced in a righteous cause, we refer him to Hooker :—

“ The power of the ministry of God translateth out of darkness into glory—when it poureth malediction upon the heads of the wicked they perish.” — *Ecclesiastical Polity*, b. v. c. 77, 2.

If it were neither superstition nor blasphemy for Queen Elizabeth, after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, to strike a medal with the pious legend, *Afflavit Deus et dissipantur venti*, we cannot understand how a Christian can affect to doubt the connexion between the terrible retreat from Russia and the Church's anathema on Napoleon.

The Concordat at Fontainebleau is sufficiently melancholy : but we must make every allowance for the pope : he was neither strong-minded nor learned ; he was old, sick, and alone ; he was deprived of his faithful and earnest Pacca ; he was surrounded by the Gallican Bishops ; he was alternately threatened and cajoled by the surprising conversational and diplomatic talents of Napoleon himself : what wonder, then, if the aged and miserable Pontiff yielded, in a moment of weakness, to the too flattering prospect of peace ? It is consoling, though terrible to hear of his subsequent penitence :—

“ I found some French prelates in the anti-chamber, and entering the apartment in which the pope was, I found him in the act of advancing some paces to give me the meeting. I stood confounded and afflicted at seeing him bent, pale, and thin, with his eyes sunk in, and almost immoveable, like a man become stupified. He embraced me, and said, with much coldness, that he did not expect me so soon. Having answered him, that I had hastened to have the consolation of throwing myself at his feet, and to express to him my admiration of the heroic constancy with which he had suffered so long and severe an imprisonment, he said the following words to me, full of grief : ‘ But here are we in the end dragged through the mire. ’ ” — Pp. 202, 203.

“ I returned to his holiness, whom I found in a really deplorable state, such as to give fears for his life. He had been told by their eminences, the Cardinals di Pietro, Gabrielli, and Litta, of the fault caused by his signing the whole of the concordatum, and had conceived a just horror of it, understanding well from what a height of glory

the bad counsels and suggestions of others had caused him to fall. Then, plunged into a profound melancholy, in talking of his fall, he broke out into accents of excessive grief, concluding, that he could not drive away from his mind the tormenting thought, which prevented his sleeping at night. He scarcely eat [sic] food sufficient to keep him alive, and often exclaimed, (these are his own words,) "I shall die mad, like Clement XIV." I then did and said as much as I could to console him. I conjured him to tranquillize his mind. I added, that the worst of all the evils that hung over the church, and the most fatal, would be that of his death; that he would in a few days have all the cardinals who were in France round his person, some of whom had given unequivocal proofs of their zeal for the interests of the Holy See, and of their devotedness to his sacred person; that he could place his confidence with a quiet mind in them, and calling them to his counsels, could still find a remedy to the evil that had already befallen him."—Pp. 203, 204.

Indeed, this was poor Chiaramonti's main strength and gift; viz. his sincerity and earnestness: weak, irresolute, timid, but honest—he sinned and he repented, and in the end he was rewarded. His whole career is a triumph of a good heart: he was blessed for his obedience and a child-like simplicity.

The book is perfectly delightful; history is invested in its pages with the splendour of the most charming romance; and the storming of Rome by the Constable of Bourbon, is not a more stirring subject than the escalade of the Quirinal—the journey to Grenoble—the quiet pathos of the imprisonment at Fenestrelles, solaced only by religion, and the triumphant return, one long ovation, of the Pope and his minister from Fontainebleau to Rome, in 1814; these are fine scenes and well described. We recommend the Cardinal-Minister's memoirs unconditionally: Pacca is not only a very great man, but a most delightful writer.

Poems, original and translated. By CHARLES RANN KENNEDY, Esq. London: Moxon. 1843.

LAW and poetry—oil and vinegar; when will young barristers learn that poet is the last name they ought to attach to their forensic titles. Is it not enough at once to condemn a rising young man at the bar, to write after his name, barrister and poet? True it was, Somers dallied with the Muses, and got nothing by his motion, as the old reports have it; and Blackstone indited some verses, which would never have survived, if he had not written his Commentaries. Still they are curious examples of how good a lawyer, elegant a scholar, and bad a poet, can be united under one wig. Mr. Charles Rann Kennedy, of Lincoln's Inn, barrister and poet, has essayed to follow a lordly Somers and the knightly Blackstone, in verse as well as prose. There is an old fallacy, some great men are eccentric; I am eccentric; ergo, my greatness is demonstrable. Some great lawyers are bad poets; Mr. Kennedy is a bad poet; ergo, the wished-for conclusion. Some people write precisely what they do not intend; and as a pig's tail should be pulled to ensure his forward progress, so they ought to set to work at A, when they want to do B. Some people found themselves writing political economy, when they thought they

were inditing plain matter-of-fact stories; as Mrs. Marcet: others have discovered, that what they meant for political economy was the contrary; as Miss Martineau. Some persons, when composing a treatise on mechanics, have risen into poetry; as Dr. Whewell, when he set the mechanical axiom in verse—

“ There is no weight, however great,
Can draw a twine, however fine,
Into a horizontal line,
So that it shall be accurately straight.”

Other persons, when writing poetry, have found it turn out prose to their hand; as gentlemen and ladies too numerous to mention.

Mr. Charles Rann Kennedy, barrister and poet, has some peculiarities; he affects monosyllables, and adheres so closely to them, as to compose not only stanzas, but entire poems of them. The ballad of the maid of Lucerne, who had a lover named William, who had a scarlet coat, and went into the militia, is no mean instance of a monosyllabic poem. As for a monosyllabic stanza, the following is unique:—

“ Seem'd as she
Smil'd on me,
Yet to look I dare not;
For those eyn
Do so shine,
Sight of them I bear not.”

Surely the poet's, or rather the versifier's trade, is no great mystery, when stanzas can be eked out as the above, printed in fair type, on fairer paper, and called poetry; or when, “Yet I would,” “If I could,” claim to rank as lines in a brother stanza.

Our legal poet is far from condescending to be a man of one peculiarity; on the contrary, he has many. The following stanzas, describing the fate of an over-ambitious nightingale, who got shot one day for not listening to the raven's boding croak, exhibit Mr. Kennedy's humble imitation of the notorious Tom Ingoldsby, in eking out a rhyme, by splitting a word or sentence in half; and also the very peculiar theory, to be hereafter more fully illustrated, on which our legal poet compels one word to rhyme with another:—

“ Near the lady,
Sat in shady
Bower a nightingale;
Thro' the valley,
Musically
Rang the pensive tale.

“ One dear to me
Came to woo me,
A sweet singing bird;
Warmer *suer*,
Fonder, truer,
Never yet was heard.

“ Feathers brown he
Wore, a downy
Mantle on his breast;
Oft with meaning
Fond, there leaning,
I my cheek would rest.

“ Aiming crafty,
Sped a shaft he
At my tender mate;
Than the greedy
Kite more speedy,
Came the winged fate.”

What Mr. K. is pleased to write “*suer*,” used to be suitor, at least in our time, unless the printer is at fault in his spelling, and the errata should stand, for “*suer*,” read “*sewer*.” If the above stanzas are poetry,—and they certainly are not the worst in the nightingale's ballad, of a truth poets and their doings are at a discount: more especially

the elegant term "whining," usually applied to pet dogs and puppies—see stanza last but three in the *Nightingale's Lament*, p. 61—is a poetical appellation for mental agony.

According to our poetical barrister, the following words are supposed to rhyme:—"story," "more I;" "holy," "folly;" "power," "o'er;" "thou," "show;" "mass," "erase;" "grown," "down;" "embrace," "delays;" "toil," "while;" "wrath," "path;" "weep enough," "cut me off;" cum multis aliis quæ nunc prescribere longum est.

Another poetical peculiarity of our poet of the home circuit, is his love of making the most of a word of three or more syllables; he evidently considers such words as *delirium*, *oblivion*, and *patriot*, et hoc genus omne, very ill-treated by the world, and therefore makes the most of them. Exempli gratia:—

"From earth, not heaven, these raptures come :
'Tis nothing but de-li-ri-um."—P. 13.

"The people bless their happy lot,
And shout, and hail him pa-tri-ct."—P. 15.

"Vain mortal! thou among the dead,
In cold o-bli-vi-on shalt lie."

Again, we are inclined to doubt whether *Juno*, the haughty queen of heaven, when venting her wrath on *Semele*, for seducing the affections of her vagabond lord and master, would exactly use the word "*tice*," unless she were a cockney.

"A woman here,
A mortal creature, moulded of the dust,
Dares from my arms to *tice* the wanderer."

In the majority of his verses Mr. Kennedy seems to have little notion of metre or time; and it is as difficult to arrange some of his irregular compositions, as to set in metrical order that pleasing metrical delusion, a Greek chorus. Even his best poem, that of the horses, is injured by the author's inattention to metrical accuracy; and many a line, of good thought and more than average poetry, loses all its effect by tripping too quick, or creeping too slowly after its predecessor. On what principle are the following stanzas, of a by no means inferior poem, composed? The two first lines of the first stanza consist each of three Iambi; the third line contains five monosyllables, the last only four. The second stanza presents the appearance of three lines, similar to the first and second of the first stanza, and one like the fourth of the same, if indeed like anything but itself. Here they are:—

"Methought I was alone;
That none the deed espied!
Yet, oh! if but one!
Where shall I hide?

"And if no mortal eye,
Yet God was there!
From him I cannot fly,
For he is everywhere."

Doubtless our poetical barrister will plead that greater men than he, even *Dryden*, *Pope*, or *Byron*, have been careless in their rhymes, indifferent to metre, and unhesitating in dividing adjectives from their nouns, to suit a metre or rhyme. Even so. It is but the fallacy of

eccentricity in a new form. Homer sometimes nods; and when Mr. Charles Rann Kennedy is a Homer, he may nod too.

Mr. Kennedy has an odd taste in similes. Among a multitude we will notice three:—a cock crows like a waterfall springing down a mountain, or like the silver bell of a chime ringing in a turret, (p. 41). Mr. Kennedy's cocks would make the fortune of an itinerant showman. Richardson, were he alive, might rise again to eminence and fortune, on the strength of a Kennedean chanticleer. In some very bustling, and by no means bad stanzas—save as hereafter excepted—Mr. Kennedy has described a railroad journey. The people get their tickets in verse, the bell rings in verse, the engine spits, screams, and hisses in verse; and all is metrical motion, until the town of their destination appears. Now sings the barrister—standing counsel to the antipodean railroad peradventure:—

“And steeple now, and pinnacle, and turret rose to view:
Our pace we gently slacken'd, and the station gliding to,
We halted; as——”

What do our readers suppose that “as” introduces? “A TURTLE DOVE!”

“We halted; as the turtle dove stoops from her airy round,
And drops with pinion tremulous, alighting on the ground.”

What, that screaming, scratching, lumbering, lingering load of iron, wood, water, and human beings, that rumbles up to the station with a spit and a hiss, a rub and a grunt, a jolt and a jumble, like a turtle dove dropping with tremulous pinion on the ground! Far more like the lord of Calipash and Calipee, with his rattling shell, his splay flappers, and the rough-and-tumble motion of his case-hardened body: not the turtle dove; the turtle without the dove, Mr. Kennedy.

We cannot now delay over our author's laureate attempts on her Majesty and our infant prince; we admit their loyalty; loyalty equal to that of the compounders of the birth-day odes that used to encumber the poetical appendix of the Annual Register; equal to them also in their poetry. Pass we on to the last portion of Mr. Kennedy's labours, his by no means unpleasing translations from various German writers; Goethe, Schiller, Körner, Uhland, and several others, are versified with some freedom by our poet. Still, however, there is a disregard of critical accuracy, utterly unwarrantable in one who professes to be a German scholar, and soundly rates those who find accuracy in translation incompatible with freedom of poetic diction. Take, for instance, the translation of “Archimedes and the Scholar.”

“A studious youth to Archimedes came:
‘Teach me that godlike art, that art of wondrous fame,
Which to our father land such blessed fruits hath given,
And from our city wall the fell besieger driven.’

‘Godlike thou call'st the art? Shé is,’ the sage observ'd;
‘But that she was my son before the state she serv'd.
Wouldst thou from her such fruits as mortals too can bear?
The goddess woo; do not the woman seek in her.’”

The real translation and meaning of the last two lines we believe to be:—"Wouldst thou only have fruits of her? Mortals even can produce them. Let he who courts the goddess not think of courting the woman." But we will not pursue this portion of our notice, equally unpleasant to our readers and ourselves. People must not think that critics love to find fault; praise is much easier, because less discriminating than censure; but there are times when the rod must be used; and there are temptations that cannot be resisted. The following translation of one of Körner's extraordinary lyrics is about the best specimen of Mr. Kennedy's powers:—

"Good night!
Peace to all that taste of sorrow!
Day now hastens to its close,
Busy, toiling hands repose,
Till awakes the morrow;
Good night.

"Go to rest!
Shut your eyelids: darkness falleth!
Hush'd are all the streets around,
Save the watchman's stilly sound;
Night to all the weary calleth,
Go to rest.

"Slumber sweet!
Of your paradise be dreaming:
Who for love no peace can find,
Let him see a vision kind,
Lov'd by his belov'd one seeming,
Slumber sweet.

"Good night!
Sleep ye till the morning breaketh:
Sleep ye till another day,
Calls to other cares away:
Fear ye nought, your FATHER waketh:
Good night."

If Mr. Kennedy will be a poet, let him turn his attention to versifying Blackstone, or to an edition of Queen's Bench reports in Sapphics. And then, on attaining to the dignity of the coif, he may with a calm conscience give in his sergent's ring, with this motto, "Ne sutor ultra crepidam."

Justorum Semita: a History of the Saints and Holydays of the present English Kalendar. Edinburgh: Grant. London: Burns. 1843.

A BOOK which we commend heartily to the Church, if we will be content to read in a practical, rather than a disputatious spirit. Such a publication has long been a desideratum; and though we may not say, for we do not so think, that this is the very best that could be provided, yet it is so evident to the right-minded that it is written by a person of great devotional warmth, as well as creditable erudition in ecclesiastical matters, that we have but little sympathy with those who will make it an occasion for wrangling. It will serve to show to strangers from our communion, what depths of ancient piety and truth are involved in our Prayer-Book; and it is not a little creditable to the Scottish Church, that one of her sons has done so much in wiping away the stigma under which our Church labours, for not having already protested against that mean and miserable view of the Anglican Kalendar, which Wheatley's authority has rendered all but received among us. On this point, we venture on an extract from a most able preface:—

"How many changes have we beheld in our course since the fourteenth century, when the Council of Magfield enacted pious laws for the due honouring of the saints. Yet throughout all these changes one principle seems to prevail; the nearer any age approached in feeling and in creed to the standard of Catholic antiquity, the greater reverence did it pay to the memory of the saints. The Church of England was defrauded of nearly all of them by Cranmer and his foreign assistants; then Puritans prevented their restoration under the reign of Elizabeth. When men such as bishop Andrews were in favour the partial restoration of the Kalendar in 1604 was not surprising; nor that the rebels and fanatics in his son's reign should sweep away every trace of ancient devotion. And under the care of such guardians as Sparrow and Cosins and Pearson and Thorndike the Kalendar recovered more than it had lost since the days of King James I. The Puritans and Presbyterians still cherished the design of effacing from the English Church every remaining trace of her Catholic origin, and when her best sons were driven from her communion at the Revolution, they renewed their importunity that 'the legendary saints' days should be omitted.' Again she refused to purchase their obedience by such a sacrifice. Is it possible to believe that in those times at least the saints' days served no religious purpose? or that they were preserved, notwithstanding so many attempts to remove them, for no weightier reasons than those which Mr. Wheatley gives? The Church of England has declared the preservation of the memories of the saints to be one reason for retaining them in the Kalendar; and she has shown how highly she valued them in past times. Will her children now suffer these holy commemorations to be lost through neglect which their forefathers at great sacrifice secured for them? Will they continue to follow the example of Puritans and Protestants rather than of the holy Church throughout the world, and of the men of Catholic minds in their own? Oh, that the golden tongue of a Chrysostom, or the mellifluous eloquence of a Bernard could be heard in these days, to win Christians back to their duty and their high privilege! But 'when iniquity shall abound the love of many shall wax cold.' And truly if the contemplation of the gentle and holy persons whom we find in the Kalendar does not move us, the tongue of an angel would be heard in vain. 'Only reflect what men they were,' says the author of *Mores*, 'spirits so high above the world, dead to every selfish and sinful thought; possessed of such perfect devotion of mind and heart to the eternal world.' Behold the youthful virgins and martyrs, S. S. Agnes and Margaret and Agatha; the blessed Magdalene, whose love to the Lord was great, because she had much forgiven; S. Hilary and S. Ambrose, the champions of the faith against the Arians; S. Alban, the protomartyr of England; and S. Augustine and S. Benedict, and S. David! Behold also S. Gregory the Great, and S. Augustine of Canterbury, the Apostles of England; the Venerable Bede, the light of the Anglo-Saxon Church; and S. Edward the Confessor! Isolated as has been the position of the Anglican Church for three centuries, there is still in the Kalendar a bond of union with the Catholic Church, which may one day be renewed as it was of old. The Eastern, African, Spanish, Roman, and Gallican Churches are all represented in it, and as we turn from one venerable name to another we are carried from century to century, from land to land, yet in all is displayed the same unity of faith, the same holy life, the same blessed death. Thus even in its present imperfect state does the Kalendar become to us an epitome of the Catholic Church, the communion of saints."—Pp. xxxvi.—xxxviii.

We object to the title: Prov. iv. 18, from which it is taken, has a very different meaning. In some quarters, we cannot give *Iustorum Semita* greater praise than to say, that it reminds us not only in style—though this rarely, but in matter also of *Mores Catholici*. We venture, however, to add, that somewhat more of the quality and tone of mind which marks the author of the "*Mores*," as well as some of the living ornaments of our own communion, would have been a great improvement in the work before us. Those who have read Mr. Newman's last volume of sermons, and will compare their prevailing temper with that of some portions of the *Semita* (few portions, we willingly admit) will understand what we mean. High principle does not necessarily, and ought never to, lead to a contracted

and one-sided view, either of our actual position, or even of history; faults into which young and over-zealous converts to Church-principles are apt to fall. Such must not take offence, if we remind them that they are altogether inconsistent with the *perfection* of the saintly character.

The two great "serials" of the Church, the Oxford Library of the Fathers, and the Anglo-Catholic Library, are proceeding with creditable punctuality and care. Each has been enriched with two volumes: the former with a volume of S. Chrysostom's Homilies, and another of S. Athanasius (enriched by Mr. Newman's erudition): the latter has brought out another portion of Beveridge, and the first part of Thormdike; and we are glad to find Johnson, Gunning, and Marshall already announced. It is scarcely possible, at the present juncture, to overrate the importance of this collection; and, while it is almost fearful to find what treasures we have hitherto disregarded, it is of course most encouraging to watch their present success. Happy omens are around us, if we will be worthy to retain them.

Very late in the month we received Dr. Grant's Bampton Lectures for 1843, on "Missions," (Rivingtons.) The interest of the subject, the author's station, and the occasion on which these sermons were delivered, combine to render this one of the most important volumes of the year. We propose—any other course would be disrespectful—to devote an early paper to this very interesting and delightful work.

A curious little—what shall we call it?—instrument, and explanatory pamphlet, called "The Orientator," has been put forth by the Cambridge Camden Society, to determine, by an extensive examination of examples, how far a rule obtained in determining the eastward bearing of our ancient churches. Wordsworth, of moderns, was among the first to observe that they varied according to the sun-rising on the day of dedication.

The Marquis de Custine's remarkable book, "The Empire of the Czar," &c. has been translated, (Longman,) and will be found well worth reading, not merely for the sake of its subject, but of the opinions expressed in it on the state of Europe, especially on ecclesiastical matters. These are striking,—too striking, it may be; for M. de Custine is a Frenchman, and not given to say things in a quiet way,—but yet they are worthy of attention.

We cannot think highly of the greater part of "Harry Mowbray," by Captain Knox, (Ollivier.) The foreign scenes seem to us a good deal better than the home ones. The author is, we believe, a man of real talent; and we have heard others of his works well spoken of by a competent authority; but, on the present occasion, we think he has aimed too high. The creation of character does not seem his *forte*, which rather resides in the narration of incident and adventure. He would write, we think, a romance better than a novel.

We have not for a good while seen so thoroughly important and serviceable a book as "Notes on the Episcopal Polity of the Holy Catholic Church," &c. by T. W. Marshall, B.A., (Burns.) The "Account of the Development of Modern Religious Systems" is full of valuable information, and ought to be in the hands of every religious inquirer in our land. It is very common to speak of presbyterian Scotland as a splendid exception to the common tendencies of schism, and there are respects in which it is so; at the same time, we have always suspected that her doctrinal and practical condition, for the last century, have been regarded by all parties in a far more favourable light than the facts would be found to warrant, and Mr. Marshall establishes this. We wish, however, he had gone into it more fully, as those who are willing to surrender foreign Protestantism have often far too good an opinion of Scottish presbyterianism.

Whilst we are on the subject of Scotland, we must recommend Mr. Lyon's very interesting "History of St. Andrews," (Tait, Edinburgh; Simpkin and Marshall, London.) This will give much information on a subject concerning which all parties, Churchmen and sectaries, Scotchmen and Englishmen, the illiterate and the well-informed, have been contented to remain in inconceivable ignorance, and under the falsest impressions—we mean the religious state of Scotland during the latter half of the seventeenth century. We are sorry that the writer has committed some literary blunders, which will damage its authority.

Of course the author (we believe we should say *the authoress*) of "Christ-our Law," (Seeley and Burnside,) does not expect us to approve of the theology contained in the volume so entitled. The book is nearly all rhetorical, and sometimes truly eloquent, though the grammar is not always sounder than the doctrine. We are led to notice this volume, because it partakes of the characteristic which we lately commented on in the case of Charlotte Elizabeth—a boldness, a fearlessness of consequences, very unlike the usual simpering and inanity of assertion and denial, which we find in the common run of modern Evangelicalism—a turn for reality rather than phrases, which is both encouraging and alarming, as bringing the person in whom we see it near Truth and near Heresy. The writer of the work before us seems a person who could be brought on to Catholic sentiment, and could too easily fall into fearful and deadly errors.

The latter tendency is but too apparent in Mr. Barham's "Life and Times of Reuchlin." (Whittaker,) as it was in his memoir of Savonarola. We do not, however, dread the progress of Syncretism in England, there being little in it congenial to the national mind; and Mr. Barham has further disarmed himself of power, by writing in a style outrageously pedantic. The subject, we need not say, is an interesting one, and the book gives much information in spite of the author's perversities.

"Modern Wesleyanism compared with the teaching of Mr. Wesley," (Leslie,) is a pamphlet affording one proof more of a fact, about which there can be no doubt, the apostasy of the Wesleyan body from many of the most important sentiments of their founder.

The Rev. T. Lathbury has published an important Letter to Sir R. Peel on "the Restoration of Suffragan Bishops," (Parker,) deprecating having recourse to Parliament for the purpose, inasmuch as the authority of Crown and Convocation seems to him sufficient.

Our catechetical stores have been increased by "A Historical and Practical Exposition of the Catechism of the Church of England," &c. by the Rev. Thomas Halton, (Burns,) which is sensible and orthodox, besides giving further information than do most books of the sort.

We have sometimes had to regret what we could not but consider something more than the wisdom of the serpent, an unjustifiable timidity in the orthodox Scottish Clergy. We have no such accusation, however, to prefer against the Rev. J. B. Pratt, M.A., who has published a sound and stout-hearted "Pastoral Letter addressed to his Congregation, on the Opening of the new Church of St. James, Cruden," (Brown & Co. &c. Aberdeen; Burns, London.) Though bold and faithful, there is nothing indiscreet or eccentric in it. It is strange and sad to find so much ritual irregularity, and such very rare communion, as seem, from Mr. Pratt's account, to have hitherto characterised the Church at Cruden, in the part of Scotland in which Church principles have been generally supposed to have had a more powerful sway than elsewhere, and which was under the influence of the Skinners and the Jollys, who witnessed so powerfully for primitive truth.

A Mr. Bell has put forth the first number of a series of line engravings "illustrative of the Liturgy," (Longman.) By the term *Liturgy* the whole Prayer-book seems meant, the contents of this first number having reference to the Apostles' Creed. The first two are by much the best.

"*Pietas Domestica*," by the Hon. and Rev. Samuel Best, M.A., (Cleaver,) is a guide to family devotion, seemingly on a very good plan, but we have had no time to examine it. The second paragraph of the preface requires modification. Mr. Best speaks as if the family altar were the only one which survived the Jewish Temple.

"*Oxonien-sis*," the author of "*An Apology for the Universities*," (Macpherson, Oxford,) does indeed refute the formal assertions of his opponents, and in great measure succeeds in exonerating the Universities from the imputations cast upon them in respect of neglecting theology as a distinct study. It is quite true, as he says, that their theory does not contemplate such study during the student's progress in arts; and that if people will leave them, on taking the first degree in that faculty, they preclude themselves by their own act and deed from academic guidance in divinity. But though this be so, "*Oxonien-sis*" must admit that residence after the B.A. degree is to most a matter of extreme difficulty, and that it would be most desirable to find some plans, though certainly not such as should impair the existing course of study, for remedying the defect. Again, it is too much to say that the Universities are blameless in the matter of general religious education. Their theory, we grant, is entirely so; but, in all loyalty and affection for them, we ask what their practice has been? Of a mixed character, surely, at best, and, we are thankful to add, of an improving one; but that is all which can judiciously be said.

The Propagation Society has printed an interesting letter from the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, giving an account of one or two features in his late Metropolitan Visitation, and of a subsequent Ordination in his own diocese, at which three of the candidates had been educated entirely at Bishop's College.

"*A Paper on Monuments*," (Oxford, Parker) read by Mr. Armstrong of Exeter before the Diocesan Architectural Society, is on a subject which dullness itself could not make tiresome. Mr. Armstrong, however, is a very lively writer, and exposes, as all of us have done, with infinite gusto the present mural and Pagan abominations. We are glad that he has given examples of the ancient flat stones inscribed with crosses plain and floriated; but we lack a coped grave-stone. Among the headstone crosses Mr. Armstrong has supplied one, the absence of which we noted both in Mr. Paget's and the Camden Society's collection, the simple coped wooden cross. From his suggestion to copy a piscina for a monument we differ poles asunder: the piscina has a use, and ought always to be used; to reproduce it for an insertion bearing a mortuary inscription is as bad in taste as copying an altar in cast iron for a stove.

Our single sermons have this month, much to our discomfort, expanded into volumes, some not a little ponderous. "*Discourses on the Festivals*," by Mr. Marsden, of Tooting (Hamilton) are heavy, and in theology exceptionable, but it is comforting to find the subject taken up in this particular quarter.

We have also to notice "*Sermons designed chiefly for Parochial and Family use*," by the Rev. F. E. Tuson, M. A., (Hatchard; Rivingtons,) of which the profits are designed for the author's church.

We are glad to see another excellent "*Charge*," by the Archdeacon of Bristol.

We ought before to have noticed Mr. Watson's very useful monthly publication, "*The Churchman's Sunday Evenings at Home*," which has now reached a fourth or fifth number. It will be found a most useful family companion. The like may be said of "*The Prayer Book a safe Guide*;" a Series of plain Lectures by the same author. Both are published by Cleaver.

We have just received a copy of the promised "*Appeal to the Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge on doctrinal Changes lately introduced into the Series of Tracts circulated under their authority*," (Burns, Leslie, &c. and Parker, Oxford.) We are sufficiently aware of the painful importance of this subject (on which we must enlarge in our next) to every member of the Society, and we have seen enough of the present striking "*Appeal*" to warrant us in recommending it to general and most serious attention. May we suggest, for yet more general distribution, a reprint of the proofs of GARBINO, adduced against the managing body of the Society? Its state only requires to be known to be remedied; and that both speedily and effectually.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed in this department.]

TO THE REV. PROFESSOR MAURICE.

DEAR SIR,—I have just been reading, in the *Christian Remembrancer* for the month of October last, your remarks on the Review of Mr. Carlyle's work on Hero-worship. There is nothing that I read with so much delight as the thoughts which flow from your pen: they excite in me always a feeling of respect and of sympathy for you, which I hope you will forgive me for taking the liberty thus to express, by way of preface, to one or two observations which I wish to submit upon the subject of this review.

You quote Mr. Carlyle's definition of a Hero as being *one who looks straight into the face of things, as not content with second-hand reports of them, and does not submit to receive semblances for realities*; and you maintain that this is a true definition of the Heroic characters, as exemplified in the instances adduced by him of Mahomet, Cromwell, and Rousseau; of Mahomet, because, you say, he felt the will of God to be a reality, and devoted himself to the fulfilment of it: of Cromwell, because he felt the spiritual life in man to be a reality, and devoted himself, in like manner, to the service which it dictated; and of Rousseau, because he felt that there was a deep ground of fact against the conventional maxims of his age, and that they must perish if set against it. You, probably, intended to add, with respect to Rousseau, that he powerfully, publicly, and fearlessly taught and asserted what he so felt; for, unless he had done this, he could have had no claim to the title of a Hero.

If, my dear sir, I rightly understand your meaning, I entirely agree with you; but permit me to ask, whether I do rightly understand it, and whether your expression of it may not admit of some improvement.

The point you wish to establish I conceive to be this; that there was some elementary principle, common to the three individuals in question, and to which the moral power and influence exercised by them in their generation, is mainly to be attributed. If this be so, the principle in question might, I think, receive some more adequate definition than that which either you or Mr. Carlyle have supplied.

What, then, is the Heroic principle, by means of which one man obtains ascendancy and influence over his fellows, claiming and receiving their homage as God's vicegerent? Is it, according to Mr. Carlyle, merely a spirit of earnest and disinterested love for, and search after, truth, and of active, zealous, strenuous, and fearless working in support of it: or does it, according to your improvement, involve the acknowledgment of some superhuman and supernatural power, to which man yields instinctive obedience, making himself its willing and devoted instrument; or must we not, in order to perfect our idea, still further add to our definition the attribute of wisdom, implying the knowledge, as well as the love of truth, and a just apprehension of that Higher Power to which allegiance is rightfully due?

If, in order to be a Hero, it is not sufficient that a man be earnest, disinterested, self-devoted, and religious; if it is further required that he be wise, there will be no difficulty in ascertaining the causes of failure in all the Heroes who have ever appeared upon the theatre of the world, with the single exception of that One, Whose wisdom, and Whose only, was perfect, being a direct and unsullied emanation from the pure Fountain of all Truth.

A man may seem to be a Hero, and for a time be acknowledged and enthroned as such, by the acclamations of the world, who founds his pretensions merely upon a shrewd and just apprehension of some popular notions, opinions, or propensities, which chance to be prevalent in the world in his day, and upon his devotion to them; that is to say, taking these for his god, and, more especially, if he has the art to mix with them something of superstition, some pretension to an authority derived from some unseen, dark, mysterious, superhuman power. If he begins by deceiving himself in this, he will more easily mislead

others; and if he begins by deceiving others, he will soon come to believe his own lie, by witnessing its temporary efficacy; but his ultimate failure will be an inevitable consequence of the defect in his fundamental supposition.

It follows, therefore, that a man who is earnest, disinterested, self-devoted, active, zealous, strenuous, and fearless in maintaining a principle, though he may seem to be a Hero in the eyes of the world, ought not to be so accounted unless his principle be founded upon that Wisdom which is from above, according to such manifestation of it as is vouchsafed to the age in which he lives.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours, &c.

G. T.

MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS OF S. T. COLERIDGE.

To the Editor of "The Christian Remembrancer."

MY DEAR SIR,—In transmitting to you the accompanying fragments of Coleridge, I am sure that you will sympathize with my wish not willingly to let die any of his "Sybilline leaves," however trifling; and as your Review still retains somewhat of its Magazine profession, I am induced to think that you will allow space to some of the fugitive thoughts of one of our great thinkers.

The following scraps scarcely require authentication; for the most part, they at once authenticate themselves; but it may be as well to mention Coleridge's practice—one well known to all his intimates—of scribbling most unmercifully on the fly-leaves and margin of every book which passed through his hands: even the otherwise-sacred pages of the books of the Highgate Society had no immunity; and our periodical sales were sometimes enriched by extra biddings for works more than usually bepencilled. From one of these, the dissenter Vaughan's *Life of Wycliffe*, in the possession of a friend, I copied what I now send; and, though I did not reside at Highgate till after Coleridge's death, I am acquainted with his handwriting, having seen many of his MSS. in the possession of his and my friend, the late Mr. Gillman. Had they come into my possession earlier, they would have been forwarded to Mr. H. Nelson Coleridge, whose Remains of his uncle are derived in part from similar sources; and I am not without hope that, if the example be set, you may recover other fragments.

The readers of the CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER do not require to be reminded that neither you nor I wish to be considered implicit followers of Coleridge; nor to attach undue value to his unequal, and often inconsistent, speculations. What Coleridge might have been, had he lived until the present restoration of the Church had assumed greater prominence, and which he watched with so keen an interest, many, perhaps you among the number, may have amused themselves with conjecturing. You will agree with me in considering these notes as eminently characteristic of his very opposite tendencies and opinions; and should the author of *Ancient Christianity* be disposed to plume himself on the admissions of the first two passages, his triumph will be dashed by the remarkable observations on the relative offices of the Church and Scripture, in a subsequent note. They are Coleridge all over, both in thought and expression.

Should any critics discover other such mistakes as placing Ulphilas in the second century, they will do well to bear in mind that few writers expect themselves to be very accurate in such fugitive thoughts as fall from them in this desultory way: and I do not know that it would be quite fair to any author's reputation to make him incur grave responsibility for the like: indeed it would become a question, had not Coleridge been already, and perhaps to an injudicious extent, subjected to the publication of all his *Adversaria*, whether it was right to publish them. However, should there be any literary responsibility, it must be fastened upon, my dear sir,

Yours, very faithfully,

WILLIAM SCOTT

HQXTON, Nov. 7, 1843.

NOTES UPON VAUGHAN'S LIFE OF WYCLIFFE.

Vol. i. p. 38.—“ONE of the great errors of the Protestant polemic divines, but especially those of the Church of England, is that of assigning too late a date to the corruptions of the Latin Church. Laud's party regarded the first five centuries as almost of apostolical authority. Alas! before the year A.D. 200, I could show the germs of every abuse and every false doctrine.”

P. 42.—“Few things more disgusting than the impudent blank contradictions given by Butler, and sundry Irish papists, to the testimony of Blanco White, on a point so notorious to every man who has for any time resided in Spain, Portugal, Italy, or Sicily. I was, when abroad, in confidential intercourse with the best and most intelligent of the Roman clerisy, secular and religious, and I never met a man who pretended to deny the fact that the obligation of chastity hung very lightly on them; and that if a priest was attentive to his duties in other respects, occasional deviations of this kind found easy absolution.”

P. 102.—“But these are the effects of Christianity, *in spite of* the papacy, or at all events the papacy notwithstanding. The Church of Christ existed, or Antichrist could not have been throned therein. Mr. Vaughan should have distinguished the good effects of the papacy, *quoad* papacy, *ex. grat.* the facilitation of the settlement of the feudal tribes into the federal unity of a Christendom with international laws. Item, the universality of the Latin as the common language of intellectual commerce, though dearly purchased by the superstition and ignorance of the laity, excluded from the Scriptures, and praying in an unknown tongue. N.B. England derived less benefit and more evil from Rome than any other state.”

P. 156.—“This frightful massacre itself, (the crusade against the Albigenses,) under the circumstances of that dark and ferocious age, is less shocking to the moral sense than the reiterated attempts of recent Catholic writers to defend or palliate the atrocity, by keeping up anew the infamous calumnies on the innocent victims. The great objects of our Church at present ought to be, first, the removal of the wall of separation between them and the orthodox dissenters, by explaining the difference between the national clerisy, which ought to include all the three liberal professions as an *ordo civilis ad erudiendos mores institutus*, and the Church, *i.e.* the Christian Church. 2. To promote throughout the continent, especially in France, Germany, and the north of Italy, the commencing reform *in, not from*, the Catholic Church, strictly confining their exhortations to two points—the emancipation of the bishops and their sees from all dependency on the Roman Pontiff,—and of the Clergy collectively from the obligation of celibacy. These points attained, all other errors will die away gradually, or become harmless, or at worst, *ineptiæ tolerabiles*.”

P. 187.—“There are myriads of Catholics at the present time most anxious for a reform *in* the Catholic Church, who would resolutely oppose a reform *from* it. They perhaps attach too much importance to the unity of the Church,—we too little.”

P. 288.—“1. That Peter never was bishop of Rome; and that his ever having been at Rome, or in any part of Italy, is a mere tradition,

unsupported by any tenable historical evidence easily explained [*sic* in MS]. 2. That if he had been, and had been, in direct contradiction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans, a Roman bishop, it proves nothing in support of the papal pretensions. 3. That the sole pretext, the only plausible ground for the pontificate, is the supposition that it is a necessary condition of the unity of the Catholic Church. But 4. Mede has demonstrated (see my Essay on the Constitution in Church and State) that *à priori*, it is an inept and inadequate means to that end; and that, in fact, it has ever worked in the contrary direction."

P. 295.—"Still, the elevation of the national character in the inheritable and inherited consciousness of the natives, which still lives and works in the heart of every Englishman, must be taken as an important set-off against the evils of our continental wars (in the fourteenth century)."

P. 311.—On the words 'moral loveliness of the state in which it [human nature] first stood.'—Where is the proof of this? How long did Adam stand? and even during this brief probation he was but a *living* soul, not a life-making spirit. Of this "moral loveliness," the aim and goal of our Christian race, Christ is the only *righteousness*, and in Him alone God loveth the world."

Vol. ii. p. 37.—"The Gothic version by Ulphilas, in the close of the second century, renders the existence of a Celtic translation of parts at least of the Bible (the Psalms, for instance, and St. John's Gospel) not improbable."

P. 39.—"Query. What is the date of the earliest Welsh translation of the Scriptures, or of any integral portion, as the Psalter? An ecclesiastical history of North and South Wales—are there materials for such a work? It could not but be of great interest; and the Welsh genius hath been hitherto eminently antiquarian. I cannot bring myself to believe that the British, Scottish, and Pictish monastic clergy of the fifth to the eighth century were an exception to the zeal for translation. But we must remember, that during this period, when the purer Church of Britain succumbed to the papal domination, the numerous clergy in their vagrant cœnobitic establishments, were men of learning sufficient at least to use the Latin version, which doubtless they rendered and expounded in their itinerary to the people *vivâ voce*: while, except these ministers, few indeed could read. . . .

"... Nevertheless I think it probable that metrical versions and paraphrases did exist, probably may still be discovered, in the Welsh language. How glad I should be to converse with Sharon Turner on this subject!"

P. 44.—"Strange power of prejudice on the strongest minds! Even Vico, that profound thinker, lays it down as a rule, that in Jerusalem (?) religion cannot hold its ground, unless by the jealous confinement of its sacred writings to a learned order. Yet Vico, though a Catholic, almost idolized the writings of Bucer and Grotius. But I fear that Vico inwardly regarded the Christian only as one of the various positive religions, the examples of which he quotes.

P. 48. "Note.—To *ascertain*, not for the first time to *learn* the truth. In order to this, Christ had founded a *Church*, and by the first spiritually-gifted ministers of this Church, *some* of them instructed

by Christ himself while in the flesh, and all by the Spirit, with whom, and in whom, Christ returned to the faithful, as an indwelling Light and Life;—by the first ministers of the Church, I say, who were the fathers and founders of particular churches, the universal (Catholic) essential truths and doctrines of Christ were committed to writing, without withholding of any truth applicable to all times and countries, and binding on all Christians. Now these writings, collectively, form the New Testament, and whatever cannot be *recognised* there cannot be an essential article of faith. But the Scriptures, the great *charter* of the Church, does not supersede the Church; and till we have learnt the *whole scheme* of Christianity from the Church, by her creeds, catechisms, homilies, and according to the constitution of the apostles, the Bible could not but produce erring fancies, perplexities, jarring subjects;—and on the other hand, withdraw the Scriptures, and where is the check on the proceedings and pretensions of the certainly uninspired, and too probably ambitious Churchman? No! learn from the Church, and then in humility, yet freedom of spirit, test it by the Scripture. Note.—The Church doctrines are the bank-notes, the Scripture the bullion, which the notes represent, and which the Bank (*i.e.* the Church) must be always ready to bring forwards when fairly demanded.

“Note to this note, by S. T. C.:—

“Nullum simile omnino quadrat—
Quicquid simile est, non est *idem*.

“No simile goes on all fours, or
Every *simile* necessarily limps.

“With this understanding, and so qualified, must the reader take my comparison of the Church doctrine relatively to Scripture as bank-notes relatively to bullion. Now in this respect the simile halts,—that the bullion *may be* subdivided into doubloons, sovereigns, half-sovereigns, or to penny-pieces; and yet, notwithstanding this divisibility, we are assured, by the great master of the science of trade, our most experienced Ploutonominists, (Rothschild, Ricardo, Lloyd, &c. &c. &c.) that the trade and commerce of this kingdom could not be carried on without ruinous stops and retardations, for a single week, by a metallic currency, however large! But be this as it may, the bullion of Scripture is not a bullion of this kind. It may be formally, I own, divided into bars=books; ingots=chapters; and coins, *i.e.* verses; but, alas! you might almost as well subdivide an organized body, and expect that the extracted eye would see, the insulated heart remain a heart, as attempt to interpret a text without its context, or that context without reference to the whole scheme. It is in the *ὁμοπνευστία*, in the one and same divine spirit pervading and modifying all the differences, all the sundry workings of the *human* mind under different lights and different dispensations that the *divinity* of the Bible is manifested. The imperfect humanity must be there, in order, by its diversity and varying nature, to contrast with the *One* breathing in all, and giving to all one and the same direction.”

P. 52.—“ I have ever regretted that the efforts of our Luther and his followers had not been limited to the reclaiming of the cup for the laity ; and that the controversy on the dogma of transubstantiation had not been deferred to a later and calmer period. For hence, as the main source, flowed the bitter waters of strife among the Protestants themselves. Instead of *advancing* . . . Berengarius, Luther *retrograded*. The best that can be said of him is, that he substituted a comparatively harmless for a positively mischievous *nonsense*, while the sacramentary henlock extinguished the very life of the awful mystery.”

P. 55.—“ Now Berengarius, (see his uncompleted Treatise, edited by Lessing from a MS. in the Wolfenbützel Library,) Bucer, and the Church Catechism distinctly assert the *real* presence, with and in the spirit of the Gospel (John vi.), and contradistinguish *real* from *phenomenal*, substantive from accidental. The Romish doctors sensualize the doctrine into an idol ; while the sacramentaries volatilize it into a metaphor ; and, alas ! too large a number of our clergy are sacramentaries ! Often I have had occasion to mourn the dissonance between the sermon and the service.”

P. 192 —“ 1. The separation of the poor's-rates from the tythes, *i.e.* the reserved nationality as distinguished from property, or the estates of individuals and families. 2. The confounding the maintenance of the proper *poor* with the maintenance of healthy workmen thrown out of employ by the fluctuations of trade—a compromise entered into in order to make the rate of wages measured by the demand. 3. The extension of this from trade, of which *things* are the proper objects, to agriculture, of which *persons* should be the final end. And, 4. The consequent withdrawing of the poor-laws from the national Church and all Church discipline. These four I regard as the main causes of our national distress and corruption.”

P. 206.—“ These four ‘accursed methods’ [viz. 1. That the Church is of more authority than the Gospel. 2. That Augustine saith he would not believe the Gospel unless the Church had taught him so. 3. That no man now alive knoweth which is the Gospel, except it be by an approval of the Church. 4. And hence, if men say that they believe this to be the Gospel of Matthew or John, they do so for no cause but that the Church confirmeth it, or teacheth it,] are weakened but not fully answered by Wycliffe, or even by the Protestant divines down to this day. That the papal hierarchy, nor the clergy generally, as a distinct class from the laity, constitute the Church is indeed shown, and ably shown ; but not so the question, what, then, *is* the Church ?”

P. 227—“ In the eye of a philosopher, the papal hierarchy is the pope. Think, then, of Ireland, and ask whether it is not as fearfully and mischievously active at the present day as it ever was in the age of Wycliffe.”

P. 239.—On Wycliffe's words, “ Yet we read not that He, or any apostle, paid tithes to the wicked high-priests, &c.”

“ With sorrow, I say, a very weak reply. Have we any reason to assert the contrary ? But the fact is, that Wycliffe overlooked (and how few since his time have seen !) the distinction between the legal,

constitutional, and civil claims of a parson as a member of the national clergy, and his claims as a minister of the Gospel. Wycliffe erroneously regarded the clergyman in this latter relation exclusively. But had he considered the tythes as a revenue set aside and appropriated to a learned order, say authority, of the nation itself, and independent of, because prior to, the introduction of Christianity, and therefore resting on the same ground as the property of the laity, he would have made no such conclusion, and therefore it is most unfair in his adversaries, to infer from his opinion respecting clerical revenues, a similar opinion as to the rights of the gentry. Wycliffe said no more of the clergy's rights than we say now of the rights of placemen, that the rights depend on the competence of the person to the duties."

REVIVAL OF CONVENTUAL INSTITUTIONS.—No. II.

(Testimonies continued.)

"How many daughters of the clergy, of military and naval officers, of that numerous class who derive their support from life-incomes, and of those whom the vicissitudes which are always occurring, in commercial countries, have reduced from affluence to distress, are yearly left with a scanty provision, or with none! . . .

"As a remedy for this evil, though it was far less in his days than in ours Richardson suggested the establishment of PROTESTANT NUNNERIES in every country 'in which single women of small, or no fortunes, might live with all manner of freedom, under such regulations as it would be a disgrace for a modest or good woman not to comply with, were she absolutely on her own hands; and to be allowed to quit it whenever they pleased.' The governesses he would have had to be women of family, of unblameable characters from infancy, and noted equally for their prudence, good nature, and gentleness of manners. The attendants for the slighter services should be the hopeful female children of the honest industrious poor. 'Do you not imagine,' he continues, 'that such a society as this, all women of unblemished reputation, employing themselves as each (consulting her own genius) at her admission shall undertake to employ herself, and supported genteelly, some at more, some at less expense, to the foundation, according to their circumstances, might become a national good; and particularly a seminary for good wives, and the institution a stand for virtue in an age given up to luxury, extravagance, and amusements, little less than riotous?' In reply to the question how it could be supported, he says, 'Many of the persons of which each community would consist, would be, I imagine, no expense to it at all; as numbers of young women joining their small fortunes, might be able, in such a society, to maintain themselves genteelly on their own incomes; though each singly in the world would be distressed. Besides, liberty might be given for wives in the absence of their husbands in this maritime country; and for widows, who, on the death of theirs, might wish to retire from the noise and hurry of the world, for three, six, or twelve months, more or less, to reside in this well regulated society; and such persons, we may suppose, would be glad, according to their respective abilities, to be benefactresses to it. No doubt but it would have, besides, the countenance of the well-disposed of both sexes, since every family in Britain, in their connexion and relations, near or distant, might be benefited by so reputable and useful an institution; to say nothing of the works of the ladies in it, the profits of which perhaps will be thought proper to be carried towards the support of a foundation that so genteelly supports them. Yet I

would leave a number of hours in each day for the encouragement of industry, that should be called their own; and what was produced in them to be solely appropriated to their own use. A truly worthy Divine, at the appointment of the Bishop of the Diocese, to direct and animate the devotion of such a society, and to guard it from that superstition and enthusiasm which soars to wild heights in almost all nunneries, would confirm it a blessing to the kingdom."—*S. Richardson*.—Quoted in *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxii. p. 92.

"God may be served and glorified in every state of life. But as there are some states of life more desirable than others, that more purify our natures, that more improve our virtues, and dedicate us unto God in a higher manner; so those, who are at liberty to choose for themselves, seem to be called by God to be more eminently devoted to His service.

"Ever since the beginning of Christianity there have been two orders or ranks of people among good Christians. The one, that feared and served God in the common offices of a secular, worldly life; the other, renouncing the common business and common enjoyments of life, as riches, marriage, honours, and pleasures, devoted themselves to voluntary poverty, virginity, devotion, and retirement, that by this means they might live wholly unto God in the daily exercise of a divine and heavenly life.

"This testimony I have from the famous ecclesiastical historian, Eusebius, who lived at the time of the first general council, when the faith of our Nicene Creed was established,—when the Church was in its greatest glory and purity,—when its bishops were so many holy fathers and eminent saints.

"Therefore," says he, "there have been instituted in the Church of Christ two ways or manners of living. The one raised above the ordinary state of nature and common ways of living, rejects wedlock, possessions, and worldly goods, and being wholly separate and removed from the ordinary conversation of common life, is appropriated and devoted solely to the worship and service of God, through an exceeding degree of heavenly love.

"They who are of this order of people seem dead to the life of this world, and having their bodies only upon earth, are in their minds and contemplations dwelling in heaven; from whence, like so many heavenly inhabitants, they look down upon human life, making intercessions and oblations to Almighty God for the whole race of mankind. And this, not with the blood of beasts, or the fat or smoke and burning of bodies, but with the highest exercises of true piety, with cleansed and purified hearts, and with a whole form of life strictly devoted to virtue. These are their sacrifices which they are continually offering unto God, imploring his mercy and favour for themselves and their fellow-creatures. Christianity receives this as the perfect manner of life.

"The other is of a lower form, and, suiting itself more to the condition of human nature, admits of chaste wedlock, and care of children and family,—of trade and business, and goes through all the employments of life under a sense of piety and fear of God. Now they who have chosen this manner of life, have their set times for retirement and spiritual exercises; and particular days are set apart for their hearing and learning the word of God. And this order of people are considered as in the second state of piety."—*Eusebius, Demonstr. Evang.* lib. i. c. 8.

"If, therefore, persons of either sex . . . desirous of perfection, should unite themselves into little societies professing voluntary poverty, virginity, retirement, and devotion, living upon bare necessities that some might be relieved by their charities, and all be blessed with their prayers and benefited by their example; or if, for want of this, they should practise the same manner of life in as high a degree as they could, by themselves, such persons would be so far from being chargeable with any superstition, or blind devotion, that they might be justly said to restore that piety which was the boast and glory of the Church when its greatest saints were alive.

"Now, as this learned historian observes, that it was an exceeding great degree of heavenly love that carried these persons so much above the common ways of life to such an eminent state of holiness;—so it is not to be wondered at that

the religion of JESUS CHRIST should fill the hearts of many Christians with this high degree of love.

"For a religion that opens such a scene of glory,—that discovers things so infinitely above all the world,—that so triumphs over death,—that assures us of such mansions of bliss where we shall so soon be as the angels of God in heaven;—what wonder is it if such a religion, such truths and expectations, should in some holy souls destroy all earthly desires, and make the ardent love of heavenly things be the one continual passion of their hearts?

"If the religion of Christians is founded upon the infinite humiliations,—the cruel mockings and scourgings,—the prodigious sufferings,—the poor persecuted life and painful death of a crucified Son of God;—what wonder is it if many humble adorers of this profound mystery,—many affectionate lovers of a crucified Lord,—should renounce their share of worldly pleasures and give themselves up to a continual course of mortification and self-denial; that thus suffering with Christ here, they may reign with him hereafter?

"If truth itself hath assured us that *there is but one thing needful*, what wonder is it, that there should be some amongst Christians so full of faith as to believe this in the highest sense of the words, and to desire such a separation from the world, that their care and attention to the one thing needful may not be interrupted. If our blessed Lord hath said, *If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me*;—what wonder is it that there should be some such zealous followers of Christ, so intent upon heavenly treasure,—so desirous of perfection, that they should renounce the enjoyment of their estates, choose a voluntary poverty, and relieve all the poor they are able? If the great Apostle, St. Paul, hath said, '*He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord*;' and that '*there is this difference also between a wife and a virgin;—the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and spirit*;'—what wonder is it, if the purity and perfection of the virgin state hath been the praise and the glory of the Church in its first and purest ages;—that there have always been some so desirous of pleasing God,—so zealous after every degree of purity and perfection, so glad of every means of improving their virtue, that they have renounced the comforts and enjoyments of wedlock, to trim their lamps, to purify their souls, and wait upon God in a state of perpetual virginity?

"And if now in these our days we want examples of these several degrees of perfection; if neither clergy nor laity are enough of this spirit;—if we are so far departed from it, that a man seems, like St. Paul at Athens, a setter-forth of strange doctrines, where he recommends self-denial, renunciation of the world, regular devotion, retirement, virginity, and voluntary poverty, it is because we are fallen into an age where the love not only of many but of most is waxed cold.

"I have made this little appeal to antiquity, and quoted these few passages of Scripture, to . . . show, that the highest rules of holy living, devotion, self-denial, and renunciation of the world, charity, virginity, and voluntary poverty are founded in the sublimest counsels of Christ and his Apostles, suitable to the high expectations of another life, proper instances of a heavenly love, and all followed by the greatest saints of the best and purest ages of the Church. '*HE THAT HATH EARS TO HEAR, LET HIM HEAR.*'"—*Law's Serious Call*, chap. ix.

"I am entirely of your mind in regard to Protestant nunneries or convents, which are much wanted in this country, and which, under proper regulations, might, as you justly observe, be productive of the best effects. Our Reformers seem to have wholly forgot the old maxim: '*Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*' If any practice was in use among the papists, this was enough to make them reject it; and it was almost enough to recommend any practice to them, that it was contrary to the usage of their adversaries."—*Letter of Dr. Beattie to Sir W. Forbes*. (*Forbes's Life of Beattie*.)

"The system of monasteries, though pernicious when abused, and defective in its intellectual regulations, yet contained much that was fairly interesting

both to the imagination and to the heart of the Anglo-Saxons, and that actually contributed to increase the happiness of life in their day. Even now, in the opinion of many thinking men, if they were confined to the middle and declining periods of life; if they were frequented by those only, who, after having discharged all their social duties, desired to withdraw from the occupations, troubles, and fascinations of the world, to a halcyon calm of mind, uninterrupted study, tranquil meditation, or devotional sensibility; if they were not shackled by indissoluble vows of continence, imprisoning the repining; if they were made seminaries of education, and allowed to be temporary asylums of unprovided youth; and if their rules and habits were framed on such moral plans and religious formulæ as should be found worthy of an intellectual age, which seeks to combine the fancy and the feeling in a sweet harmony with its knowledge and its reason: thus formed and directed, such institutions might again contribute to the happiness of the aged, the destitute, the sorrowful, the lonely, the abstracted, the studious, the pensive, the unambitious, the embarrassed, and the devout, as well as to the instruction of the young, the relief of the poor, and the revival of religious sensibility in the community at large."—*Sharon Turner.—Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii. page 491.

"SIR THOMAS MORE.—Hermits, as well as monks, Montesinos, have been useful in their day. Your state of society is not the better because it provides no places of religious retirement for those who desire and need it.

"MONTESINOS.—Certainly not. I consider the dissolution of the religious houses as the greatest evil that accompanied the Reformation.

"SIR THOMAS MORE.—Take from such communities their irrevocable vows, their onerous laws, their ascetic practices; cast away their mythology, and with it the frauds and follies connected therewith, and how beneficial would they be found! What opportunities would they afford to literature, what aid to devotion, what refuge to affliction, what consolation to humanity!

"MONTESINOS.—And what relief to society, which, as it becomes more crowded in all its walks, and as education and intelligence are more and more diffused, must in every succeeding generation feel more pressingly the want of such institutions! Considering the condition of single women in the middle classes, it is not speaking too strongly to assert, that the establishment of protestant nunneries, upon a wise plan and liberal scale, would be the greatest benefit that could possibly be conferred upon these kingdoms."—*Southey's Colloquies*, pp. 35, 37.

"Owing in part no doubt to the total want of a religious character, they (communities for women) have never become respectable in public opinion. Human beings cannot live happily in constrained community of habits without the aid of religious feeling, and without implicit obedience to a superior," &c. &c.—*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 309, 311.

"The business of female education would naturally be transferred to those institutions gradually, and to the evident advantage of all parties: the parents would here be secured against the danger of trusting their daughters to the care of careless or unworthy persons; girls would have the advantage of elder society; and the class of women who are now employed in tuition would find there the asylum which they need, the respectability of station which they deserve, and as much or as little as they might choose to undertake of the employment for which their talents and acquirements qualify them."—*Ibid.* page 316.

"The fewer regulations the better; none beyond what are indispensable for the well-being of the community; even a common table is not to be recom-

* It seems to have been owing in part to this very defect, that a comparatively recent attempt to establish a sort of conventual institution for women of the upper and middle classes, first at Bath, and afterwards at Clifton, by the late Lady Isabella King, under the patronage of the good Queen Charlotte (see *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxii. Art. "British Monachism,") owed its failure.

mended; the members may better be left to choose their own society, and to make all minor arrangements among themselves.* But uniformity of dress would be proper for preventing expense and vanity, and for a visible sign which might attract notice; and if the habit were at once grave, convenient, and graceful, would ensure respect. In like manner, for the sake of effect, the domicile ought to have an appearance in character with its purpose."—*Ibid.* p. 313.

"The scheme is intended for sober piety, for the meek, the retiring, and the gentle, whom nature has enabled to suffer rather than to act; and who would thus be saved from suffering, not indeed the numerous evils which flesh is heir to, but all those (and they are hardly less numerous) which reverses of fortune bring with them."—*Ibid.* p. 317.

"A local habitation is all that should be desired when a secular nunnery, or rather college for women, is to be established, with just ground enough for use, for recreation, &c. . . . Money alone is wanted—money from the noble and the wealthy. Were the edifice ready, it might be expected that as such persons in former times founded charities for the sake of relieving the souls of their ancestors, they would now, in prospective kindness to those of their own blood, found bursaries for such a college, reserving to themselves and their heirs the right of presentation."—*Ibid.* p. 315.

"As we walked among the ruins [of Quarr Abbey, in the Isle of Wight], and meditated upon the days that are gone, we could not but feel that the restoration of some religious houses, upon christian principles, might be attended with the happiest effects. Some might afford an asylum for unprotected females, that they might, in the language of St. Paul, 'attend upon the Lord without distraction.' Others might be opened for the reception of men who were tired of the world, or unfitted for it; and some of whom might cheerfully occupy their time in visiting the sick, educating the young, instructing the ignorant, and comforting the distressed. Surely the day is not far distant, when such religious communities, free from corruptions, and under the control of the bishop, shall be re-established amongst us. If this is popery, then were Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer papists."—*British Magazine*, No. 132, † November, 1842, p. 536.

"If monasteries, instead of being swept away, had been reformed; if it (sic) had been reserved for persons not tied by monastic vows, but who, satisfied to endure hardship, and content with poverty, were ready, from the pure love of God, to devote themselves to preaching, study, and prayer, our large towns would have been supplied, not as now, with some three or four overburdened clergymen, but with a numerous body of men, ready, under episcopal guidance, to do the work of apostles and evangelists, to multitudes now lying in darkness and in the shadow of death."—*Paget*.

"There are not many who have the blessing of being subject to a proximate superior; to any rule out of themselves, by which the detail of their life is ordered. More is thereby thrown upon the energy of the individual will. The need of some imposed discipline, which shall bear upon the actings of our inner nature, is wonderfully attested by the yearnings of thoughtful men at this time. On every side we hear them painfully striving to free themselves from the bondage of unmeaning and artificial habits, and to find some basis on which they may rest the full weight of their living powers . . . They crave after something through which they may submit themselves to the realities of the eternal world. And for this end was the visible Church

* This recommendation seems ill-judged. A common table would appear necessary to enforce the requisite restrictions as to the quantity and quality of diet, and to keep table-talk under proper restraint.—EDITOR.

† Should any objection be raised to the quotation of recent or anonymous authorities, it is suggested that such, though of inferior moment, are yet not without their weight as evidences of the popular sentiment on the subject referred to.

ordained. To meet the yearnings of our baffled hearts, it stands in the earth as a symbol of the everlasting; under the veil of its material sacraments are the powers of an endless life; its unity and its order are the expressions of heavenly things; its worship of an eternal homage. Blessed are they that dwell within its hallowed precincts, shielded from the lures and spells of the world, living in plainness, even in poverty; hid from the gaze of men, in solitude and silence walking with God."—*Archdeacon Manning's Sermons*, Sermon X., pp. 144, 145.

"As for the religious orders of virgins in the present Roman Church, though some, and those very great, abuses have crept in, yet I think it were to be wished that those who suppressed them in this nation, had confined themselves within the bounds of reformation, by chusing rather to rectify and regulate, than abolish them."—*The Ladies' Calling*, Part II. Sect. 1.

"The choicest records and treasures of learning were preserved in these houses. They were schools of learning and education, for every convent had one person or more appointed for this purpose, and all the neighbours that desired it, might have their children taught grammar and church music there, without any expense to them. In the nunneries, also, young women were taught to work and to read; and not only the lower rank of people, but most of the noblemen's and gentlemen's daughters were taught in those places. All the monasteries were in effect great hospitals; and were most of them obliged to relieve many poor people every day. They were likewise houses of entertainment for almost all travellers. And the nobility and gentry provided not only for their old servants in these houses, by corodies,* but for their younger children and impoverished friends, by making them first monks and nuns, and in turn, priors and prioresses, abbots and abbesses."—*Burn's Ecclesiastical Law* art. *Monasteries*.

"Mary Wandesford, of the city of York, spinster, by will, 4 Nov. 1725, gave all her lands, &c. to the Archbishop of York, and others in trust, for the use and benefit of *ten poor gentlewomen, who were never married, and should be of the religion practised in the Church of England; who should retire from the noise and hurry of the world, into a religious house; a Protestant retirement* to be provided for them, where they should be obliged to continue for life [*i. e.* if they wished to enjoy the benefits of the establishment]. And she directed her trustees to purchase a convenient habitation for the said poor gentlewomen, where they might all live together under one roof, and *make a small congregation once, at least, every day, at prayers*, such as her trustees should think proper for their ease and circumstances; and she appointed £10 *per annum, to be paid to a reader*, who should be appointed by her trustees [This Charity is still in existence]."—*Report of Commissioners for Enquiry into Charities*, IV. p. 378, in *Edwards's Collection of Remarkable Charities*.

"*Convents without vows*, for disabled or impoverished Clergymen, or for godly women, who have determined never to marry, and wish to devote the remainder of life to prayer and meditation, and the active exercise of charity, in visiting the sick, and instructing the ignorant, *would be a blessing to the Christian Church*."—*Address to the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America*, by the Rev. S. F. Jarvis, D.D. LL.D. 1843.

"As for the other point of Monasteries, I told him, I could not take upon me to defend all that had been done in demolishing them; I knew they had nourished men of piety and good learning, to whom the present age was not a little beholden; for, what do we know of anything past but by their labours? That divers well affected to the Reformation, and yet persons of integrity, are of opinion that their standing might have continued to the advancement of literature, the increase of piety, and relief of the poor. That the king, when he took them down, was the greatest loser by it himself. Whose opinions I would not contradict."—*Sir Roger Twysden, Historical Vindication*, p. 2.

* A corody is an allowance of the necessary supplies of life.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

Bp. OF LINCOLN, March 3.

ORDINATIONS.

By the LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND
BRISTOL, on Sunday, Dec. 24, at Gloucester.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—J. Clements, B.A. Oriel; T. C. Gibbs, B.A. Trin.; R. Gregory, B.A. Ch. Ch.; W. C. Randolph, B.A. Trin.; W. H. Twynning, B.A. Jesus; V. C. Day, B.A. New Inn H.; H. F. Edgell, B.A. Oriel; H. L. M. Walters, B.A. Ch. Ch. (*l. d.* Bp. of Salisbury, acting for Bp. of Bath and Wells); C. Cox, B.A. Exet.

Of Cambridge.—W. S. Lewis, B.A. Trin.; R. B. Brereton, B.A. St. John's; E. Godfrey, B.A. Clare H.

Of Dublin.—J. Hughes, Trin. (*l. d.* Bp. of Llandaff); A. Forbes, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—C. Cripps, B.A. Magd. H.; O. Goodrich, B.A. Oriel; J. G. E. Hasluck, Pem.; H. C. Key, B.A. Ch. Ch.; J. Pitt, B.A. Oriel;

A. C. Rowley, B.A. Wad.; J. Acres, B.A. Linc.; H. Edwards, B.A. Linc. (*l. d.* Bp. of Exeter.)

Of Cambridge.—G. H. Hodson, M.A., J. G. Young, B.A., and B. Webb, B.A. Trin.

Of Lampeter.—D. Morgan (*l. d.* Bp. of Salisbury, acting for Bp. of Bath and Wells).

By the LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, at
Chichester, on Sunday, Dec. 24.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—H. J. Rush, B.A. Worc.; J. H. Sheppard, B.A. Queen's.

Of Cambridge.—A. Spalding, B.A. Trin.; J. I. P. Wyatt, B.A. Magd.

Literate.—H. H. Hamilton.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—T. Bayly, B.A. Magd. H.; S. Minton, M.A. Exet.; A. Wigan, B.A. St. John's.

Of Cambridge.—G. D. Dawes, B.A. Trin.; O. E. Vidal, B.A. St. John's; J. H. Vidal, B.A. St. John's; W. F. W. Watson, B.A. Emm.

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	Preferment.	Diocese.	Patron.	Val.	Pop.
Borton, W.	Thornton-le-Moors	Lincoln	Bishop of Ely	£319	99
Bryan, R. L.	Cheldon	Exeter	The Hon. N. Fellowes	114	90
Coghland, W. L. ...	{ St. Mary-de-Lode, Gloucester, v. }	G. & B.	D. & C. of Gloucester ..	284	...
Dinham, W. B. ...	{ St. Swithin's, Win- chester, R. }	Winchester	Lord Chancellor	64	284
Daniel, J.	East Ardsley	Ripon	Earl Cardigan	369	853
Davies, D.	Llanarmon, R.	St. Asaph .....	.....	...	...
Dykes, J. B.	Bridekirk, v.	Carlisle	Mrs. Dykes	137	2112
Evans, T. D.	Sandhurst, v.	G. & B.	Bp. of Glouc. & Bristol	209	434
Gardner, S. W.	Trostrey, P.C.	Llandaff	Sir S. Fludyer	72	196
Gillbee, W.	Gwennap, v.	Exeter	D. & C. of Exeter	482	8539
Gould, R. J.	Clewer, R.	Oxford	Eton College	460	3975
Hannay, J.	Ashley, R.	Sarum	D. of Lancaster	220	96
Harries, E.	Egremont, P.C.	St. David's	Sir M. Phillips	51	140
Hill, M.	Lye, P.C.	Worcester	Thos. Hill, Esq.	152	4432
Hippesley, R. W. ...	Stow-on-the-Wold, R.	G. & B.	H. Hippesley, Esq.	525	1810
James, J.	Pinhoe, v.	Exeter	Bp. of Exeter	227	568
King, G.	Worstead, v.	Norwich	D. & C. of Norwich	251	834
Lane, E.	St. Mary's, R. Manchest.	Chester	Manchester Coll. Ch.	166	...
Mackenzie, H.	{ St. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, P.C. }	Norwich	D. & C. of Norwich	430	...
Masters, G. F.	Stratton, R.	G. & B.	Miss J. Masters	500	546
May, G.	Liddington, R.	G. & B.	The Prebend thereof	325	407
Meller, T. W.	Woodbridge, R.	Norwich	T. W. Meller, Esq.	500	4954
Monteath, G. W. S. ...	Ranceby, v.	Lincoln	Sir J. C. Thorold	165	262
Mould, J.	St. Paul's, P.C. Walsall.	Lichfield	Govs. of Grammar Sch. ...	50	...
Mulleneaux, W.	{ St. Luke's, Liverpool, P.C. }	Chester	Sir J. Walsley	...	...
Rowlandson, T.	Whittle-le-Woods, P.C.	Chester	Vicar of Leyland	150	2295
Wheeler, G. D.	Great Wolford, v.	Worcester	Merton College	131	580
Wodehouse, A. ...	Carleton Forehoe, R.	Norwich	Lord Wodehouse	120	132

APPOINTMENTS.

Anderson, J. S. M.	Preachership of Lincoln's Inn.	Moseley, H.	Inspector of Normal Schools.
Bonstead, J.	Chaplaincy in Bengal.	Mould, J.	Head Mast. of Queen Mary's School, Walsall.
Collins, C. M.	Master of Chudleigh Grammar School.	Thornton, W. J.	Hon. Stall in Hereford Cath.
Danby, F. B.	Master of the Giam. Sch., Kendal.	Twist, J. W.	Clerk in Orders of Leeds Parish Church.
Drury, C.	Hon. Stall in Hereford Cath.	Venn, J.	Hon. Stall in Hereford Cath.
Galbraith, J.	Provost of Tuam Cathedral.	Webb, J. B.	Hon. Stall in Hereford Cath.
Lancaster, G.	Head Master of the Free Gram. Sch. of Slaidburn.		

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Bedford, R. G., M.A.,	Vicar of St. George's church, Brandon-hill, Bristol.	Maber, G. M.,	Rector of Merthyr Tidvil.
Hellman, E.,	Rector of Helmingham.	Murray, J., P. C. of	Whixhall
Bornford, T.,	Vicar of Woodbridge, Suffolk.	Pollard, R.,	of Parson Drove.
Dixon, W.,	of East Ardsley.	Powell, W.,	Rector of Shelley, Suffolk.
Downing, S.,	Rector of Fenagh, county Carlow.	Townsend, T.,	of Doonass, Ireland.
Freeland, H.,	Rector of Hasketon, near Wood-bridge.	Turner, J.,	Rector of Hagley and Frankley, Worcestershire.
Graham, J.,	Rector of St. Saviour's and St. Mary's Bishopphill, Yorkshire.	Westropp, T., M.A.,	Rector of the united parishes of Kiltanlea and Killokenney, in the Diocese of Killaloe.
Hall, A.,	of Hensingham.	Williams, B., P. C. of	Pentraeth, Anglesea.
Holmes, W. A., D.D.,	Chancellor of Cashel and Rector of Templemore.	Wilton, W. J., M.A.	
Lumb, J.,	of Methley.	Winstanley, J. R., D.D.,	of Bampton.

UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

OXFORD.

Dr. Jeune has been appointed Master of Pembroke: but the nomination is disputed.

CAMBRIDGE.

BACHELOR'S COMMENCEMENT, JANUARY 20, 1844. — EXAMINATION FOR HONOURS.

Moderators.—Matthew O'Brien, M.A. Caius College; Robert Leslie Ellis, M.A. Trinity College.

Examiners.—Harvey Goodwin, M.A. Caius College; George Fearn Reynner, M.A. St. John's College.

WRANGLERS.

Hemming, Joh	Hiley, Joh	Thompson, Cath	Gurney, Trin
Hopkins, Caius	Wilkinson, Christ's	Bell, Jesus	Maxwell, Corpus
Budd, Pemb	Nicholson, Emm	Hughes, Trin	Curtis, Joh
Stephen, Joh	Waddingham, Joh	Bowring, Trin	Somerville, Queen's
Dixon, Joh	Woodhouse, Caius	Wall, Joh	Fenn, Trin
Warren, Trin	Green, Corpus	Staley, Queen's	Edwards, Trin
Hedley, Trin	Tryon, Clare	Rastrick, Trin	Wright, Joh
Walker, Trin	Jones, Jesus	Buck, Christ's	Gorham, Joh
Woolley, Pet	Gutch, Sid	Goodman, Christ's	Lawson, Joh
Yates, Pemb			

SENIOR OPTIMES.

Hardwick, Cath	Cooper, Trin	Smith, Joh	Hamilton, Caius
Harrison, Corpus	Lynes, Chr	Wratislaw, Christ's	Day, TrinH
Brooke, Caius	Patey, Cath	Harris, Trin	Walker, Joh
Rigg, Pemb	Holmes, Trin	Richardson, Trin	Lathbury, Jesus
Walton, Pet	Richards, Trin	Davie, Joh	Lugg, Clare
Underwood, Joh	Davies, Trin	Kewley, Magd	Steuart, Trin
Broadmead, Trin	Clark, Trin	Field, J. W., Joh	Keary, Pemb
Whittaker, Joh	Frampton, Clare	Nash, Trin	Maine, Clare
Bodley, Queen's	Frewer, Joh	Byers, Christ's	Sells, Clare
Mason, Joh	Cox, Jesus	Leeding, Joh	Weston, Christ's
Kingdon, Trin	Fisher, Emm	Stewart, Joh	Morgan, Joh
	Hodgson, Pet		

JUNIOR OPTIMES.

Robertson, Caius }	Field, T. Joh }	Gifford, Emm }	<i>Agrotat.</i>	
Snowball, Joh }	Stevenson, Corp }	Morse, Trin }	Hotham	Trin
Byers, Pet }	Martineau, Caius }	Swann, Trin }		
Tatham, Joh }	Evans, Sid }	Fowler, Joh }	Barker, Caius }	
Porter, Corpus }	Weldon, Queen's }	Smith, Christ's }	Barrett, Joh }	
Linthwaite, Jesus }	Bennett, Joh }	Wilson, Queen's }	Blaker, Joh }	
Mason, Pmb }	Tomlin, Queen's }	Rodger, Trin II }	Crawley, Joh }	
Sharpe, Trin }	Geldart, Clare }	Taylor, Magd }	Levett, Cath }	
Hoare, Joh }	Murton, Joh }	Dalyell, Trin }	Lower, Pet }	
Mould, Trin }	Dikes, Clare }	Wallas, Pmb }	Platt, Trin }	
Sutchiff, Magd }	Baker, Trin }	Parr, Joh }	Snow, Trin }	
Kirby, Joh }	Trevelyan, Caius }	Wren, Joh }	Tompkins, Joh }	

QUESTIONISTS NOT CANDIDATES FOR HONOURS.

Mathematical Examiners.—D. T. Ansted, Esq. M.A. Fellow of Jesus College; Rev. W. C. Mathison, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College.

Classical Examiners.—Rev. W. Bates, Fellow of Christ's College; Rev. E. Warter, M.A. Fellow of Magdalene College.

Examiners in the Acts of the Apostles and Paley's Moral Philosophy.—Rev. J. Clark, M.A. Fellow of Christ's College; Rev. S. Lewthwaite, M.A. Fellow of Magdalene College.

Graham, Trin }	Chisholm, Joh }	Tonkin, Corpus }	Scott, Trin }
Faulkner, Trin }	Sutcliffe, Cath }	Andrews, Joh }	Bastard, Magd }
Tritton, Joh }	Fielding, Lord Trin }	Best, Pet }	Treweek, Jesus }
Killpack, Corpus }	Davies, A. G. Queen's }	Townshend, Trin }	Westropp, Caius }
Girdlestone, Christ's }	Galton, Trin }	De Crespigny, Magd }	Hooper, Trin }
Barrow, Joh }	Purches, Corpus }	Sharp, W. Trin }	Gisborne, Pet }
Buxton, T. F. Trin }	Walton, Christ's }	Norman, Corpus }	Hilton, Caius }
Denman, Hon. L. Mag }	Kay, I. Trin }	Gregory, Pet }	Fearinside, Joh }
Faulkner, Sid }	Sharples, Qu }	Spring Rice, Trin }	Sabine, Jesus }
Bateson, Trin }	Kingsford, Joh }	Hon. A. Trin }	Hill, Corpus }
Hayward, Trin }	Greenwood, Pet }	Blathwayt, Magd }	Parkinson, Corpus }
Wallas, Trin }	Formby, Cath }	Marsham, Corpus }	Simcocks, Trin }
Burchell, Corpus }	Pritt, Trin }	Kent, Corpus }	Lloyd, Trin }
King, Trin }	Stokes, Trin }	Russell, Trin }	O'Neil, Queen's }
Nelson, Lord Trin }	Turner, Sid }	Gray, Joh }	Hall, Corpus }
Whish, Queen's }	Charlesworth, Trin }	Willoughby, Trin }	Barf, Christ's }
Brown, Lord J. Magd }	Booker, Magd }	Dove, Caius }	Hillman, Clare }
Gascoigne, Cath }	Heygate, Trin }	Lyon, Trin }	Brumell, Joh }
Channey, Pet }	Lister, Cath }	Seymour, H. Trin }	Delacour, Pet }
White, Pet }	Watson, Caius }	Lloyd, Christ's }	Mellor, Joh }
Randolph, Jesus }	Pife, Trin }	Hinde, Joh }	King, Christ's }
Stedman, Christ's }	Blake, Pet }	Andrews, Emm }	Homfray, Cath }
Chawner, Joh }	Stutzer, Trin }	Housman, Joh }	Jervis, Pet }
Tarr, Sid }	Barker, Clare }	Banks, Cath }	Noott, Queen's }
Bray, Queen's }	Kay, E. Trin }	Walker, Pmb }	Hicks, Down }
Wilbraham, F. B. Pet }	Swindells, Joh }	Babington, Trin }	Browne, L. L. Trin }
Hodson, Trin }	Oliver, Trin }	Knox, A. A. Trin }	Purchas, Christ's }
Pyper, Cath }	Beresford, Pet }	Smith, S. G. Trin }	
Leader, Corpus }	Thompson, Qu }	Clark, J. Corpus }	Brooks, Clare }
Miles, Magd }	Bromhead, Caius }	Thompson, Pmb }	Davies, W. Queen's }
Powlett, Trin }	Reade, Cath }	Trotman, Trin }	Fitton, W. Trin }
Raven, Magd }	Jerny, Trin }	Hamilton, Trin }	Hill, Caius }
Kingdon, Sid }	Hendy, Joh }	Bere, Emm }	Law, G. Joh }
Burton, Joh }	Lighton, A. Joh }	Holmes, Corp }	Lutt, Sid }
Magnay, Clare }	Green, Trin }	Woodd, Corp }	
Oldham, Trin }	Rogers, Trin }	Frost, Pmb }	<i>Agrotat.</i>
Barker, Christ's }	Walker, Cath }	Cruttenden, Joh }	Hall, Joh }
Badger, Qu }	Priestley, Trin }	Milligan, Cath }	
Thomas, Trin }	Baumgartner, Caius }	Harris, Qu }	

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT, BUILDING, AND REPAIRING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

A MEETING of this Society was held at their chambers, in St. Martin's-place, on Monday, the 15th January. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair. There were also present the

Lord Bishop of London, the Lord Bishop of Llandaff, Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart, M.P., the Very Rev. the Dean of Chichester, the Revs. Dr. Spry, J. Jennings, and B. Harrison; Messrs. James Cocks, N. Con-

nop, J. S. Salt, W. Davis, E. Badeley, A. Powell, W. Cotton, &c. The reports of the sub-committees having been read, the meeting proceeded to examine the cases referred to their consideration, and finally voted grants of money towards building churches or chapels at Seacroft, in the parish of Whitkirk, Yorkshire; at the Link, in the parish of Leigh, Worcester; at Blaydon, in the parishes of Ryton and Winlaton, Durham; at Thorpe Acre, Peterborough; at Great Wyrley, in the parish of Cannock, Staffordshire; and at the Groves, in the parish of Sutton, near Hull; also towards enlarging, by rebuilding, the church at Bednall, Staffordshire; and towards enlarging, or otherwise increasing the accommodation in existing churches at Usk, Monmouth; Hunmanby, Yorkshire; Spennall, Warwick; Lewes, St. Ann, Sussex; Buckley, in the parish of Hawarden, Flintshire; and Stoke, St. Gregory, Somerset. These parishes contain a population of 34,831 souls, and possess church accommodation in seventeen churches and chapels for 7,611 persons, including 2,149 free seats, to which provision of church room 3,826 sittings will be added by the erection of six new churches, and by the rebuilding, enlarging, or increasing by other

means the accommodation in seven existing churches, and of this additional accommodation 2,942 sittings will be free. Certificates of the completion of the erection of three new churches and chapels, and the enlargement, or other increase of accommodation, in seven existing churches and chapels, were examined and approved, and orders were issued for the trustees to pay over to the treasurer the sum awarded in each case, in order that he may remit the amounts of the grants to the respective applicants. The population of these ten places is 85,115 persons, for whom church accommodation to the extent of 7,729 sittings only were provided, previous to the execution of the works now certified to be completed, of which 2,580 were free. To the church room then provided 3,796 seats have been added, 3,266 seats of which are free. Since the last meeting of the committee, the requisite forms have been forwarded to twenty-four applicants, to enable them to submit to the board the applications they propose to make for aid. In ten of these cases assistance will be solicited towards building additional churches. The Rev. Thomas Bowdler has been appointed to succeed the late W. J. Rodber, in the office of secretary to the Society.

MISCELLANEOUS.

OXFORD CEMETERY.—At a meeting convened by the Archdeacon of Oxford at his rooms in Christ Church, on Tuesday, Jan. 16, for the purpose of considering the propriety of providing additional burial ground for the several parishes of Oxford, the Ven. the Archdeacon in the chair, the following resolutions were agreed upon:—

Moved by the Rector of Exeter College, seconded by J. Parsons, Esq.

1. That the crowded state of some of the church-yards in Oxford renders it desirable to provide additional burial ground or grounds, to be placed on the same footing as the present church-yards.

Moved by the Rev. Vaughan Thomas, seconded by Baker Morrell, Esq.

2. That a Committee be formed for the purpose of considering the best means of giving effect to the principle embodied in the foregoing resolution, and that they report on the same to an adjourned meeting, to be convened by the Archdeacon.

Moved by Dr. Ogle, seconded by the Principal of Brasenose College,

3. That in addition to the parochial clergy and churchwardens of the several parishes, this Committee consist of such heads of colleges and halls and canons of Christ Church as may be willing to lend their assistance, together with the Rev. Vaughan Thomas, Rev. R. Greswell, Rev. R. Walker, Baker Morrell, Esq. Henry Walsh, Esq. J. Parsons, Esq. Guy Thompson, Esq. F. J. Morrell, Esq. Joseph Parker, Esq. Dr. Wootten, Dr. Ogle, C. Wingfield, Esq. M. Johnson, Esq. J. M. Davenport, Esq. G. Hitchings, Esq. Lewis Parker, Esq. D. V. Durell, Esq. Mr. Combe, Mr. J. H. Parker, with power to add to their number.

Moved by the Rev. Dr. Jelf, seconded by F. J. Morrell, Esq.

4. That these resolutions be printed and circulated.

Moved by G. Thompson, Esq. seconded by H. Walsh, Esq.

5. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Archdeacon, for his kindness in taking the chair.

THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

MARCH, 1844.

Appeal to the Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on Doctrinal Changes lately introduced in the Series of Tracts circulated under their Authority. London: Burns; Stewart; Leslie; Darling. Oxford: Parker. Cambridge: Stevenson. Pp. 58.

"It is a very sad business," as Mr. Rowland Alston pathetically expresses the *Lament of the Churchwardens of Ware*,—"It is a very sad business certainly, that when we have gone on doing wrong so comfortably for a great number of years, we should not be allowed to continue in the same course." This was the plea of the worthy churchwardens. And this has been the plea with which, of late, all efforts have been met, by whomsoever made, for bringing back the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to its old principles. At length, however, the progress of mis-rule seems to have reached its zenith; and we want only a little faith in an old proverb to assure ourselves, that things which are now at the worst, must shortly mend;—a proverb not in any sense *the worse for wear*.

We have come to a point, from which it seems expedient to take a retrospect of the growth of "the cankers of a calm world and long peace," as they have become matured amongst us, to inquire what these thirty years of immunity from foreign wars have done for the advancement of our christian state at home, and especially for those institutions, which, after panting through the long term of strife, began at length to hope for a breathing-space, and enlarged means of promoting the sacred objects comprised in their original design. Now it is an historical fact, that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was not directed at that important period by timid or unstable hands. The efforts which had resulted in the foundation of the new episcopate for our Indian possessions, had been fostered and

directed, in great measure, by the benevolent and wise counsellors, who, with equal prudence and zeal, then guided the course of the Society. The National Society for the Education of the Church's poor children was the work of the same excellent men, of whom one or two still survive; we wish we need not add, that they survive to reproach an ungrateful generation, who reap the fruit of their labours, but have forgotten their principles. The old obscure town-house in Bartlett's Buildings had grown too small for the depository of the Society's sacred stores, and for the management of the different departments of its labours: and under the same counsel it was exchanged for that well-chosen site in one of the most frequented thoroughfares between east and west, where it has ever since continued. These things were done, and were appreciated: the public importance of the interests involved in these efforts was seen and recognised; the Society was becoming daily better known and more worthily supported. In short there was nothing but a stifled clamour, half afraid and half ashamed, from a party which never loved the old Society, which called for some undefined and unknown changes.

At such a time, unhappily for the Society and the Church, there began to appear among the London Clergy a small party of men, who, not pretending to pronounce any judgment of their own on the questions at issue, could not be content without an attempt to legislate for them,—who, having studied Burnet on the Articles, and satisfied themselves that the Church never meant all her children to agree in one interpretation, thought it intolerable that the Society should be more restrictive in her code of doctrine,—who wondered why others felt so deeply what they had never found of force enough to sink beneath the surface of their own minds,—who asked, with a face of piteous candour, what harm could possibly be done by a *little* concession, a *little* widening of the basis, a *little* opening of the door to those who would be far too grateful for the boon to abuse such kindness. In short, they made their appeal to men of principle, but not unmerciful: they professed to mean no mischief; and who can say they *did* mean any? They wished that ancient man, Mr. Simeon, of Cambridge, who had once been black-balled at Bartlett's Buildings, to be admitted at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Their wish was granted; for who could refuse a request so trifling in itself, and so modestly urged? And at least it was not then supposed, that the admission of Simeon was to make way for the admission of all his skeletons after him.

Yet, as coming events cast their shadows before, there might, perhaps, be an indication or two, that an act of amnesty to the old champion of heterodoxy was not the ultimate end of these movements. There were some of these moderate reformers, who made it their business to associate as much as they could with the chief doctors on either side, and to negotiate terms of comprehension and compromise. It was their merit, that they saw worth to be

respected, wherever it was found : and who could tell but that, each conceding one or two of the most hostile points, they might agree, or agree at least to differ, on the rest ? But the fate of go-betweens, since the days of Pandarus of Troy, has never been happy ; and they have no chance, when they have to deal with unyielding virtue, and plain sincerity, in one of the two parties whom they solicit. This project, therefore, came to an untimely end ; though little to the satisfaction of the agitators, who were left to declaim against old-fashioned stiffness, and protest they could not see how black should be so black, or white so very white.

There is a severity in the rules of truth and consistency, which men of vulgar aims and common popular arts can never comprehend. It is the language of revelation, "Can two walk together, except they be agreed ?" * It is the device of temporising policy, to form an alliance first, and seek terms of agreement afterwards. It is the duty of God's priest and prophet to be as "a fenced brasen wall" against the deceitful maxims of the time. † These men only ask what kind of religion the times will bear. "I am fully convinced," said Legh Richmond, with the applause of a thousand meetings of hybrid societies ringing in his ears, ‡ "I am fully convinced, that nothing is more likely to weaken the attachment of serious and reflecting minds to the Church, than this *standing aloof from public feeling*, as if we had some distinct interest of our own, and were insulated from that of the great mass of the community. No position can be more dangerous to a Church, than that which exhibits it in avowed opposition to the *prevailing character and sentiments* of the community." The religion of the majority was, therefore, in his view, the religion to be followed ; the voices of the multitude were his measure of truth and duty. On this principle he engaged in all those societies, whose leaders pray together on platforms, but never meet in one house of prayer. On this principle, as other doctors have done, he married his daughter to a preacher of the Scottish Establishment. *It was on the same principle, that he might keep the people with him, that Saul offered sacrifice !* §

Yet this pretence imposes upon thousands, and "the painted vizard of wise proceeding strongly deludes even those who know the foul face of impiety lurking under it." || It was only being a little more politic than strict integrity allows,—it was only suppressing a small portion of the truth for fear of offence, that brought in its train all the inconveniences which we have so long suffered. When we say it was *politic*, we use even that term in an improper sense ; for true policy and integrity cannot be separated. When Elizabeth was counselled to employ a portion of her treasure in buying off the opponents of her government, her answer was, "She would not ransom herself from her enemies at the expense of those who loved

* Amos iii. 3.

† Jer. i. 18 ; xv. 20.

‡ Life, by Grimshawe, pp. 572, 573.

§ 1 Sam. xiii.

|| Raleigh.

her." Had her successor firmly held to the same policy against the Puritan, instead of promoting Archbishop Abbot, he might have prevented the troubles which he left his son to inherit, and bequeathed him a crown, against which the Puritan would have struck in vain. But such reasons as these were out of the sight of the busy men, who were now to act their part in the affairs of the Society. Rejected by their old friends, they began to draw closer to their new allies; and there was now less scruple, in their shallow minds, to hold them back.

The next measure was more successful. The old books and tracts were of course not palatable to some of their new friends: they were sorry for it, for they saw no such poison in them; to be sure, there were a few things they could wish otherwise; something, it must be confessed, a little high-spiced against the sin of schism and the tricks of nonconformity. What then? Should they try to remove these books and tracts by a public resolution to that effect? Should they take the sense even of the monthly meeting on that point? By no means. The course of middle steerers is commonly safe and smooth, if they have light enough to see it; and they are always ready to resign the helm to other hands, when the rapids are near, or to use the back-stroke, when they see danger. There was only a slight change wanted in the ordinary way of preparing the Annual Report, which would do a great deal towards this conciliatory object; and time would do the rest. The change was merely an omission. In former years it had been customary to print a list of the books and tracts, which, once admitted on the Society's catalogue, had become out of print; that if any member was sending for a fresh supply, it might be at once in his power to see the full extent of the publications that were available to him, and he might demand a reprint of those of which all the copies had been sold off, if he desired it. This power he still possesses; but the means of exercising it he has lost. The list of the retired are now no longer numbered as on half-pay,—the names of the old soldiers, that are no longer summoned to parade, are treated as if they had been drafted off to Siberian exile;—in short, they are suppressed, and only an antiquarian's research will tell us what they were. It was wisely done, no doubt, lest the latest nominee to a living under Simcon's Trustees should be startled on entering the threshold of the Society by the *wraith* of Kettlewell or Hammond. And as the agitators of this change were well acquainted with the maxim of the law about persons not appearing and non-existent, they calculated well, that no attempt was likely to be made to resuscitate those, for whom they had taken care that the very titles of their remembrance should perish.

Another step, important in its signification, was taken about the same time. A connexion had long existed between the Society, in its literary department, and the house of a London bookseller, whose *ie* and ensign in St. Paul's Church-yard had been, for more than a century, the proverbial note of the storehouse of orthodox

Church divinity. This connexion was dissolved,—not, as we were taught to believe, because any principle of doctrine was involved, but because financial economy demanded it,—the Society could manage to print and publish more cheaply for itself. Possibly; for we know nothing of the actual cause of the dissolution. It was, however, singular, that about the same time a kind of half-patronage was extended, through the Committee of General Literature and Education, (wide matters to be put into commission!) to another bookseller, of new name in London, whose principle of publication was unknown, and to whom, an inquirer may think, this kind of half patronage has been no inconsiderable boon, if he casts his eye upon the titles of books in the Supplemental Catalogue, and inquires the name of their publisher. That the effect was another decisive step in favour of the encroachment on principle, will not be doubted for a moment.

All this, however, tended only to neutralize. If the Committee of Literature (who may have made some blunders, but, considering their difficulties, have not done much amiss), have helped a diligent publisher to sell what was not otherwise saleable, if they have followed some old-established errors, and patronized some promising pupils of gentle dulness,—still no one can say that any decisive acts of aggression on principle have been committed in that quarter. We confess we do not think Bishop Burnet's Abridged History of the Reformation, any more than his Scandalous Chronicle of his own Time, a book fit to be perused by the ingenuous youth of both sexes.* We do not see that much of the sacred moral of Church History is likely to be gleaned from the unlively pages of Dr. Burton or Mr. Soames.† We do not think Mr. Hone's selection of Biographies, of which the Committee have now adopted a fourth volume, quite of the same order as Izaak Walton's. Still, in so long a list there is so little of active mischief, and such an assemblage of volumes of good-tempered amusement or well-meant instruction, that, if the Finance Committee should approve, we should be content if the whole Supplemental Catalogue were added to the permanent list to-morrow.

What followed next? There were some number of books of old

* *Perlegat, si quis de assertionem nostram dubitat, quæ de Wolseii vita privata memoranda et in apertum proferenda censuit Burnetus.*

† It was but a tolerable absurdity, when Mr. Soames, adopting the traditional style of speaking used by historians of the last century, spoke of the qualities requisite for a soldier as "superior" to those required for the mitre (*Anglo-Sax. Church*, p. 135); though one wonders what respect such a parson can have for his own office. But we have lately received a copy of a Sermon by the same gentleman, preached in the Essex Flats, at Romford, and published by J. W. Parker, which might, for its tone, be dedicated to the Churchwardens of Ilford. What will readers think of the historian of the English Church, who comes to tell them that the "principal objection" made by the Puritans to the altar-rails, was "the trouble and expense involved in them?" (p. 19.) Surely the worthy Archdeacon H. C. Jones, at whose Visitation such stuff was preached, did not provoke Mr. Soames to publish it.

name and fame, such as the *Whole Duty of Man*, *Nelson's Festivals and Fasts*, *The Pious Country Parishioner*, *Melmoth's Great Importance of a Religious Life*, and a few more, which in ancient times had done something to reclaim the wandering hearts of the people from that agreeable error of religion above ordinances, and taught them how to honour the Church's solemn days, and to love the house of prayer. These books were especially hateful to those who had laboured so long without, to prove to the existing generation, that faithful preaching, whether in church or conventicle, was the true great requisite; and who thought the keeping of a saint's day almost the same thing as worshipping the saint. Something must be done to meet these new friends half way. Had they any precedent for altering books and tracts once received on the permanent list? O certainly. Not only many little anonymous Pastoral Advices, but even Sikes's Dialogues, while the author was yet living, had been altered in Committee. It was only stretching the precedent a little, to alter some of the older books and tracts, which were the more likely to want repair, as they had seen so much service. At least they should take care to make them intelligible to the time, to make Jeremy Taylor speak as good English as the *Morning Herald*, to pare away the antiquated phrases of Bishop Ken, and make him fit to be listened to in the parish of St. Giles's in the nineteenth century. Again, the *Pious Country Parishioner* was honoured with an exclusive notice in the title of one of those old books. Why should the book not be accessible to the pious town parishioner also? Therefore, let them cut out the superfluous word in the title, which idly "babbled of green fields," and another end might be secured at the same time: for, if the book was further altered, no one could say it professed to be the same. A proposition to scout the interests of the country party was not very likely to be unsuccessful in a Committee composed of five-and-twenty metropolitans; and the *Pious Parishioner* has become as clean and trim as if he had never visited ten miles out of town. Indeed, there are some who suspect that it was not a happy change for him, when, like the Farmer of Tilsbury Vale,

"To London—a sad emigration I ween—

With his gray hairs he went from the brook and the green;"

they think he looks consumptive, and that the London tiler's new roof over his head is not so well adapted for his constitution as his native thatch.

In the last century, when the proverb that "a rolling stone can gather no moss" was still current, and landlords as well as tenants thought it a part of their duty to live at home, when the London news came to the 'squire once a week, and Robespierre had been guillotined a month or six weeks before the barbers knew it in the country-towns, a pious priest was travelling out of London at a pace that satisfied his humble desires, to regain his rural shade, on the top

of the heavy Buckinghamshire coach, which was driven heavily to the brow of the Chiltern range, where it overlooks the Vale of Aylesbury. A comely spinster sate beside him, a thought too pale, perhaps, but dressed in that little ornate distinctive mode, which showed her to be town-bred; for the Buckinghamshire lasses, though they made lace, did not wear it in the dairy in those days, and their milliners had no need to go to London to learn fashions. The maiden seemed before a little rapt in silent meditation, but intent on the different scenes which they passed; and it might seem that the sights and sounds were such as to combine a little novelty with the attractions which they afforded her. But when they reached the brow, and the fine expanse was open before them, the flow of soul burst forth in tones that could not be suppressed, and as little misunderstood, when they were heard, "My stars! I did not think *the country* had been so large!" Her imagination had painted an ideal of a world out of town, wide enough to supply London with ducks and green peas in the proper season, and beef and mutton, butter and eggs, all the year round: but she thought it must be something that stood within a certain ring-fence, all within a morning's drive of the peopled space for which it was made. That it should be more than this was a new idea to her.

To apply the story. That there should be any number of pious parishioners, worth the attention of the Society, who live beyond the sound of Bow bell, and that any man should think it worth his while to write a book exclusively for such bumpkins, appeared to our metropolitan reformers an absurdity too gross for a moment's consideration. Nobody stayed to ask, whether there are not certain habits of feeling engendered in hearts that have grown up amidst landscape of green hill and dale, which a simple country schoolmaster may understand, though they may be a riddle to a very wonderfully fine town-preacher. Nobody inquired, whether it was not likely that the author of the book knew best for whom it was written. No! the country was not a large world enough; it was an invasion of the rights of the bricklayers of St. Giles's, in whose parish, we have lately been reminded, the Society's house is situated. Let the bricklayers, therefore, share and share alike.

To what further penance the Pious Country Parishioner was subjected, besides changing his local habitation and his name, we have not much inquired; but we suspect it was not trifling. The conceited folly of the proceeding is enough for our present purpose. It was about the time at which it was perpetrated, we believe, that the late venerable Bishop Van Mildert made his latest appearance at one of the monthly meetings, and delivered that grave and solemn remonstrance against the views of the little men who were making these stirs, which few who heard it will have forgotten. It certainly gave a slight check to the downward course for that time; but the good and great man, whose wisdom commanded an audience for itself, whenever it was heard, was not much longer spared to assist in

the Church's public counsels. Other circumstances arose, which aided the impulse to innovation. The Church itself was now put into commission: great changes were agitated in its highest offices of dignity; great sacrifices of its ornaments were loudly demanded; and it became an axiom, avowed by Dr. Arnold, and acted upon by more than chose to avow it, that where anything was old, the presumption was in favour of change.

What effects were wrought, in compliance with the prevailing humour, on other old works besides the Country Parishioner, we shall shortly show by some examples from the able pamphlet which we have taken for the ground of our remarks. Meantime, there was only one step yet wanting to bring the wheel round its full circle, and to prevent the possibility of any accession of sterling Church theology to the existing list. This was the appointment of the Tract Committee. Never, surely, was there so important a change proposed so hastily, acquiesced in so easily, and endured so patiently, as the institution of this Tract Committee. By it the Society annually consigns the charge of its theology to a council of seven, who are usually nominated by the Standing Committee, but, the season being chosen in accordance with the wishes of the new interest, offered to the approval of the general assembly of presbyters and lay-elders at the May meeting; when the funds of all the societies of other shades are bountifully employed in giving their chief orators the benefit of an annual peep at life in London, and will be most likely to pour in a due proportion of the most cool-headed, well-judging, orderly country friends into the room upstairs to decide the election. Now, far be it from us to say, that there are not on the list of the Standing Committee some of the best names of the London laity and clergy,—some old and tried ones, who remember the days of principle,—some who would not be sorry to see those days return,—some men of excellent aims and enlightened charitable spirits,—and, what we think important, as many as three or four out of the forty, members from the country, whose number we should be glad to see enlarged. But, considering that there is also on that list the name of a well-known zealous senator, who wants nothing but a little patience of inquiry and a larger grasp of principles to be as good a defender as he is now a disturber of the Church,—that there are more than one or two old assertors or later admirers of the invisible Church or broad-bottom system,—that there is rather a large proportion of those amiable neutrals, who dangle, like Mahomet's tomb, between high and low,—what hope is there, if we take at random seven pieces out of this mosaic board, we shall find a promising harmony of colours, even if the choice, as being an indifferent matter, might be made at hazard? Far otherwise, however. The list must satisfy the May-meeting; and you must ask the members who know the religious world in May, what they would recommend. If not, there is a possibility that a little hint may be given out of doors; and Mr. Chisenkopf, of the German Evangelical Society, or Mr. Twisse

Perkins, who teaches the Westminster Catechism to his parochial children, will be ready on the day with another list, including, of course, the Essex Memorialists, which will put yours to a most perilous hazard.

There has, therefore, been an approved *recipe* for concocting the Tract Committee, very early adopted, and persevered in to the time of this present writing:—"Take two or three orthodox clergymen,—let them be the best you can catch in Lincoln's Inn-fields,—but take care not to have more than three; for a majority will not be thought wholesome. Take, also, two or three of the late Mr. Simeon's friends,—if you can pick out those that are a little mellowed with age, and not quite so fierce as the latest new lion at Exeter-hall, it will be better.—What! you bring us two of each? Good! Then you want three more. Dr. Interim, Mr. Trimmer, and Bonamy Blendall will add their names." Who can complain of this? All have reason to be satisfied; for none are overlooked, none are unrepresented. And must it not work well?—when you have the best you can get in all London and ten miles round to represent both sides, and, not umpire Chaos, but Dr. Interim, the genius of moral certainty itself, to decide according to the force of evidence, and adjust the scale in every case of doubt?

Let us see. There was, once upon a time, a book that walked the town for a space, and was read and liked by one side as much as it was disliked by another. In some favourable moment, (whether at Tract Committee or Standing Committee, we forget,) it was resolved to place on the list of the Society *Warton's Death-Bed Scenes*, written, as it is commonly supposed, by that excellent single-hearted man, and most diligent parish priest, the late Mr. Wood, of Fulham. No sooner had it been done, than a clamour in-doors and out was raised against it,—particularly, if we remember right, because the worthy author, whose scenes were taken from his own experience, had spoken of administering the holy Eucharist to a patient near the last agony, when consciousness on the part of the recipient was perhaps doubtful. Supposing there had been something doubtful in the case, or in the expression, which was more probable, was it not practicable to have it altered by the living author? Was the whole book to be withdrawn at once from circulation? It was withdrawn without a struggle; secretly and silently withdrawn; a venerable aged clergyman was gratuitously disgraced; and Warton's fate became a landmark to all who should hereafter attempt to recruit the old stock with a new seedling propagated from the old sources.

Again. It is not quite to be forgotten, that, before the reign of Interim, there was a noble project in sacred literature designed, encouraged, and executed, under the auspices of the old counsellors, who then managed the Society's chief business. This was the Society's Family Bible, edited, with a selection of Annotations, by Bishop Mant and Dr. D'Oyly. Whatever may be the faults of this work, it is still a valuable performance, and one that has contributed

much to the practice of domestic piety. As to its general tone of theology, it is, at least, of some use to have a good synopsis of the prevalent interpretations of the Hanoverian period of our Church. If there had been a little more of the seventeenth century, it would have satisfied us better. The book was, however, well received, and deservedly; and, in spite of Scott's Bible, (which may be described as Patrick Calvinized,) it has kept its sale. The *imprimatur* of the Society was not without its force at that period; and the book was not unworthy of the sanction it had obtained. What followed? Shortly after the happy union of newallies, it was suggested that this Bible was somewhat too large and expensive, and perhaps too learned in some points, to meet the wants of a class a little lower than theirs who could afford to pay for three portly quartos. It was determined, therefore, that a new Bible should be prepared, with a more brief and plain explanatory comment. The men selected to do it were of the best, strict, conscientious, studious men, good preachers, first-rate scholars; one of the two since most deservedly promoted to the episcopal bench. A year or two had passed in preparation; and a country Archdeacon (wonder to be told!) was added to their number,—a man of active benevolence, and one who, to much ability in other ways, added a good understanding of the character and habits of our friends, the country parishioners. Who would have supposed that all this excellent enterprise was to end in smoke? But so it was. One morning in the month of May we wandered from our eastern abode through Smithfield and up Holborn-hill. Sweet was the smell of Smithfield hay, sweet the breath of Essex calves which thronged the passage; but the hope of a new present for the mowers and reapers to read on a summer Sunday evening under the old oak tree, or by winter fire, was not to be realized. On arriving at the society-house, we learnt that the genius of Interim had gone forth, and a blight had come over the commentators' labours. The project was abandoned; and while cheap editions of Adam Clarke's Commentary or Henry's Bible are rife on every country stall, the Church has no Poor-man's Expositor to offer in their place. "This was looked for at your hands, and this was baulked."

It is now only necessary to ask, what kind of accessions have been made to the sacred stores of the Society, since these changes began. From twenty to thirty new books or tracts annually added to the permanent catalogue, one might expect to be able to find something to characterise the era of Interim, something to mark progress either up or down. It would, however, have been difficult to pronounce which way the current had set, before the occasion arose which led to the pamphlet before us. There was a stream at work—and we knew that it was at work—but the old banks seemed to hedge it in, and to be high enough for a time to prevent any unusual overflow. Your true reformer always takes care of these appearances; "*eadem magistratum vocabula.*" The change, therefore, remained marked, as on a stream in picture, by the turning of the arrow-head in the

direction intended, the outward mark of new designs as yet unshaped. A very few small books, such as Dr. Gilly's *Protestant Forefathers*, and Mr. Wilks's *Church Establishment*,* or Dr. Dealtry's *Religious Establishments*, gave a little turn, and a very little turn, to the usual flow.

What harm was there in these books? Very little harm indeed. If Dr. Gilly found out a wonderful succession of doctrine through his old friend, Vigilantius, unmercifully snubbed by St. Jerome, down to the Vaudois, it was a dream that would neither make a plain reader much the wiser, nor impose very far upon a critical one. If Mr. Wilks and Dr. Dealtry gave us their lights about establishments, it was a subject on which the Society had never been enlightened before, and seemed a plain oversight. It may be, that in Robert Nelson's time it was thought, that if the Church system was of divine sanction, its right to an Establishment followed of course; and it was going out of the way to prove a thing *lawful* which ancient piety deemed to be *divine*. But when Dr. Chalmers (it is now almost a forgotten story,) had so admirably defended the principle of the Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland—he had not yet acted out his views, not having, perhaps, as yet fully “grappled with” the principle—it began to be asked, Cannot we say as much for our Episcopalian platform? If the Dutch conqueror had a right to proscribe Episcopacy beyond the Tweed, and hence the Presbyterian title stands so clear, surely ours is as good, for whom he was so merciful as to spare the form he found. Let the people then hear from us, also, that a Church Establishment of some sort is lawful, scriptural, and necessary. It is for them to choose of what sort it is to be; but at present, as Rowland Hill used to say, we are in the State-saddle, and if others would ride, they must do as they can on the bare crupper. The dignity of the mode of argument was equal to the greatness of the subject it embraced.

However, to keep the other argument a little in view, there were one or two new or old tracts added to the list, which might seem to balance the Erastian turn of these Clapham recruits. *Chillingworth's Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy* is a clear good argument. It should, however, be remembered, that Chillingworth wrote it, rather professedly under-stating his own convictions, in order to gain a hearing from the opponents of Episcopacy. His own belief was, that Bishops were not only of Apostolical institution, but of Divine right; that their power of ordaining was derived from God, and that their authority was immediately from Christ. (*Rel. Prot.* VI. i. 39.) Of *Mr. Hey's Authority of a Threefold Ministry*, we may, also, allow that it is a good argument. Still it ought not to be circu-

* The title is, “A Church Establishment *Lawful*, Scriptural, and *Necessary*.” A logical division of subject, which seems to be affected in the new Tracts; as we have “No. 364, A Letter on Infant-Baptism, in which its *lawfulness* and *necessity* are defended.” As though one should say, It is quite *allowable* to take a trip to Calais by sea; for, upon second thoughts, one *cannot* go by land.

lated by the Society, till it is either altered, or has a note to caution the reader against his remarks on the office of the Diaconate :—

“ Wherein did the office of a Deacon consist ? ” asks Mr. Hey ; and he answers his own question, “ *The Scriptures have not informed us.* Some readers may be surprised at this assertion, (qy. negation,) and ask, Were not seven deacons appointed to take care of the public stock in the Church ? It is true, that ‘ seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom,’ were chosen by the people, and appointed by the Apostles, to take care that no partiality should be shown in favour of the Hebrew women, in distributing the daily portion of food provided by the Church ; but *these men are not called Deacons, except in the running-titles of our Bibles.* The text does not give them that name. Indeed, if it did, we should gain but little information as to the perpetual office of a Deacon ; for *the employment imposed upon them was local and temporary*, and has long ceased to exist. In no part of the New Testament, that I recollect, is the office of a Deacon described.”—P. 13.

In the whole of this passage we have a fair specimen of that kind of *mare's nest* which an ingenious man may find for himself, while he studies a theological question with honest purpose, but without reference to the authorities that would guide him better. We are rather surprised that the learned and excellent Dr. Wordsworth, in his *Christian Institutes*, (a selection too valuable to be much affected by so slight a blemish,) should have honoured this tract of Mr. Hey's with a place, and not have added a note to set him right. (Vol. iii. p. 197.) For the passage is contradictory to the Prayer Book ; in which the account in Acts vi. 2—7, is most properly selected for the Epistle to be used, at option with 1 Tim. iii. 8, at the ordination of Deacons. It is contradictory to antiquity, beginning with St. Ignatius, who evidently speaks to the Deacons at Tralles with an allusion to this as their original institution. (*Trall.* c. 2.) It is contradictory to all our good expositors of Scriptural practice ; as to Hooker, *E. Pol.* VII. xiv. 5 ; Pearson, *Lect. in Act.* iii. 6 ; Nelson, *Ember Days in Lent* ; and, no doubt, to many more. Lastly, it is contradictory to more than one or two publications of the Society itself ; not only to our old friends, Nelson, and W. Stevens, (whose tract on this subject, No. 179, has probably been preserved by some good Nobody from the Siberian exile,) but to another modern, (No. 423,) *On the Nature and Government of the Church*, reprinted in 1836, we hope without loss to its original proportions.

But as authority in these days goes for nothing, it may be worth while to add, that the passage contains at least three false propositions, which we have marked by italics. 1. It is quite false that “ the Scriptures have not informed us wherein the office of a Deacon consists.” If it were not so, what note of amazement would be too great against the temerity of the Church of England, which has prescribed that its Bishops, whenever they ordain persons to this holy office, should repeat to them a sufficiently full definition of all that

appertains to the office of a Deacon. We know not what Dr. Interim may think of it; but Bishop Mant, in his comment on this service, evidently marks his opinion, that there is something more than canon-law for the different parts of this definition. And, indeed, we should feel some misgivings of the completeness of the New Testament, if St. Paul, where he gives directions who are "to use the office of a Deacon," had spoken of an office whose duties could not be collected from other portions of the apostolic writings.

2. It is a blunder in terms, to say that "these men are not called Deacons" in Acts vi;—a blunder which the seven learned clerks of the Tract Committee, and the five Episcopal referees might surely have detected, by looking into their Greek Testaments. Unless it is good sense to say, that no office in the Church can be certainly described by the abstract term, or the cognate verb; both of which occur in the passage in question.

3. It is a lamentable mistake to say the office, as described in Acts vi. "ministering to the necessities of the saints," was an office "local and temporary." For what purpose, then, the laying on of the Apostles' hands, (v. 6,) and the solemn prayer that preceded the rite? This, however, is a mistake which involves another—a low and loose estimate of the sacred nature of the office of ministering to the wants of the sick and poor. Our Church does not so regard it; but properly enumerates this as one of the perpetual duties of the Diaconate, in subordination to the Parish Priest.

Let this book, then, be well mended or guarded in another edition, for the sake of truth and consistency. We might find several faults with the classification in the catalogue; *e.g.* In Class I, *Helps and Directions for the Study of the Holy Scriptures*, we have No. 243, *Church of England before the Reformation; or in what sense it is to be admitted that Popery was once the Established Religion of our country*. Probably this is a new recruit, and the old No. 243, now in Siberia, had a word or two to say about the Bible. We are not inclined to go beyond the title of his substitute; and only notice him to tell him to find his place, which must be somewhere in Class IX., near our *Protestant Forefathers*.

But now we are upon titles, mark another novelty. The late Mr. Legh Richmond, having first become acquainted with Bishop Jewell's writings by receiving a grocer's parcel at Newport Pagnell, wrapped up in a leaf of the Apology, went and bought up all the grocer's waste paper. "The treasure thus speedily and joyfully secured, to this incident, trivial as it may appear, Mr. Richmond owed his extensive and profound acquaintance with the authors of the Reformation." So says his biographer, Mr. Grimshawe, using the word *profound* discreetly; for he tells us that he went as deep as the bottom of the grocer's hogshead. But what then? Mr. Grimshawe will tell us that Legh Richmond was not one of those who could keep such a discovery to himself. "It was an honour reserved for Mr. Richmond,"—we think the grocer should share a little of it, seeing he

sold all his old books at twopence a pound,—“to draw from obscurity the writings of those eminent men, who had shaken empires by their discussions, overthrown systems which centuries struggled to uphold, and, sealing their testimony with their blood, bequeathed a sacred legacy of pure doctrine to the Protestant Church.” In short, he began to publish the contents of the grocer’s sugar-cask, under the title of “*The Fathers of the English Church.*”

Very well. After Dr. Gilly had brought out the mummy of Vigilantius, or Dormitantius, as St. Jerome called him, when he was at a loss for joke, and perhaps half asleep himself, as he sat up all night to write his letter,—after Dr. Gilly, we say, had brought out this “*Sleeper Awakened,*” and ticketed the mummy, Our Protestant *Forefather*,—what could be expected but that those who were like-minded should think of *Fathers* next? And as Legh Richmond called the greatest ancients he had met with, the Fathers of the Church of England, Dr. Interim declared it to be a title worthy of imitation. Hence we have had seven Numbers, varying in price from three-farthings to a penny-halfpenny, of *Selections from the Writings of the Reformers and Fathers of the Church of England*;—a slight improvement, worthy of note, on the title of Legh Richmond. Legh, good man as he was, thought he had fathomed the most abstruse recesses of Christian antiquity, when he had turned over the grocer’s hogshead at Turvey:—before the time of Tyndal’s Prologues the view to him was as hazy as the north of Scythia:—therefore it was easy and natural to him to call the men of the sixteenth century his Fathers. But the seven counsellors, who have given us sevenpence-halfpenny’s worth of the same sample, thought it a slight mistake to call them merely Fathers; the Church of that time was not formed, but reformed, by Tyndal, Cranmer, and the rest. Therefore they were to be Reformers of the Church, and Fathers, probably, of the Reformed Church. Yet, somehow or other, this would have made too long a title; so they dropped the word *reformed*, and, as no one was likely to expect to see the Venerable Bede answer to the name, thought it enough to leave the title as it now stands, though, to be sure, it does look as if the persons so named had reformed the Church first, and founded it afterwards.*

If there are any now, who wonder how the Church can have tolerated this process of Interim so long, we must remind him of the proverb, “Many can brook the weather that love not the wind.” The Society has lived on, as the constitution of England did for a time, on the memory of what it was when George the Third was king. Its best uses have not quite expired. Its funds have still had

* We forget whether it was at the same time when the Society thus placed the name of Tyndal as the pillar and ground of the Church, that the Board black-balled a proposal to print an English translation of St. Cyprian de Unitate.

something to spare for the poor colonial Churches, a little for our proscribed brethren in Scotland; and grants could still be made for some great public objects. Hope of a better time has retained many who are not satisfied with what they see and know. Others of course are kept by considerations of the great convenience of getting supplies of the Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer, and such tracts as may even yet be found, on the cheap terms which are thus offered. And in general, in the country districts, where little is known of what is done in London, the depositories of the Society are places where the best members of the Church meet and form little knots of their own, and consult together on their little charitable plans, or discuss the last new book which has gone its rounds among the intellects of their limited circuit. And from these numerous depositories annual remittances are still made; for many of them annual sermons are preached; and through the means of these district associations, as is confessed in the reports, the number of friends to the Society is continually receiving accessions. Long may they continue to do their good work, and may some way speedily be found to make them of more influence in the present difficulties, and of more effectual service to the Society!

We have now seen, in some degree, what Interim had done for the theology of the poor Churchman by the introduction of new books and tracts, till a new era began with the appearance of No. 619. But we have seen only what theology the mosaic board has *made*; we have not seen what they have *marred*, except in general terms. For information fully given on this point the reader must have recourse to the pamphlet whose title stands at the head of our present article: we are only sorry that our limits will admit of no more than one striking extract. We confess that in our simplicity, though we knew the cockney conceit that was at work in Interim's Committee, and the pretences on which omissions in some of the writings of Bishop Wilson and other old books were demanded, we did not think it possible that folly and presumption combined could have proceeded such lengths, as we now find proved by actual quotations. Besides, we knew, that when, several years ago, a writer in the British Critic had complained, as well he might, of some unwarrantable omissions that had been made in Nelson's Festivals, the passages were afterwards restored. And when some public-spirited friend of the Society had about the same time put forth a little tract exposing all the alterations and suppressed passages in Melmoth's Great Importance of a Religious Life, which had been also treated by Interim like a sweated sovereign, we had imagined, (perhaps we flattered ourselves too much,) that even that horror of the Essex Memorialists had been coined anew on the old dye. What, then, is our surprise, in which no doubt hundreds of our country friends will share, to find the following account of two books or tracts on the Society's list, which are now circulating as Bishop Ken's? We quote the "Appeal."

“Ken’s Winchester Manual, Tract 21, is published by the Society as ‘adapted to general use.’ Now, what does this qualification lead us to anticipate? Of course, that all passages which relate solely to the Winchester College are either expunged or changed, so as to become applicable to all ‘young persons:’ for, without other explanation, it might reasonably be assumed that schoolboys, whether at Winchester or Carlisle, require the same theological teaching. But further, another principle of revision is announced in the advertisement prefixed to this tract; it is ‘freed from such antiquated expressions as render it less adapted to general use in the present day.’ Now, considering that the English of the Bible and Prayer-book is not generally held to be quite obsolete, or altogether unfitted for the spiritual needs of the Church of the nineteenth century, it might reasonably be doubted whether Ken’s expressions are in any sense ‘antiquated.’ But what if the ‘antiquated expressions’ really embody high and primitive *doctrine*?—then we can at once see why such, in the eyes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, are unfit for the present day. And, if such shall prove to be the case, no clearer proof can be adduced that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is ashamed, not of the form, but of the matter—not of the expressions, but of the teaching of Bishop Ken.

“But, it is replied, the present Tract Committee is not responsible for this: the revised Winchester Manual was published some dozen years ago, before the Society pledged itself not to garble books which they published. Well, granting this, yet the Society is committed to the change nevertheless, and *we*, the subscribers, *authorize* the change: though no charge can be substantiated against the present Tract Committee, yet when the alterations of Nelson’s Fasts and Festivals were abandoned, as a matter of principle, why was not equal justice awarded to Ken? If one book was restored to its authoritative integrity, why was not another? Here is a manifest inconsistency anyhow.

“But yet more, every new edition of a tract is *bonâ fide* a new publication; and we maintain, that if, in 1841, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge publishes a mutilated edition of the Winchester Manual, they incur a fresh responsibility for such mutilations by each and every re-issue. As a case of conscience, if it be wrong once to put forth a garbled book—which the Society has already admitted in the case of Nelson—it is equally or even more glaringly wrong to persist in such garbling elsewhere. And the case is particularly strong in regard to this work of Ken’s; not content with re-issuing this Ken’s Manual in its old form and size, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in 1840, publish a new edition in 18mo., meant to be attractive in appearance and embellishments, in which the very same mutilations and omissions are retained. *This* at least is a new publication, for which we are all accountable. We, as a society, are pledged to the consequences which accrue to the Church from every false copy of Ken circulated under our authority. The Tract Committee is additionally compromised by the new edition of 1840, which, being an altered one, is directly contrary to a rule of the Society; and, if in either edition any doctrine is suppressed which Ken held, we are all committed to a direct change and departure from the original principles of the Society.

“Let us, then, see some of the changes which adapt Ken’s Manual ‘to general use,’ and what ‘those antiquated expressions’ are which, according to the view of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, are unfitted for the present day:—

KEN’S PROSE WORKS. Edited by	KEN’S MANUAL OF PRAYERS. S. P.
Round, 1838.	C. K., 1841, Tract 21.

‘PRESERVATION OF THE YOUNG FROM SIN.

P. 361. And besides that peace of conscience, and the pleasure of well-	P. 8. And besides that peace of conscience which you will at present
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doing you will at present feel, think, if you can, how inconceivable a joy it will be to you, when in elder years you can reflect on your well-spent time, and the innocence of your youth; how great a consolation it will be to you on your death-bed, and how easy it will render your accounts at the great day of judgment, and how much a whole life spent in God's service will increase your glory in heaven.

P. 362. A lamb! which is a fit emblem of youth; think then *that you are to resemble this lamb*, and be sure every day to offer up yourself, a morning and evening sacrifice to God.

P. 364. This, good Philotheus, is the lowest degree of duty, and it should be your daily endeavour to improve in your devotion as well as in your learning; and, the more effectually to move you to so happy an improvement, I advise you on Sundays and *Holydays* attentively to read over the following meditation, and to *propose to yourself the Holy Child Jesus for your example.*

P. 365. A meditation on the *Holy Child Jesus.*

P. 373. *After having done any good.*

P. 381. Some there are though I fear but few, who, having been brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, have been, by the goodness of God, secured from violent temptations and enormous sins; who have, like Josiah, while they were yet young, sought the Lord, and have in *great measure kept their baptismal vow*, and preserved a sense of their duty. Such as these have fewer sins to confess, and those sins less aggravated, &c.

feel, think how unspeakable a joy it will be to you in your elder years, and how powerful a consolation on your death-bed, to call to mind, not only the well-spent years of manhood, but the innocence of youth; to remember that you have spent your whole life in God's service, and have, through Christ's merits, hope of happiness in heaven.

P. 9. Remember that God, under the Law, ordained a lamb to be offered up to Him morning and evening; be sure, then, every day to offer up yourself, &c.

Omitted.

P. 11. A meditation on the early life of Jesus Christ, which may be read on Sunday, or at any other convenient time.

Omitted.

Omitted.

'ALTAR AND HOLY EUCHARIST.'

P. 403. Meditations on the *Holy Eucharist.*

P. 404. I come to the *Altar.*

P. 409. I come to thy *Altar.*

P. 412. At going to the *Altar.*

P. 412. I now approach Thy *Altar.*

P. 39. Devotions preparatory to receiving the Lord's Supper.

P. 40. I come to Thy *table.*

P. 44. I come to Thy *table.*

P. 47. Atgoing to the Lord's *table.*

P. 47. I now approach Thy *table.*

'ABSOLUTION.'

P. 386. In case, good Philotheus, you do find this examination too difficult for you, or are afraid you shall not rightly perform it, or meet with any scruples or troubles of conscience in the practice of it, I then

P. 25. In case you find this examination too difficult, consult some spiritual guide, who will be able to remove your scruples, and to point out to you what course you had best pursue in order to relieve your

advise you, *as the Church does*,* to go to one of your superiors in this place, *to be your spiritual guide*, and be not ashamed to *unburden your soul freely to him, that*, besides his ghostly counsel, *you may receive the benefit of absolution*, &c.

conscience, and to prevent your being discouraged in repentance.

THE REAL PRESENCE.

P. 403. I believe thy body and blood to be as *really present* in the Holy Sacraments as Thy divine power can make it, though the manner of Thy mysterious presence I cannot comprehend.

Omitted.

PASSAGES CONNECTED WITH THIS SUBJECT.

P. 410. A few prayers, very little duty, *is apt* to tire me; every slight temptation *is apt* to overcome me; and I know there *is no food can strengthen my soul but Thy body*, no cordial can *revive my drooping obedience but Thy blood*.

P. 45. A few prayers tire me, every slight temptation overcomes me: but I know that Thy body can strengthen my soul, and Thy blood revive my drooping obedience.

P. 410. He that eateth and drinketh unworthily is guilty of Thy body and blood, and eateth and drinketh damnation to his own soul; and this severe sentence makes me afraid, &c.

P. 45. He who eateth and drinketh unworthily, increases his own guilt; and this makes me afraid, &c.

P. 415. Thou hast found out a way to give Thyself to us in the Holy Sacrament, to unite Thyself to us with the most intimate union that it is possible to conceive.

P. 49. Thou hast united Thyself to us in the Holy Sacrament.

P. 415. To become one with me, the very soul of my soul.

Omitted.

FELLOWSHIP WITH ANGELS.

P. 416. O Lord God, this [the Holy Eucharist] is so unconceivable a blessing, this is so divine an union, that the very angels, who so much desire to look into the great mystery of our redemption, who learn Thy manifold wisdom from Thy Church and *frequent the places of Thy public worship*, do crowd about our altar, and *with awful admiration contemplate the Holy Sacrament*.

Omitted.

P. 407. O, all ye holy angels, behold and wonder; wretched man hath sinned against God, and God himself has suffered the sinner's punishment.

Omitted.

P. 408. O, ye blessed host of heaven, who rejoice at the conversion of one single sinner; adore and praise my crucified Saviour, &c.

Omitted.

COMMUNION OF SAINTS.

P. 420. Here, if you recite this

Omitted.

* [that, by the ministry of God's holy word, we may receive the benefit of absolution together, with ghostly counsel.]—Prayer Book.

thanksgiving on any great festival or saint's day, you may add,

Particularly, O Lord, I am bound to praise Thee for the great blessing we this day commemorate, [here mention it, for instance the Nativity of our blessed Saviour, or the like,] or for the Saint whose memory we this day celebrate, [here you may name him,] and add, &c.

P. 365. I advise you on Sundays and *Holidays*, &c.

P. 11. which may be read on Sundays, or at any other convenient time.

"The above is only a specimen of the collation of this particular tract, but by such details alone could its bearing be discovered.

"The result of all which, upon no exaggerated estimate, appears to be, that although the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge professes that its 'alterations consist chiefly of omissions,' yet throughout *points of real doctrine* have been studiously surrendered, and primitive definitions have been altered to harmonize with Dissenting divinity; the Church has been made to yield to the Meeting-house, and the low fashionable Puritanism of our times. Where 'altar' is systematically turned into 'table,' and 'Holy Eucharist' is always abandoned; where 'absolution and ghostly counsel,' 'daily prayers,' 'the real presence,' 'fellowship with the holy angels,' are all pointedly struck out, and the possibility of the young having preserved their baptismal purity is not allowed to appear; surely all this cannot be otherwise than a consistent lowering of doctrine, and a significant abandonment of old positive dogmatic teaching; it is not Ken's Manual, which it assumes to be."—Pp. 33—38.

Again, the writer says—

"If there be one characteristic grace more than others which Bishop Ken shares in common with all Christians of a very exalted and saintly character, it is his distinct and practical recognition of angelic communion and aid, and spiritual guardianship. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge seems to have an especial abhorrence of the doctrine that 'angels are ministering spirits,' and how they can permit Walton's affecting account of the last moments of Hooker to appear under their auspices is very unaccountable. What though that 'judicious' divine, and precious saint, 'deep in contemplation and not inclinable to discourse,' at his hour of death 'was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which peace could not be in Heaven; and oh! that it might be so on earth;' yet when the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in Ken's 'Directions for Prayer,' Tract 44, come to reprint his Morning and Evening Hymns, it must be with the cold suppression of the immortal lines—

'I wake, I wake, ye heavenly choir;
May your devotion me inspire,
That I like you my age may spend,
Like you may on my God attend.

'May I like you in God delight,
Have all day long my God in sight,
Perform like you my Maker's will,
O may I never more do ill.

Morning Hymn.

O may my guardian, while I sleep,
Close to my bed his vigils keep;
His love angelical instil,
Stop all the avenues of ill.

May he celestial joys rehearse,
And thought to thought with me converse;

Or, in my stead, all the night long,
Sing to my God a grateful song.

Evening Hymn.

"And the whole Midnight Hymn is of course suppressed, 'songs of the night' being a flight of enthusiasm far beyond the chill religionism of an undevotional age. A mutilation this the more unpardonable, because Tract 44 assumes to be genuine; and the more unaccountable, because, on the other hand, Tract 21, the Winchester Manual, which, as we have seen, pleads guilty

to alterations, actually retains, with the Midnight Hymn, *these very stanzas*, though it suppresses others of less importance and heavenliness."—P. 39.

Two other books mentioned by the author of this pamphlet are, *Bishop Wilson's Short and Plain Instructions for the Lord's Supper*, and *Robert Nelson's Christian Sacrifice*. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the omissions exhibited and proved in detail are all of the same character. These omissions, indeed, are, some of them, of rather old standing, as far back as 1822; but we believe Bishop Wilson has undergone more than one process of the fining-pot. It is singular how very little of these facts has been known to the members of the Society at large. The artifice and secrecy used has been most successful: for, of course, not one member in fifty, who circulates Bishop Wilson's Manual, is aware that he is helping the hands of those, who have both abstracted a large part, and corrupted what they have left,

Who, not content, like felons, to purloin,
Add treason to it, and debase the coin:

or, like old Norman kings, are destroying the prisoners whom they dare not kill openly, by a slow process of gradual exhaustion. We must plead the excuse of our long rustication for our personal ignorance; but what have our friends, who frequent the metropolis, been doing, that all this was not published sooner? As to the point now to be attained, we do not see how any opposition can be made to it. The Society is pledged, as the Author of the Appeal has properly reminded us, not to garble the books they publish. It is but in unison with this pledge, a plain consequence of it, to move at one of the next meetings—That the books already garbled, particularly those which have their author's name in the title-pages, be immediately restored. There can be no consistency in rejecting this motion, unless at the same time the former pledge is recalled.

We are, therefore, not disposed to abandon a good cause in despair; and if there is any point on which we do not quite feel with the Author of the Appeal, it is this. "It is next to impossible," he says, (p. 52,) "to get any more good tracts on the Society's list." Impossible it may be, while Dr. Interim presides at the helm: but it is not in the nature of Interims to be perpetual. Many ways are open. Since the Council of Seven have restored Nelson's *Fasts and Festivals*, and that book is in itself a host, let some short extracts be made from it as an antidote to No. 619. The Society have already admitted Nelson's *Ember Days at the Four Seasons*, a selection from the same book; though, with prudent care, the name of Nelson, in order to facilitate any future change, has been removed from the title. The next step should be to restore the Siberian exiles to the list; or to have a complete separate list prepared by the officers of the Society, from which, it be recommended to the Standing Committee, to select those written by authors of good theological name, with a view to their being replaced on the permanent catalogue. By this means, as we learn from a valuable note of our author's, at p. 53, we should at once recover Bishop Ken's *Practice of Divine*

Love, Kettlewell's Office for the Penitent, and other treatises by Kettlewell, Jones of Nayland on the Church Catechism, and his Preservative against Socinians, portions of Bishop Horne, and of Bishop Horsley: for all these, with Sikes's Dialogues, have disappeared since 1822. Going further back, we should regain treatises of Bishop Beveridge, H. Dodwell, Assheton, Lucas, and Worthington, Comber on the Common Prayer, Hammond's Practical Catechism, and, (if Essex will permit) Taylor's Holy Living and Dying.

It is a pleasing dream to indulge, and therefore let us indulge it a little further. We would next suggest as a proper motion to be put to the Board—That, since the present List of Books and Tracts approved by the Society is defective in the omission of some very eminent names of writers and defenders of the doctrine and discipline of the Church, the Standing Committee be empowered, without troubling the Tract Committee, to place on the list select Treatises, or faithful Extracts, from the works of Hooker, Laud, Bramhall, Pearson, Sanderson, Hammond, Stillingfleet, and Waterland. We might name others; but these may suffice for the present. We imagine none of these writers will be accused as Non-jurors, or other than true sons of the Church of England; and possibly their writings may be as instructive and not less learned, than some of the contents of the sugar-hogshead or oatmeal-cask of Fathers of the Church of England. At least if the *Fathers* had any *sons* to follow them, we should imagine they will be found in this list, if they are to be found at all. And there is the better reason for proposing to revive these names, as we find there are sundry pennyworths of the pious Archbishop Leighton's old and sweet sacred eloquence lately placed upon the list. Truth is permanent; and we want no new-made books or tracts for our purpose. These may be necessary for some short temporary purposes; as to meet the new demonstrations of Dissent, new names of Religious or Anti-Religious, Social or Anti-Social, sects and parties. But to teach the young Christian what to believe and do, we want no fine new colours, that may please the eye, and "no doctrines fashioned to the varying hour:" and it has been ever one of the fruitful sources of feuds in the Society, that new books on fundamental points of instruction have been pressed into the service from motives of private friendship or zeal to serve a party. Let the books be such as time, and the accumulated wisdom of the learned on the bench and in the chairs of the two Universities have approved; and all debate is stopped at the threshold.

We know what Interim and his satellites will say to this: "We want little books for the poor and ignorant, and you send us to great folios. We want the vulgar tongue, and you send us to writers full of Greek and Latin." It may look like a paradox; but we believe that the poor had rather listen to a good reasoner, whose flights may be somewhat above them, than to one who professes to condescend to their level. We have listened to the poor, who have learnt by heart some of Walter Scott's ballads, and have spoken words of

nature's poetry, as they watched the setting sun ; and we know that such as these, who are best worth writing for, value most what tends to enlarge and stimulate their minds. And such, in religion, must be the master-teachers, or none. As to the mode of offering portions of these teachers in a cheap form to the multitude, Hooker is already prepared for the purpose in Mr. Keble's excellent selections. Long ago a worthy man published Pearson's summary statements of the doctrine of each different article of the Creed in a duodecimo of twelve or fourteen pages. The number of summaries of that great theological work is such as to leave no difficulty, but that of choosing a longer or a shorter. Why, among devotional books, is there no such a manual as Archbishop Laud's Prayers? Is Bramhall's Defence of the English Consecrations quite out of date now? Are we afraid, while the Scottish Free Kirk emissaries are running to all quarters of the land, to meet them with his Fair Warning of Scottish Discipline? Is the name of Hammond lost to memory, to veneration, and love? God deliver us from the tangled maze, which has carried so many a waverer from his simplicity, and made him find thorns and briars in his way!

At least if this were done, it would save the Society's list from being, as it is at present, of much the same use in another way, as the Roman Index Expurgatorius. We should not be able to pick out a good theological library from the names of the prohibited and condemned. And unless this is done, we see from what has passed, that the progress of compromise must go on unchecked, till one by one the old defenders of truth are maimed or exiled, and in the want of them the Church itself will wonder how, without its will, it has become, by easy stages, Lutheranized, Calvinized, Socinianized.

It is no trifling step that has been made towards this ultimatum by the admission upon the Society's list, of No. 619. Let those who know what the character of the theology of Bishop Wilson, Ken, and Robert Nelson, is, calmly peruse this tract, and say whether they are prepared to take this *brochure* of sixteen pages as an earnest of the new doctrines that are in future to be enlisted under the same colours! Let them ask their fathers before them, whether this is not a first instalment of that resuscitated Puritanism, which, for a century and a half, it has been the work of this Society, with God's blessing, to withstand, and effectually to control! Let them, we say, peruse this tract, and see how it swindles away the sense of one half of the pages of revelation, that it may build its false and unreal system on the rest! Let them see how it speaks of the opening sentence, with which the Church at Morning and Evening Prayer invites the contrite sinner to come to God, as not expressing the Gospel message!* Let them steadily mark how it wrests and garbles other texts of Scripture! And then let them ask themselves, whether the self-complacent gentlemen, who so coolly put the affront upon the late good Vicar of Fulham, ought not, in

* Ezek. xviii. 27. See pp. 4, 5 of the Tract.

deference to the principles they have outraged, to be made to withdraw this tract from the list on which it has been so indecorously inserted.

It is not merely because its presence, where it is, makes the theology of the Society as harmonious as the Temple-pulpit, when Hooker preached in the morning and Travers in the afternoon. It is not merely because the Society has thus furnished the modern Puritan with a hand-grenade to strew in the path of every orthodox clergyman in his parish round.* Far less is it because the stamp of the Society's approbation, conducted as it has lately been, adds one grain of authority to the "stammering language of ambiguous" tracts which it disseminates. But it is because, as all experience proves, the act of those who proposed the addition of this tract to the list has been an act of open aggression on the catholic teaching of the Church; because its appearance there is a manifesto of war against the Church's liturgy and discipline; and the tract itself, poor and self-contradictory as it is, is a brief digest of that doctrine, which, as it confounds the eternal differences of good and evil in its theory, has ever shown its deadness to the distinction in its practice.†

Things cannot remain as they are. The miserable want of principle, which has opened the door to all this mischief, was disguised, perhaps, from some of the main agents of it, till the result was manifest. There is no doubt that the progress of it has exceeded their anticipations. But the cause that purchases itself a reprieve from any pressing danger by a compromise, whether in meal or malt, by corruption or concession, has already signed its own death-warrant, and only lives on by sufferance from hour to hour. The Interim, or interregnum, has finished its term by this last consummation of base connivance. There is a thick gloom upon the face of the Church at present; but we are of good hope, because the real state of things is known. And when it is known, it would be a want of faith to suppose that the remedy can be long delayed.

NOTE.—Since this Article was sent to the press, we have read the following statement, in the *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, respecting Bishop Ken's "Manual of Prayers," which is said to have been read at the last meeting of the Society in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and authorized by the Standing Committee:—

"It appears that 'Ken's Manual of Prayers for Winchester Scholars' was placed on the Society's Catalogue in the year 1776.

"In 1819, the Tracts on the Society's Catalogue were numbered; and in the Report for 1820 appears: 'No. 21. Ken's (Bishop) Manual of Prayers.'

* "It is a *fact*, that this very tract has been delivered at almost every house throughout a whole district in London, where the clergyman is supposed to hold the doctrines of Bishop Bull."—*Appeal*, p. 46.

† "A plain Catechism can more instruct a soul, than the whole day's prate, which some daily spit forth, to bid men get Christ, and persecute his servants." *Συνοῦσι*. (From the Pref. to Jer. Taylor's *Golden Grove*.) We do not know whether this golden Preface is reprinted in No. 247 of the Society's Tracts, or whether it is "so antiquated in expression as to render it less adapted to general use in the present day."

"In 1826, Archdeacon Hale, upon his own account, and without reference to the Society, made use of Bishop Ken's Manual for the purpose of forming from it a Manual for young persons in general. This Manual, under the title of 'A Manual of Prayers for Young Persons; or Bishop Ken's Winchester Manual adapted to general use,' he published with a Preface, to which his initials were affixed, stating that alterations and omissions had been made in the original work.

"Archdeacon Hale's work having been recommended in the usual form, and referred by the board to four members of the Society, was in the course of the same year placed on the Catalogue with the Preface above-mentioned. *It does not appear that any directions have ever been given, that the 'Winchester Manual' should not be reprinted in its original form: but the work, as altered and adapted, appears to have taken the place of the original work, and is found from that time as No. 21, on the permanent Catalogue; under the title, in some catalogues, of 'Ken's Manual of Prayers,' in others, of 'Manual of Prayers for Young Persons, or Bishop Ken's Winchester Manual adapted to general use.'*

"This latter title has been retained in the title-page of every edition of the work which has since been published by the Society; but the binder has inadvertently placed on the outside cover of the illustrated edition in cloth, the title, 'Ken's Manual of Prayers.'

"The Standing Committee have given directions that in future the proper title shall be given both in the Catalogue and on the binding of the book, so that the 'Manual adapted to general use' may not be mistaken for Bishop Ken's original work: and both the books will henceforth appear in the Society's Catalogue distinguished by their proper titles."

This statement is so far satisfactory, that we have a promise that the injury done to Bishop Ken is shortly to be redressed. It is satisfactory, also, that it entirely exculpates Archdeacon Hale, as indeed might have been expected, from any participation in the process, by which his book has been circulated under a false title. But we must say, that on the main point it is any thing but satisfactory. The reader is very properly reminded, that in 1819 the books and tracts were numbered, and Bishop Ken's original work received its proper number among the rest. Archdeacon Hale's work was placed on the catalogue six or seven years later, and, of course, *with a different number assigned to it.* How a book, not only with a different title, but with a different number, should have been intruded into the place of the original work by mere accident or carelessness, it is not easy to conceive.

We have also this question to ask of the Standing Committee:—If Archdeacon Hale's work was admitted in the year 1826, as we are left to suppose, (for their statement specifies no year, but this is the last mentioned,) how happens it, that neither in that year, nor in any year till 1832, as far as we can discover, is one word said about its admission in the Annual Report, and that till that time it is not mentioned in the Catalogue? Every new work admitted on the permanent Catalogue is regularly entered in those Annual Reports; but not a word is said of "Hale's Ken," or "Hale's Manual." The title of "Bishop Ken's Manual" stands, as for sixty years before, No. 21 on the list. It is certainly incumbent upon those who made or authorized this statement to furnish the Society with *a copy of the minute made when the Archdeacon's work was admitted.*

The English Churchman. No. 59. London, 1844.

WE have frequently of late adverted to the Ecclesiastical State of Scotland; nothing can exceed the importance of a right understanding of the whole subject: although, therefore, we have said so much, we make no apology for two articles in our present number, which are connected with it.

We see with pleasure that the Clergy of the Diocese of Aberdeen have addressed their Bishop strongly against the innovating movement which is going on, on the subject of the Scotch Communion service.* The remonstrance is ably and judiciously worded, and

* "MAY IT PLEASE YOUR REVERENCE,—We, the undersigned Presbyters of the Diocese of Aberdeen, beg leave respectfully to address your Reverence on a subject very deeply interesting to us as Scottish Churchmen.

"We have seen with surprise and deep regret that attempts have recently been made, in more than one Diocese of this Church, either to procure the entire abrogation of Canon XXI., in which the orthodoxy of the Scottish Communion Office is asserted, or otherwise so essentially to modify that Canon as to derogate from the primary authority with which that Office is invested in the Church of Scotland.

"Now we, your Reverence's faithful Presbyters, actuated by the earnest desire to obviate, if possible, any similar attempts—attempts which, we are well assured, will never meet with any sympathy from your Reverence—as well as to strengthen, so far, the hands of those Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of this Church, who desire to maintain the authority and use of the national Office, as recognised and warranted by Canon XXI., beg leave respectfully to lay before your Reverence the following reasons which have prompted us to address you with this expression of our sentiments:

"I. Although, as your Reverence is aware, more than one of the undersigned Presbyters have availed themselves, from various circumstances, of the permission by Canon XXI., and administer according to the usages of England, yet they cordially unite with their brethren who use the national Office, in expressing their decided conviction of the decided superiority of that Office, inasmuch as therein the great Eucharistic doctrines of the Real Presence and Commemorative Sacrifice are more fully developed, by which its identity with the Divine model appointed by our Lord in Holy Scripture is clearly evinced. These characteristics of the Scottish Office have commanded for it the approbation of all ritualists of orthodox and patriotic principles; and, therefore, we prize it, not only as a mark of the integral as well as independent character of the Scottish branch of the Church Catholic, but also as a rich inheritance handed down to us by our fathers in the faith, and therefore to be by us faithfully transmitted to our children, and those who come after us.

"II. We desire to express our dissent from the idea of those who would seem to erect the principle of *Liturgical conformity* as the one great note of union and communion, and would remind them that the Catholic Church in Scotland is not a mere appendage to the Catholic Church in England, but, though unestablished, still a *national Church*; that 'every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things are done to edifying;' and that in primitive times, almost every diocese had its own particular liturgy prescribed by its bishop, and yet, that a more efficient intercommunion was maintained between the several portions of the primitive Church than has been secured to the various branches of the later Church.

"III. Although we are unwilling to contemplate the possibility of the abrogation, or even the remodelling of Canon XXI., yet, in such an event, we should feel it our duty to protest against the sin which, in abandoning the Scottish Office, the

touches the important points of the question. It is signed by twenty names; a very large portion, we apprehend, if not almost the whole, of the Clergy of that Diocese. We have no doubt that a very strong feeling is entertained in the same direction in other dioceses also; and if this movement passes off, as we trust confidently it will, the first feeling that, we expect, will arise in the minds of the Scotch Clergy, will be that of extreme wonder and astonishment that it should have arisen at all, and curiosity to discover whence and how, and from what peculiar turn and position of things, a small knot of agitators have acquired the strength they have, and that deliberate and serious attention to their proposal which appears to be given and thought due to it.

relinquishment of such an amount of Catholic truth would involve; for that it *would* involve such a relinquishment, the undersigned cannot escape from the conviction, seeing that the present clamour against the Scottish Office *originated* with individuals who demanded its abolition, not chiefly because it is *expedient* to assimilate ourselves to the sister Church of England, not chiefly because *uniformity* is desirable—but principally and avowedly because, in their eyes, it is deeply tainted with Popish idolatry and superstition.

“ IV. In order to guard ourselves against any chance of misconception, we deem it right to declare our conviction, that the Communion Offices of Scotland and England teach the same holy and scriptural truths; both equally remote from the Romish dogma of a *corporeal* presence, and the ultra-Protestant error of a mere *commemoration*, in the holy Eucharist. We are satisfied that the distinctive doctrines of the Eucharist are contained in the one Office, by plain implication, obvious inference, and statements more or less explicit; while in the other we see them clearly and broadly enunciated, and without the possibility of heretical perversion. No disciple of Zuinglius or Hoadley could subscribe to the Scottish Communion Office. It is only when these distinctive doctrines are denied, an opposite and unecatholic sense attempted to be put upon the *English* Office, and the abandonment of the Scottish Office demanded *as a consequence*, that we feel it our duty to resist the repeal of the Canon which recognises that Office, and for the reasons above stated, solemnly to declare that, in our eyes, its relinquishment would be tantamount to an apostasy.

“ That your Reverence may long be spared to preside over this diocese, and to the Church whose Primacy you so worthily hold, is the devout prayer of, may it please your Reverence, your Reverence's dutiful and faithful Presbyters,

JOHN CUMMING, Dean.

P. CHEYNE, Presbyter, Aberdeen.

DAVID WILSON, Presbyter, Woodhead.

ARTHUR RANKEN, Presbyter, at Deer.

WILLIAM WEBSTER, Presbyter, New Pittsligo.

WILLIAM ROBERTSON, Presbyter, Old Meldrum.

CHARLES GRANT, Presbyter, Meiklefolla.

JAMES CHRISTIE, Presbyter, Turriff.

JAMES SMITH, Presbyter, Fergie.

ALEX. HARPER, Presbyter, Inverary.

ALEXANDER COOPER, Presbyter, Portsoy.

ANDREW RITCHIE, Presbyter.

ALEXANDER BRUCE, Presbyter, Banff.

GEORGE HAGAR, Presbyter, Lonmay.

CHARLES PRESSLEY, Presbyter, Fraserburgh.

A. LOW, Presbyter, Longside.

JOHN B. PRATT, Presbyter, Cruden.

NATHANIEL GRIEVE, Presbyter, Ellon.

“ I beg to express my hearty concurrence in the above address.

“ CHAS. WAGSTAFE, Junior Minister of St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, and late Curate of Arundel, Sussex.”—*English Churchman*, p. 97, Feb. 15.

To us we confess the merits of the question are embraced within a nutshell. This is a *doctrinal* movement. We do not say that all the parties who are engaged in it, and whose names are made use of, consider it such. Some of them may have this or that argument to allege, simply regarding conveniency of arrangement, conformity, and so on. But the motive which has produced, and is at the bottom of, the movement, is a doctrinal one. Mr. Drummoud's letters are before us. Those clergymen who have originated it are known to be almost all of Irish and English ordination—a significant fact. And the service need not actually to be read in Church, the English service being allowed: then why object to the Scotch except as a statement of doctrine? You are not obliged to use it; if you object to it at all, it must be the principle of it you object to. Moreover, the movement must be accounted for, not by any reason whatever that may be put upon paper, but some reason which fairly applies to and covers it. The doctrinal reason is the only one which can do this. This is a doctrinal movement.

And if this is true, it is of the utmost importance that the movement should be looked upon in this one simple exclusive point of view. The remonstrants of the Diocese of Aberdeen have given the doctrinal point this prominence. We are obliged to them for having done so. Whatever be the ultimate result of this controversy, let the parties in it know what they are about. Let not the change be conceded as a liturgical one, and taken as a doctrinal one. If it is conceded at all, it will not do the smallest good to concede it upon this or that minor or subordinate ground. The real reason will swallow up the marginal one: and "convenience" or "conformity," and other like innocent plausibilities, will be disposed of very summarily in the event. A liberal and "evangelical" and rationalizing or Zuinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper, will find a clear course for itself, if the change now projected takes place. The advocates of the new doctrine will know the real character of the concession they have gained. They will know and feel themselves ascendant. They will know what their own reason was in asking for it, and they will make that reason tell when they have gained the point. In all cases of two sides, and of one party wanting a second party to give it something, the former has an object which is answered by the request which it makes being granted. If you grant them their request, you grant them the object which they have in making it. You may call the object by some different name—a king's crown, a piece of gold—a sceptre, a walking-stick—Magna Charta, a piece of parchment—the abolition of the Scotch Communion Service, the alteration of a form. All things under the sun are capable of being looked upon in the subordinate light of some very second, third, or fourth-rate feature about them, which has nothing to do with their real essence. But such a description makes no difference in the fact. An invader puts the crown of a country on his head: the country may choose to consider that he

has only got hold of a piece of gold: he has no objection to their so considering it: he does *not* so consider it himself. The Scotch Church may choose to consider that, in giving up their Communion Service they are only changing a piece of ritual; and the proposers of the change will let them think so; but they are, in fact, giving up a doctrine. "It is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer; but when he is gone his way, then he boasteth."

It may be said that the substitution is, after all, only for the English service, and that the English service is perfectly orthodox. Certainly: we know that the English service is orthodox: we also know of another fact—that it has been made to bear the most unorthodox interpretations; that the omissions are considered by many to be denials, and its falling short of the higher expressions of doctrine that are found in other services, construed into a positive statement of low doctrine. It makes all the difference whether we take the English service as interpreted by our divines, or take it as refuting that interpretation. It makes all the difference whether the Scotch service interprets the English service, or the English the Scotch. Which of these two sides the abolition of the latter altogether would favour, need not, we presume, be a question.

We would, then, respectfully, appeal to the Scotch Church and her Bishops, upon this plain ground. They have it now in their power to do a most important turn, not only to themselves, but to the English Church. We have the richer inheritance of power and wealth: they of doctrine. They have been hitherto blessed with a great share of unanimity; and we have been torn in pieces by dissensions. The Bishops of the Scotch Church have not been backward of late in perceiving this distinction in the career of the two sister Churches, and their charges within the last few years have appealed with honest pride and thankfulness to the calm and peaceable possession of a wide field of high doctrine, long prior to its stormy and anxious revival in this country during the last ten years. It was stated that what we were just beginning to recover, they had been all along enjoying, and that those high truths which almost intoxicated the minds of some of their adopters in this country, because they were unaccustomed to them, constituted the ordinary steady position, and every-day balance of the Scotch Church. The statement was but too true: we could not gainsay it. We only say now—let her not give up her vantage ground. Let her adhere to those formularies in which she has the superiority over us, and to the influence of which she owes that higher atmosphere of doctrine which she so justly recurs to. We are not offended at her admonitions. We yield her the priority: we need her example. We wish to see a spirit of holy emulation in the two Churches in defence of their own proper doctrines; and if the sister of Scotland retains her advance of us, we are too satisfied and glad to reap the advantage of her labour of love. Catholicity in England wants to be more and more in obligation to her. Let not her Communion Service disappear from the

list of existing witnesses to Catholic truth, in a perverse and latitudinarian age. A living witness is better than a dead one. We appeal to Andrewes and Laud and Taylor and Forbes: they are departed monumental evidences: the Scotch Communion Service is an existing fact. Let it remain so. Let not it at any rate be numbered with the dead, and have to be looked for among books, and be brought up as a document. Let it speak by the *viâ voce* power of present existence. We have enough of the past in our composition of Catholicity now. It is the past and the past again that we go to: *fuimus, fuimus*; we were once, but now we are not: the living and acting standard of the Church was once the high one; we have now only the benefit of recollecting and appealing to it. These were not the effects which those great men intended to follow from their active exertions. They did not act that it might be recorded that they had acted; they did not wish to elevate themselves into a monopoly of authoritativeness. They acted that something might come of what they did; they strengthened the Church that the Church might be strong. It was an actual state of things, in respect of doctrine and feeling, that they wished to produce, and when produced to go on and continue and keep alive. They gave the advantage of their labours to the Church that she might possess it; they gave the Scotch Church its Communion Service that she might keep it. They made that service different from the English service, with the express view that it might be different from it, and not that that difference should be got rid of as a blot. Those differences were not accidental. The Scotch compilers had the English service before them. They could have made the Scotch service the same with it if they had chosen; but they chose to make it different.

It may be urged, indeed, that the service may still be respected as a documentary standard of doctrine, though not retained as a service. But this is a fallacy. The service was not left as a document, but as a service. It was left in a very different and in a much more solid and binding sense, than those divines left their mere books and compositions to the Church. You fulfil the intention of an author with respect to his book, if you keep it in your library and refer to it as you want. But if he leaves you a rule of devotion, a religious service, a part of your Prayer-book—and you put that in your library and treat it only as you would any other document that you respected, you do *not* fulfil his intention: you give him up in giving up his rule; you lay him on the shelf, shove him aside, give him the go-by. The Scotch Church cannot consistently retain her respect for the divines if she gives up what they instituted. If she rejects them as legislators she cannot retain them as authors, and in the same breath own and disown them. If she gives up her Communion Service as a service, she must give it up as a document too. There is no middle course fairly tenable. If she gives it up, she must pronounce it to be wrong. She must forthwith be prepared to consider her divines as men who went too far and overstated things, and had too strict a

theology, and must be pared down and accommodated to modern views. She must be prepared to go back, step by step, into that state of things from which the theology of those divines rescued her, and to relapse into the twilight and confusion of the mixed interval after the Knox reformation, when she was neither one thing nor another, —an enfeebled communion without definite voice or shape. She received her form and shape from them; if she abandons the only form and shape she ever had, how does she know that she will get or keep any other. It will be a rash experiment to make.

But conformity is the word with some—conformity to the English ritual. It is no question of doctrine, they say; it is only thought better that both Churches should be alike in ritual. This is not the real motive at the bottom of the movement, as we have said: still a word upon it:—

We must confess ourselves, then, at a loss to see what nameable advantage can be derived from the change on this ground. What is conformity? What is there in the fact of two things being alike, instead of two things being different? How far does this simply and by itself carry us towards the proof of utility? Not a step. The question remains to be asked, *why* this likeness of the two is serviceable? and some ulterior reason must be given for the advantage of it, if there be any, other than the bare fact of the likeness. It is convenient that soldiers of the same regiment, and policemen of the same corps, should have the same coats and dress, because there is a particular object which is answered by it in their case. On the other hand, a far more intimate connexion than that of being fellow policemen and brother soldiers may exist among men, without, in the smallest degree, entailing the necessity of similarity of attire. Brothers and cousins and near relations do not show their kind of connexion and union in this way. The strictest fraternity allows of two different coats in the fraternal parties, and the domestic tie appears through every variety of colour and shape, in the members of the family circle. Churches in the same way may be sister Churches, may have the same creed and the same foundation, may run the same course, entertain the same spirit, and feel the utmost love and respect for each other, and yet differ in form, ceremonial, or ritual. Ecclesiastical unity no more implies complete similarity of the outside of ritual, than fraternal unity does that of dress. It is a unity of creed and heart—a fundamental unity: it does not tie and shackle Churches in all details and particulars. Rather it shows its strength by the very reverse process. It is the shallow, superficial unity that requires to be drilled and put in uniform. The unity that feels its own strength and reality, gives liberty, does not withdraw it. Churches that have it can afford to overlook this and that small variation of external order; and need not look to such preciseness as the evidence of their unity. They rest their evidence of it upon far broader and deeper grounds. The English and Scotch Churches have a common Apostolical origin and a common faith;

they have gone on hitherto in union, and no one has dreamed of this particular service being any interference with it. Two hundred years have passed over the possession of it; and why reject it so late in the day?

We cannot, for our part, regard this application of the point of conformity to the Scotch Church (if any really do go upon the point of conformity simply) as anything else than a simple blunder and mistake. The English Church is an important, weighty, substantial body; more so than the Scotch. Is that any reason why the Scotch should borrow from it in this way? Weight, and substance, and importance, claim respect upon their own grounds; but they have nothing to do with doctrine or ritual. Is the English a purer—a more primitive Church? that would be the more pertinent question. One ecclesiastical body is not an exemplar to another because it is a more powerful one. We respect influential great men: we do imitate them because they are such. It is a wholly different sphere and kind of respect than that of imitation in practice, which such qualities invite. The Scotch Church may entertain all the feeling which is due to her established sister, and yet be perfectly free to think herself superior in this and that point, and be independent on the matter. All Churches are equal as Churches; and the English Church could have no ground to think itself aggrieved by such conduct. The English Church has its character of importance; the Scotch Church also has its own features of interest peculiar to itself. She attends to her importance rather by retaining these peculiar features. *They* are *her* importance, in lieu of the greater power and wealth of her English sister. She would lose greatly in position and interest if she gave up her peculiarities.

The argument of conformity, then, seems to end simply in this: that the Scotch Church would be obviously declining from what her divines made her; for they clearly did not wish her to be like the English Church here, or they would not have expressly made her different: and this to gain no nameable advantage whatever, as regards expediency, while many obvious advantages appear on the other side.

The only argument in this quarter, for the change, that we can imagine at all telling upon any mind, is, that when the question *is once mooted*, deliberately to reject a point of conformity with the English Church, and intentionally keep up a distinction, is an invidious part to take. But this would be certainly a most unfair interpretation of a simply conservative act in the Scotch Church; nor would the Establishment here be at all inclined, we think, to give such an interpretation to it. If our friends in Scotland will allow us to say so, we think we know what the temper of our Establishment is, and will just say a word. That the English Establishment, then, as far as we know it, does not care much for the Scotch Church retaining its service, we freely confess; but, on the other hand, the English Establishment would not thank them for rejecting it. Its

view would be tolerably neutral. If the Establishment likes uniformity, as certainly it does, and has a taste in that direction, it has also a respect for usages, existing and established, and quite allows and appreciates the desire to retain them. We do not speak here of the low-Church section; they could not have any tie whatever upon the compliance of the Scotch Church;—we speak of the moderate and sober part. The English Establishment, we say, will quite understand the feeling, on the part of the Scotch Church, for an old and regular part of their Prayer-Book; and those who may not enter into the particular spirit of the service itself, will allow and expect those who have inherited it, to wish to retain it. There is all the difference between a new and an old thing, and between a direct choice and an involuntary birthright. If the Scotch Church was now setting about an alteration of their service from the English into the Scotch form, our Establishment might have something to say; but, as it is now, the fact of the usage being an existing and established one, appeals at once to the candour and good sense and moderation of persons. The English feeling is strong generally in defence of what are called vested interests, existing rights, and the like; and this is quite a case that comes under the protection of this feeling.

We say, then, that, even taking the ordinary standard of public opinion, the Scotch Church has an unassailable and irrefutable ground to stand upon, with respect to this controversy. We cannot picture a more favourable position for the cause of truth, and a securer shield and safeguard of reasons and arguments under which to defend it. Truth comes forward, guarded up to the eyes, and armed *cap-a-pie*, with proof defences straight from the forge of public opinion. The real point of the case, the point of doctrine, object as it is of the assailants' attack, need not even be referred to and brought into the arena at all by its defenders. It is safe behind its wall, and the enemy cannot get at it, without first penetrating through a whole mass of external breastwork, which they never will be able to penetrate through—that whole public opinion in favour of the existing and established, which we have been alluding to. The Scotch Church is not called upon to enter into a formal elaborate defence of doctrines; it need not enter into doctrinal controversy at all on the subject of the service;—it need only say, This is our Service, it is our inheritance, and we have a right to it. This argument tells like a hammer, especially to English minds. No other is wanted. "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*," said the barons. Let the Scotch bishops simply say No to this proposal of change, and nobody can reply to them; nobody can find a single flaw or hole in that "No;" no person in the whole empire can stand up and say that the Scotch bishops had not a perfect right to say No. The whole established system of thought will support that "No"—so far, at any rate, as to say that the Scotch bishops had a clear right to say it if they chose.

But further, if the negative feeling in the English Establishment would not be against them; the positive would be all strongly in their

favour. Amongst persons of any kind of Church principles, the positive feeling decidedly and warmly supports the Scotch Communion Service. Persons feel its force as a living standard to appeal to, and take a strong interest in the Scotch Church because she offers this standard. She has her hold over the feelings of a large class in this country, on account of these very features in her constitution and history. We will be plain. Any advantage of strength and support which the Scotch Church may derive now and in future from this country, she must derive from those who care for her,—not from those who do not care for her. The neutral and simply Establishment party will never be, of themselves, of much assistance to her. They have the power to assist her,—greater power, perhaps, than the others,—but they have not so much disposition; and if they do so, they have to be moved to do so first by others. It is not their line to go out of the Establishment, and widen sympathies, and deepen communion with other bodies. The strength of the Scotch Church in this country resides mainly in another class,—and that by no means a weak or small class, but, on the contrary, a daily advancing and growing one. It is this class, and not the other, that will befriend and support her; and, therefore, it is this, and not the other, whose good opinion it rather concerns her to have. She has the choice now before her of either connecting herself with the whole catholic spirit, and the whole growing body of Church feeling in this country, or of separating herself from it. If she chooses the latter alternative, she will simply alienate her old friends, without gaining any new ones. She will offend the beneficial class to her, and merely please, if she does please, a class that it is of very small advantage to her to please. But the fact is, that she will gratify no class,—no party whatever—the regular puritanical excepted. All catholic minds will be pained, and the Establishment will not say, Thank you.

The fact of this movement having been originated by parties quite strangers to the Scotch Church—English and Irish clergymen, who have simply located themselves there—is a great addition on the defensive side. People naturally ask what right a handful of clergymen from a distance have to plant themselves within a body, and then try to disturb its regular, old-established usages? to turn reformers, and set themselves up as lights? to regard the Scotch Church as a dark, old-fashioned body that they are come to illuminate? The feeling of every right-minded person is against such an assumption; and if the Scotch Church will simply say that she has her own forms and way of going on,—that she has a right to them,—that if strangers object, they have the option of taking their departure; but that the new-comer ought to accommodate himself to the society, and not the society to the new-comer,—the answer will carry its own evidence of reasonableness. Nobody can require an ancient body to give way to a simply alien influence, and submit to the indignity of strangers' dictating and domineering and upsetting what has been held as a matter of course for centuries. The Scotch Church has hitherto

enjoyed tolerable unanimity on these subjects ; and why should she let herself be disturbed and divided by a few new arrivals ?

With the utmost deference, then, and with every apology for these hints and suggestions of ours, should they happen to meet their eye, we earnestly entreat the reverend bishops of the Scotch Church to give this innovating proposal that answer which the plain intentions of those divines who compiled the service, the hereditary character of their Church, and a regard to its simple dignity and position, demand. We earnestly ask them, before they make the concession, to see who they are who want them to do so ; their friends who care for them, and interest themselves in their welfare, and those who do not care for them, and hardly give their Church a sympathetic thought. We beg, at any rate, to put down and record our deep conviction that such a concession can only tend to consequences the most injurious to her ; to the spread, within her pale, of false and latitudinarian doctrine on the sacred subject involved, from which she has been hitherto free ; to the growth and exaltation of an alien influence at her expense ; and to the destruction of that doctrinal unanimity and internal peace which she has hitherto so singularly, and in such enviable contrast with ourselves, enjoyed.

The Scottish Episcopal Times. No. I. Edinburgh, &c.

WE desire to place on record a very singular parallel to the Drummond and Dunbar schism, which has lately fallen under our notice ; it would be quite superfluous to commit to the notice of our readers the warning example which it affords, both as respects the unhappy presbyters whose names have gained such a melancholy notoriety, and also as it may influence the orthodox clergy, both of England and Scotland. Perhaps no two cases ever occurred in which the identity of principle and detail was so significant and instructive.

In the second volume of Dr. Hawks' contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States (Maryland), two cases are detailed which, together, involve every point which has been brought forward by the leaders of the new Scotch schism. Certainly we do not give Messrs. Drummond and Dunbar the credit of much research in the recondite ecclesiastical history of other Churches ; but at the best they are, though very unconsciously, plagiarists. Their case is by no means a new one ; and, at least, in its main features, it has been ruled already. Their scheme has been elsewhere tried, and failed most frightfully.

In 1801, one of the clergy of the diocese of Maryland had been degraded ; his offence was not parallel to Sir Wm. Dunbar's, but for a very sufficient reason he was removed from the ministry. Thus far the cases agree. After his degradation he performed ministerial duties ; he was prosecuted for so doing, and was acquitted by the jury, " under the charge of the court, which stated that, as he *had received his orders*

in England, no authority in this country could deprive him of them." (Hawks, pp. 338, 339.) As we have more than once, in these pages, helped Sir William Dunbar to the right understanding of his own case—an office in which, from intellectual incapacity, he needs the aid of all the charitable—we make him a present of this precedent. It is not impossible—we do not say that it is probable—but that the English law courts may take the same view of the case as the civil tribunal of Maryland. We mention this parallel, in order that we may be prepared for such an emergency, and in order to show what the bias of the common law may be. If Sir W. Dunbar desires to take advantage of this precedent he may do so. Let our bishops know that there is a likelihood of the Maryland case being quoted against us, and they will of course be prepared for the emergency.

The American Church, however, did not submit to this local decision. "This," continues Dr. Hawks, "was a doctrine at once strange and startling. *If clergymen of English ordination, who had promised obedience to the authority of the Protestant Episcopal Church could not be reached by ecclesiastical discipline*, as the court had held, then was it worse than useless for the Church to legislate for the preservation of religion and order within her communion. The subject was of such importance that it attracted, of course, the notice of the convention. That body did not believe the decision of the court to be correct; and as, after it, the degraded clergyman had openly set at defiance the authority of the Church, it was resolved, upon the earliest opportunity, to bring up the question for a more solemn adjudication than that of a county court: and with this view, the Bishop was put into communication with the Attorney-General of the State in order that, in the name of the convention, a prosecution might be commenced against the offender." (P. 339.) Which resolution seems to have had the desired effect; for we hear no more of this anonymous Maryland schismatic.

The second case is even yet more significant. This also occurred in Maryland. In the year 1811, Bishop Claggett was desirous, on account of advancing years and infirmities, that a suffragan Bishop should be consecrated for his diocese. The Rev. George Dashiell, Rector of St. Peter's, Baltimore, who had previously evinced a spirit of turbulence and contempt for episcopal authority, thought proper, on this occasion, to head a very violent opposition to the Bishop's wish; chiefly, as is said, because he had made the unwelcome discovery, "that if a suffragan Bishop were appointed, he would not be the Rector of St. Peter's." (Hawks, p. 379.) Two parties existed in the Church of Maryland; "the term 'evangelical,' was appropriated to itself by the one, and by this class their opponents were called 'formalists.'" (Ibid. p. 387.) "Among the most active partisans of the former, none was more conspicuous or industrious than the Rector of St. Peter's." Indeed, the zeal of his party took a very remarkable turn in the convention of 1813, when a proposition was made by a clerical (?) member of it "to procure such a modification

of the canons as would give to rectors and vestries the power of admitting to the pulpits of their churches *clergymen of other denominations*, who produced satisfactory testimonials," &c. (P. 391.) This proposition was of course rejected: but Mr. Dashiell's party had sufficient influence to impede the appointment of the suffragan for several years. At length, in 1814, Dr. Kemp was elected: a protest against his consecration was forwarded by some of the "evangelical" clergy to the house of Bishops, which, after a most ample and serious consideration by Bishops White, Hobart, and Moore, was rejected; and these prelates consecrated Dr. Kemp suffragan Bishop of Maryland. For the rest we quote Dr. Hawks:

"Upon the communication of this business, seven or eight of the clergy, who were called by the party term 'Evangelical,' resolved to secede from the Church, and *establish a separate Episcopal communion*. The chief actor in the business was Mr. Dashiell: he was *now quite prepared to be the leader in a schism, and to perpetuate it if possible*. He wished, he said, to make 'the Evangelical part of the Church a distinct body, and to enlarge its boundaries by admitting faithful men to labour in the work of the Church.' And to accomplish this object, he attempted to obtain the Episcopate from some quarter: for he still *professed to be, in principle, an Episcopalian*."—P. 404.

With this intention he had the desperate folly to apply first to the diocese of New York, where the Episcopate was in a very questionable state, by the singular conduct of Bishop Provoost: however, anomalous as was his own position, Bishop Provoost had the honesty never to reply to what Bishop White calls this most "unprincipled proposal." But the measure of Mr. Dashiell's wickedness and absurdity had not yet reached its climax: disappointed in Bishop Provoost, this person next sought consecration from—Bishop Claggett himself. It is needless to say how this application was met. However, Mr. Dashiell and his friends bound themselves never to acknowledge Bishop Kemp.

Laborious, however, as Mr. Dashiell was for what he chose to call "the Evangelical clergy," in 1815 the standing committee directed an investigation to be made into his private character. We again recur to the historian of Maryland, abridging, however, his narrative.

"Mr. Dashiell refused to be tried by the committee, and demanded a dismission from the Church of Maryland, and produced a certificate *from the vestry*, certifying to the Bishop *their* confidence in the purity of his pastor. The Bishop attested this certificate; but declined to give letters dimissory. Mr. Dashiell then addressed a formal communication to the Bishop, requesting that the investigation might be stopped; and in the event of refusal, he 'begged that his letter might be considered as a *renunciation of all connexion with the Episcopal Church*,' [Dunbar and Drummond to the very words] and that the Bishop would attest his renunciation. The Bishop authenticated the extract from Mr. Dashiell's letter, but did not recognise his right thus to renounce, nor did the Bishop in any way assent to this act as valid. When Mr. Dashiell forwarded this document to convention, the committee wrote demanding of him whether they were to understand his renunciation to be of all connexion with the Church in Maryland only: or with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. *In other words, was he or was he not an Episcopalian?* He answered that he had renounced all connexion with the

Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. The committee considering such *unrecognized renunciation* as utterly invalid, informed Mr. Dashiell that the trial must proceed. Failing to appear, the Bishop pronounced the sentence prescribed in cases of contumacy, extending to the total disqualification from any ministerial functions, and to the exclusion of him from Church membership."—*Hawks*, pp. 414, 419.

"The Bishop officially communicated to Mr. Dashiell the sentence, and received a most insulting reply. Notice was served on the vestry of St. Peter's that pursuant to the Canons, the rector being excommunicated, the rectorship was vacant. Mr. Dashiell still officiated. Part of the congregation apply to the civil courts for a *mandamus* to the vestry to report the vacancy to the Bishop, and to elect another rector. The court was divided in its opinion; but the opinion of Judge Nicholson, who held with the petitioners against Mr. Dashiell was generally admitted to be correct. The convention refused to acknowledge St. Peter's, its vestry and congregation, unless they would submit to the laws of the Church, which they were at length induced to do; Mr. Dashiell left St. Peter's, and another rector was elected.

"The unhappy cause of most of this trouble was, however, not yet quiet. One more desperate effort he made, and it was his last. *He attempted to establish what he called 'THE EVANGELICAL EPISCOPAL CHURCH,'* and by the act of ordaining, assumed to himself the exercise of episcopal authority. Very few of the clergy adhered to him. Messrs. Handy, Alfred Dashiell, and Gibson, were all. The first was a young deacon, the second his own son; the third had been suspended for intemperance. *These three* were all degraded by Bishop Kemp upon their renunciation of the ministry of the Church. Mr. Dashiell removed from Maryland: and thus ended this schism."*—*Hawks*, pp. 420, 422.

Are Messrs Drummond and Dunbar content to follow their American example? because in Mr. Dashiell's miserable end they may read their own. And if the Bishops of the Churches of England and Scotland are determined to act with the Christian sincerity and firmness of the convention of Maryland, they will be as successful in crushing the new Scotch schism; *but not otherwise.* We have, however, other reasons for producing these singular parallels to the Dunbar and Drummond schisms, which takes from our Northern schismatics even the questionable dignity of originality; for there is not a point in their career—the renunciation of their Bishops—the tampering with their vestries—the overholding their chapels—the setting up an episcopal communion without a Bishop, and resting on their English orders, in which the Maryland Independents have not anticipated them. But *we* have to do with this matter in England;

"————— Jam proximus ardet
Ucalegon ;—————"

we cannot be altogether comfortable when the very next house is in flames.

We do not attach more than their worth to common rumours: but there has been for some time an indefinite feeling that the more extreme members of that English party which Mr. Dashiell repre-

* Dr. Hawks, though not the highest of churchmen, is unusually severe on this business. "The convention of 1819 took no notice of the 'Evangelical Episcopal Church,' and silently left it to die that natural death to which they saw it was inevitably destined. It was the sickly child of schism, begotten in wickedness, by lustful ambition, and, therefore, no one heaved a sigh over the approaching departure of the poor offspring of sin."—P. 423.

sented in Maryland could no longer maintain their indecent and unprincipled conformity to the Church of England. Over and over again have they been assured, by their "dear dissenting brethren," that their "evangelicalism" must be very questionable, while they continued to use the Prayer-Book. And so things seem to be coming to an issue: as principles become more *living* and *life-giving* truths, be it for good or evil, men must *act* upon them. We should not, therefore, be surprised at a Free Church in England, (a direct proposal of this kind will be found below)*—an Evangelical Secession—a new-fangled "Evangelical Episcopal Church without a Bishop," as Mr. Dashiell had it. There are indications of this already; such as these:

1. We desire to call attention to the "Declaration" of the clergy and laity, which will be found in another department of this Review. It has been well styled a direct renunciation of the Prayer-Book and the Catholic faith. Can those who have signed it, with any honour, decency, and consistency, remain where they are? And

* To make the subjoined paper intelligible, it will be only needful to premise that a Mr. Thompson was incumbent of a district church (in London), S. Barnabas, in the parish of S. Luke, Old-street. This gentleman died last year, and was *not* succeeded by a Mr. Walsh, whoever he may be. Upon this, the congregation of S. Barnabas are addressed as follows, by a layman, Mr. Thompson, the brother of the deceased incumbent:—

"WHERE ARE THE TWO THOUSAND?"

"TO THE FORMER COMMUNICANTS AND ATTENDANTS OF ST. BARNABAS.

"CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,

"Year after year passed away during my late esteemed brother, the Rev. William Thompson's, occupation of the pulpit at S. Barnabas, and amidst his unceasing efforts for the welfare of the people in its vicinity, you always responded cheerfully to his appeals,—and in the increased attendance on his ministrations, and in the prosperity of your local institutions, you were amply repaid in the cheering evidences you observed of the Divine benediction.

* * * * *

"Infinite Wisdom has seen fit to remove him from the sphere of his labours,—the tie has been broken which united you in works of faith and in labours of love; but are your efforts to Evangelise the parish of St. Luke to end with his ascent to the realms of the blessed?—will you deem yourselves released from the claims of Christian neighbourhood?—will you be content, unless the seed sown among you in past years shall still continue to bear fruit to the praise of the Gracious Master you mutually and so cheerfully served? It is true that you are now a scattered flock; *nor could it be desired that it should be otherwise* after the failure of your numerously-signed petitions to the bishop of Llandaff and your rector, that the warm-hearted, the Rev. J. P. Walsh should be my brother's successor,—such a scattering became unavoidably right and proper—but are there no remedial measures by which your reunion and your future settlement under some faithful shepherd may yet be secured, and by which also the 50,000 immortal beings by whom you are surrounded, may yet have all the benefits which your former association secured?—no ray of hope presents itself but by such re-union; "your schools are still in existence, but they are like dying embers"—no efforts are making to prevent their extinction—all now rests with yourselves.

* * * * *

"Thousands are looking at the issue of this disruption, and they ask, 'Where are the Two Thousand gone,' whose wakeful solicitude established and sustained these fountains of scriptural knowledge—these labours for home and the distant heathen?"

yet more,—can our bishops pass over, without censure, an irregular and uncanonical “Declaration,” which is not exceeded in treason by the Solemn League and Covenant, the Millenary Petition, or the conspiracy of Archdeacon Blackburne? If anything could make us despair of the Church of our baptism, it would be that the signers of this Declaration should remain unrebuked by the bishops; and it is with unfeigned sorrow that we learn from the Prospectus of a *Society* formed to encourage and disseminate the principles embodied in this criminal document, that *six hundred of the Clergy alone* have signed it.

2. The following advertisement, which appeared in the *Record* during the present month, is obviously a feeler, however cautious:—

“To Episcopalians, attached to the glorious doctrines of the Reformation.—It being in contemplation to form an *Episcopal Church separate from the State, with a revised Liturgy*, all who are favourable to this object are earnestly requested to communicate, by letter, with B. O., 2, Featherstone-buildings, Holborn, London.”

3. And if other evidences of this tendency towards an extensive English secession are wanting, we point to Mr. Baptist Noel using the Westminster Catechism instead of that of the Church;—to the Church Missionary Society persisting to recognise the Scotch Independent sects of Drummond and Dunbar, and to a recent publication of Mr. Bickersteth, “The promised Glory of the Church of Christ,”

Where are those who thought the poorest in the lanes, the alleys, the garrets, and the cellars, had claims on their Christian compassion?

“The Establishment to which you are attached has ceased, or declined to secure for yourselves and your families the spiritual provision on which you had so long been fed, and for the restoration of which, from this quarter, all your hopes must have now vanished;—but is there no deliverance,—no resource, to which you can resort? The great and the heavenly-minded, the late Countess of Huntingdon, was once placed in circumstances somewhat similar; she could not obtain from the Establishment that which her renewed nature so anxiously desired, and she determined to provide for herself and for multitudes, also, the ministrations of holy men; the liturgy, which, like yourselves, she loved, *was retained, with improvements suited to the times in which she lived.* Cannot you testify your grateful recollections of the ordinances you so long enjoyed, by calling a Meeting, forthwith, for general consideration? *Could you not also resolve, in imitation of the great and the good of Scotland, to erect a Free Church,*—and where, free from all State interference, and FROM ALL ECCLESIASTICAL CONTRoul, you might select a minister of your own unbiassed choice, to go in and out among you? Thus, the alarming deficiency of the means of grace, in St. Luke’s, which leaves 44,000 unblessed with the ministrations of mercy, might in some measure be supplied.

“Arise! and the blessing of the Most High will rest upon you. Other Christian denominations in the vicinity will not only approve, but they will aid and bless you; thousands, and tens of thousands, in the present and in coming ages, will remember the day when you so decided, and when the deep impressions of your responsibilities urged you onwards to exhibit a model of devoted zeal, as beneficial in its character as it was blessed in its results,—when error was dispersed,—when light, and peace, and love were introduced; and when thousands were pointed to Him whose loving-kindness is better than life, and under whose smiles they pursued their pilgrimage on earth, and by whose grace they were prepared for the unending bliss of the Redeemed.

“Yours in Christian sympathy,

“THOMAS THOMPSON.”

“POUNDSFORD PARK,
“Oct. 21st, 1843.”

in which he openly advocates and adopts the resolutions of a "Christian Union Society," held in Exeter Hall last year, to the following effect:—

"I. That this Meeting is fully persuaded that real and essential unity exists among all the children of God, and that being united to Christ, they are in principle and affection united to each other by the Spirit of Christ.

"II. That this meeting is therefore convinced of the duty and practicability of rendering visible, the union of all who hold the Head, Jesus Christ the Lord, notwithstanding the diversity of their opinions and practice with regard to minor points of faith and ritual observance; and that the state of theological controversy, missionary operations, and public sentiment at the present time, renders it peculiarly desirable to attempt the furtherance of such an union.

"III. That this meeting declares itself assembled on the ground of truths common to all Evangelical Churches of the Protestant Reformation from Popery, and based on its first principle, the sufficiency and authority of the Holy Scriptures as the sole rule of Christian faith and practice, and the right of every man to judge for himself of the meaning and interpretation of that rule—and recognises, as the bond of union, the great doctrines unanimously received by all evangelical Christians, viz.—the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; of the infinite love of the Father; of the perfect atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ; of the sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit; of justification by faith alone; of the necessity of regeneration to a Christian life and character; and other truths in harmony, and in essential connexion with these. And the meeting believes the agreement to these fundamental truths among evangelical Christians, to be so unanimous in substance and spirit, as to lay a firm foundation for concord and union.

"IV. That this meeting utterly repudiates the sentiment that a true Church, a true ministry, or a true Christian can be constituted, in the absence of spiritual qualifications, by the mere observance of any form, even though of Divine appointment. At the same time it disclaims the least compromise of what is conscientiously regarded as truth or duty on any point of doctrine, discipline, or worship, by any individual bearing part in its proceedings.

"V. That this meeting deems it an imperative duty, for the defence of the truth—for the strength of the Churches—for the spread of the Gospel, to seek Christian union—not in ritual uniformity; not in an exact agreement of creed; not in a universal incorporation of Churches; but in the binding force of love to the truth in things great, and in the harmonising power of forbearance in things subordinate. For this union would the present meeting bear witness before the world, and offer fervent prayer to Almighty God. For the promotion of this blessed fraternal oneness in Christ, it would appeal to all his disciples, on the ground of their Saviour's will and prayer, that thus our holy religion may be honoured in the sight of the world, and the world be converted to our holy religion."—Pp. 398, 399.

Are not such things significant of coming events?

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1. *Lebengeschichte des Baron de la Motte Fouqué.* 1840.
 2. *Ausgewählte Werke von Friedrich Baron de la Motte Fouqué.* 1841.

Few things tell better for the present day than the growing popularity of Fouqué's writings. When we think on the immoral trash so freely dispersed as German Romance; the profaneness and wickedness of what every man reads, and no one dares censure—Faust; and the great weight which the

earnestness of German thought, as put forward by Thomas Carlyle and others of his school, has of necessity on a generation driven to be earnest, we cannot but feel most thankful that high Catholic principles have already made sufficient way, to call these Tales forward in a popular and attractive shape. We will just remark in passing that these beautiful Tales of Fouqué may help at least to counteract the evils of a series of Novels, treating, singularly enough, of modern, as Fouqué of ancient, Scandinavian manners. We mean those written by Frederika Bremer, and which Mary Howitt, a Quaker, is translating with railroad speed to out-do her competitors in the market. Beautiful and true as much of them may be, yet, perhaps, this partial truth and beauty makes their many errors but the more dangerous.

Of Fouqué himself, we believe most of his readers know but little. Yet his personal history is instructive, eventful, and illustrative of his works; and our purpose, in the following article, is to set it before our readers, chiefly with the view of identifying it with his works, and pointing out what appears to us a remarkable corroboration of a very remarkable theory. In this our attempt, we would by no means imply that we are fit to form an adequate notion of Fouqué's mind as shown forth in his Autobiography, or what is even a truer type—his works. To appreciate thoroughly either the one or the other, calls for a deep knowledge of the German language and literature, the quickest feeling for poetry, sometimes exquisitely simple, sometimes intricate and metaphysical, a generous abandonment of prejudice to an abstract ideal of the old Northern chivalry; above all, power to realize Catholic conceptions in a tone of mind essentially German. Nay more, to understand Fouqué, or his works, you must throw yourself into a new world,—a world which common matter-of-fact men cannot comprehend; a world of wild forms and glancing plumes; a world where the contest of good and evil is all but visibly carried on, where nature itself, staid and homely as she seems to us, and far removed from sympathy, actually does sympathize and assist in the contest, where bright and holy beings, and, on the other hand, the dark spirits of evil, can appear and disappear without marring the unity of the whole. Although, therefore, we give our readers but a faint and partial view, still, if we can turn but one gleam from those bright tales upon their hearts, we shall feel that our brief sketch has not been without its use.

Friedrich Heinrich Karl, Baron de la Motte Fouqué, was born at Brandenburg, on the 12th day of February, A.D. 1777. His great grandfather had left France "for true religion," he says, immediately, as it should seem, after the recall of the Edict of Nantes. His grandfather was an early friend of

Frederic the Great, visited him in his strange captivity at some personal risk, held a correspondence with him which still may be seen in the Royal Philosopher's works, served with distinction in the seven years' war, and rose to the rank of General. He seems all along to have kept the good-will of Frederic without sacrificing religious principles, and he ended his days as Domprobst—a sort of Esquire-verger—in the Cathedral of Brandenburg: thus literally fulfilling the text, "I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God." His father, to judge from his son's account, was a good and religious man for that age. He had served in the army, but was too weakly to bear much fatigue. He, therefore, settled quietly down at Brandenburg, with his most amiable and earnest wife, a woman who exercised no small influence for good over her son's mind. Frederic the Great was young Fouqué's godfather. His education was conducted ostensibly by private tutors, but not a little by an old soldier, the Count Schmettau, a family friend, who lived with them, one of those few old soldiers, who, like him of whom we have already spoken, are led by the dangers of war, not to a hardened, but a devout life. At sixteen, Fouqué joined the Cuirassiers of the Duke of Weimar, and served against the French in the unsuccessful campaign of the Rhine. After this, he remained inactive, passing his time in literary pursuits, and the society of an accomplished wife. In 1806, after the defeat of the Prussians, he prepared for a siege in Nennhausen, the place of his residence. This did not, however, occur. And finally, in 1812, he collected a troop and fought most gallantly for his country, being present at Dresden, Culm, and Leipzig. From this time his life passed in peace; while the stirring scenes in which he had borne a part naturally brought into more abundant life the seeds of ancient chivalry implanted in his breast. He consecrated his sword solemnly in the church of Nennhausen, and devoted himself altogether to authorship. In 1843 his gallant soul passed away from earth; where we may most truly say it had never dwelt. He has left behind an astonishing number of works: novels, poems, plays. All, so far as we have seen, having one tendency, and for the most part filled with the same class of events. It is true that they embrace every age. We have novels, whose scene is laid in the days when Scandinavia was heathen; and again the Duke of Alva appears in another. Nay, the last which has come before us treats even of the days of Napoleon. Yet for all this difference of time his heroes are the same. The same chivalrous spirit, the same impetuosity, the same faults, the same trials are seen throughout. That is, as he himself was a knight of old, living in the present day, so to his mind there was nothing incongruous in making his characters the same.

The foregoing brief sketch may serve to connect the parts of

his life together, so that we may be pardoned a slight want of chronological arrangement in the circumstances on which we are about to dwell.

Now the theory, to the truth of which, as we think, Fouqué's life and writings bear a very strong witness, is this. Poetry has been defined "the indirect expression in words—most appropriately in metrical words of some overpowering emotion, or ruling taste and feeling, the direct expression of which is somehow repressed." This definition occurs in a criticism* on the *Life and Writings of Sir Walter Scott*, and is exemplified by a sketch of certain facts in his life and traits in his character, in which the ruling feeling, whose indulgence is repressed, is shown to be a yearning after border chivalry, working itself through the actions of his childhood, youth, and manhood, and especially embodied in his works. We trust that no one will take us to task for not starting a new theory of our own, but contentedly endeavouring to work this out in the present instance. For it seems in an especial manner to suit the view which we take of Fouqué. And further, of all definitions, or attempts at definitions, of poetry, whether in verse or prose, this, in our judgment, comes nearest to the mark. We are persuaded that, though this may not include all, yet, unlike other definitions, it does not spoil its subject. You may add more to it, but it holds thoroughly as far as it goes. Only we are inclined to leave out "words," for we believe poetry to lie in other than words. Compare it, for instance, with another in the contributions to the *Edinburgh Review* by Mr. Jeffrey. The poetry of Keats is put forward as the type of true poetry, as that which will best test the true lover of poetry, rather than that of the great classical English writers. This view the writer defends on the ground that in the great classical writers, say Shakspere or Spenser, there is enough to please without the genuine inspiration of the poet. That is, the reader's mind is taken by the tale itself, without reference to what Mr. Jeffrey means by poetry. And he goes on to assert that "only where those other recommendations are wanting, or exist in weaker degree, can the true force of the attraction, exercised by the pure poetry with which they are so often combined, be fairly appreciated, when" (to this, as embodying his definition, we would especially call the reader's attention,) "without much incident or many characters, with little wit, wisdom, or arrangement, a number of bright pictures are presented to the imagination, and a fine feeling expressed of those mysterious relations by which visible, external things are assimilated with inward thoughts and emotions, and become the exponents of all passions and affections." We need hardly point out the simplicity of the first, as

* *British Critic*, No. XLVIII, p. 426.

compared with this second definition. But the main point of difference seems to us, that in the one, poetry is considered as the fruit of one overpowering feeling; in the other, as the image and exponent of *all* passions and affections. And here we think the former immeasurably superior. The latter seems to us deficient in the connecting link between the poet and the poetry. A man cannot have all passions and affections; they would destroy one another. The holy affections would subdue the unholy passions, the tender the harsh, and the like. Or, even though poetry were considered more or less excellent in proportion as it showed forth passions and affections, as assimilated with external things in a greater or less degree, yet it might still lack that truth, or reality, or earnestness, which we feel instinctively in the greatest poets. This view would reduce it to a mere lifeless, abstract idea; as it were a magic lantern, passing group after group, image after image, outward or inward, to the poet's mind, before the spectator's eye. While, in the other, all these images of nature, all these affections and passions, are merged in one: all made subservient to one grand, overpowering feeling which tinges and subdues them. Look at Raffaele, Michel Angelo, Fra Bartolomeo, Salvator Rosa, Guido; all express affections and passions, all bring bright pictures of the outward before the eye, connected with deep and mysterious feelings of the inward. But their poetry lies not in this; it lies in the poet's own absorbing feeling stamped deeply upon all his works. This it is which is born in the man; and, in proportion as his character has more or less of earnestness and hidden life in it, in proportion as he grasps at higher or lower things, in proportion as his power of expressing it indirectly is greater, or less, in that proportion is his faculty of poetry. We do not propose to enter more deeply into this argument. We have touched upon it thus briefly because Fouqué, in his life and works, bears, as we have said, a remarkable testimony to the truth of the first definition. We believe that he was absorbed in one overpowering feeling; that this was of all that which can least be directly expressed; that his life and writings were, from first to last, its indirect expression, and that the times in which he lived, and various circumstances connected with his early life, were strangely calculated to foster it. And we conceive it to be no less than a most deep and mysterious yearning after the unseen world, simply as the unseen world, unconnected with any other feeling.

Now it is clear that if we can succeed in showing that Fouqué's life was throughout influenced by this one leading idea, such an attempt will possess two advantages. First, it will naturally absorb into itself all the leading passages of his life, without inundating the reader with details which most men have in common; and, secondly, it avoids what we could not

but consider presumptuous, an endeavour more fully to delineate a great man's character. The one leading idea, if clearly established, will serve as a sufficient clue, generally, to his character, and hence to his writings, without searching into those more hidden, though not more powerful, springs of action which all men have, but have to themselves alone.

From his earliest childhood to the last years of his life, we fancy we can trace this longing after the unseen. The indirect expression of it, in every form and shape, as we believe, entirely occupied him. He lived among strange and unseen forms. He realized them; they became the very moving principles of his life. As a child and as an old man he mingled with their joys and terrors. He interpreted all outward objects in accordance to this. Their outward shapes signified nothing. He was startled by nothing of the outward. It was to him what to most people the inward is, utterly powerless over his heart.

There is a remarkable instance in illustration of this power of his imagination to subdue the force of outward appearances. When he was not yet six years old, his family went for a short time to Lauchstadt, a watering-place in their neighbourhood. At some balls to which he accompanied them, he was attracted by a beautiful girl, whose more manly lover was a Prussian Hussar. The child pertinaciously followed her, till some of the company, in joke, warned him against his rival, "Have a care of the Hussar." He took the words quite seriously, felt that he was braving danger, yet still kept his quest to the end of their stay. Even when they had returned to Sacro, near Potsdam, their usual residence, the warning words kept their place in the child's mind. He felt that he had exposed himself to the Prussian's vengeance, and daily expected to encounter it. Now it happened that two of the Court pages became intimate in the house; and one of them he firmly believed was the formidable foe from Lauchstadt. He was at first somewhat startled by the difference of age, dress, and manners, but the idea once in his head, the outward appearance, as we have said, stood for little. Everything strengthened his conviction. One day, the page, who was, by the way, a great friend of his all the time, said, rather mysteriously, "Fritz, come with me to the grotto." The boy was now fully persuaded that this was the hour of vengeance so long looked for. Though in great terror he argued the point with himself: "Well, suppose it is the Hussar, some day or other the thing must be decided," and walked boldly out. The page only called him aside to present him with a hunting-knife, and this *περιπέτεια* seems at last to have dispelled the illusion.

Now this, though not exactly proving the view we have put forward of his yearning after the unseen world, bears, it will readily be admitted, very strongly upon it. And

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at least it proves, that if the Page could thus easily undergo so complete a change in his mind's eye, as to become, to all intents and purposes, the Prussian officer, thus strangely transferring the seen to the seen, he would still more easily transfer the seen to the unseen; he could find no difficulty in enduing the objects around with mysterious qualities and relations, and feeding his heart upon food drawn from another world.

One other instance will explain this further. The tale of Sintram turns on the doings of Sin and Death; the latter represented by a tall, pale man; the former by a little, deformed, jesting being, whom the translation, literally rendering the German, calls the Little Master. This we connect even with his childhood, in the following strange fashion: When he was about eight years old, the figure of King Xerxes, which he had seen in a hornbook, haunted his dreams. It always appeared the same, awful from its pigmy size. Now any one, who remembers the figures in the little rhyming histories of England, will be struck with the following description of the Little Master in Sintram. To our own minds it exactly recalls a certain figure of Richard III. before the battle of Bosworth. "A small man, clothed in strange-looking armour, with large golden horns on his helmet, and a long vizor protruding in front of it, was leaning on a two-edged spear, and seemed to be looking with derision," &c. (Sintram, p. 76.) Just about the same time, an artisan was employed in the house where the family were living. He was a long, meagre form, with strange and deeply-marked features, arched eye-brows, of that idiotical disposition which is ever ready to laugh, or rather gibber, at nothing, powerless like a maniac over the nerves. This character, he says, always deeply affected him. He could hardly bear to see the clown of a mountebank, where it was merely put on, still less where it was actually real, and set off by eccentricities of person. So the tall, lean artisan, and the small figure, wrought powerfully on his mind. The former we think we can trace in the tall form, which represents now Death, now Madness; the latter in the figure of Sin. They made the impression which was called into shape by the etching of Albert Durer—the Knight of Death. This seems to us in no degree more improbable than that a dream, which all know is the most difficult of all things to remember, and so slight a circumstance as the meeting with the artisan, should have held by him till his sixty-third year, to be recorded as notable events of his life. What we would show by this is the manner in which he fastened strange meanings on small outward things, how they clung to him, and were ever driving him into communion and intercourse with themselves rather than the objects which they altered.

We shall make no apology for continuing these instances of his remarkable attachment as a child to ideas which came not

directly from what was before him, but from some innate affection or impulse of his mind.

Dreams always affected him greatly. It is literally true that they were the most important events of his life, and his most powerful springs of thought and action. And in relating them, we are most fully illustrating our view that he lived in another world. It will be seen that anything that wrought on his mind came in this manner into form. And these dreams were not merely such as most of us have, born and dying with the night, but actual events worth recording, as regulating his life. The very fact of his remembering them for more than half a century, sufficiently proves this assertion. When not yet two years old, he was in the habit of seeing a lady, with a cord in her left, and a knife in her right hand. "Be quiet," she seemed to say to him and his play-fellows; "I must bind you first, and then cut your throats." Now there is nothing very strange in this, as happening to a child of lively imagination; but what is strange is, that it occurred continually; it actually tinged his life for the time; he dwelt on its details, and made out of it a sort of point for his childish sports.

As connected with his childhood, there is somewhat remarkable in the fact, that he was born in a house reputed to be haunted. In pulling it down, in after years, the labourers heard moans and cries, and durst not finish their work. There was one beam which no one would touch. And there it was left, till, long afterwards, it fell of itself. How far this character of the house might have affected the mind of the baby—for the family left it while he was yet in the cradle—we leave to others to judge. No one can say how soon associations begin to affect and form the child's character. And surely none more than such as this, which, doubtless, influenced both the talk and practice of the household.

There is something in most of the foreign towns, and especially in those of Germany, peculiarly calculated to impress the mind of an imaginative child. Brandenburg, with its old cathedral and haunted houses, and "Rolandsbild," and narrow streets, and ghostly legends, did not fail to haunt the young Fouqué. Especially the stern old statue of Roland, with his long sword at his shoulder, a natural cap of moss growing on his head, appeared to him in his dreams again and again. On one occasion, in an illness, the child (five years old) was heard to say, "Begone, thou great Roland, I am too little yet to bear thy sword." On awaking, he explained that the figure stood by him, looking not unkindly at him, but as though he would put the well-known huge sword into his tiny hands.

In this same illness he had another strange fancy. His friends brought him every sort of toy and picture-book, but his heart was filled with one desire. He longed to recover a book which he had once seen, and which had left strongly printed on his

mind the image of a lovely woman on a conical eminence, with two long-bearded men standing as though to guard her. The book was of course some Missal, and the picture one of those striking groups of the Holy Virgin Mary between two saints, —St. Jerome perhaps, and St. Christopher, —which bring so strongly before us the idea of the Communion of Saints.

The anecdote may be useful, as serving to show how little strikes a child's mind, and how a well-managed picture, "*oculis subjecta fidelibus*," may act more strongly than many a lengthy discourse. He was always very fond of Missals. The wild maze of their margins, the sharp clear sprigs, the strange beasts, birds, trees, and flowers; the brightness of their green leaves, the creamy parchments, studded with golden stars; the endless convolutions of the stem, encircling the holy text in all its solid blackness; the initial letters lighting up each fresh part, and the pictures somewhat thumb-worn at the bottom, yet fresh in themselves, as though no older than yesterday, and far surpassing the best efforts of a printing age, were likely, perhaps, more than anything to foster his love of the unseen world. We copy the following passage from "*Minstrel Love*:" "Arnald perceived that one of his most beautiful heroic legends was blazoned in this book: great was his delight in seeing how the artist had decorated the broad margin with branches and cloudy images of the most verdant green, and the most brilliant red on a ground of purest azure;—never had he seen ought more blooming in his dreams; they all had a reference to the verse in the middle of the leaf. The inlaid lights, nearly all of beaming gold, mysteriously shone through them Yet it seemed strange to the Troubadour, that all these forms of men and beasts grew, as it were, out of the cups of flowers, or wreaths of clouds, and so far seemed to have less resemblance to human life than to plants and airy images."

He was educated, as we have said, by private tutors living in his father's house,—a system of education certainly in England almost hopeless of good results. And in the case of the young Fouqué on the whole it signally failed. The first of these, one Fricke, from the University of Halle, was a man of poetical temperament, and hence most likely to understand his pupil's disposition. He alone of the three went to work the right way. He read Bürger's Ballads with him, led his imagination into the proper paths, taught him to love him deeply, and contrived, in reproving him, to hit upon such topics as would touch his heart, rather than, or at least equally with, his head. For instance, when his infant brother died, and he was perfectly overwhelmed with grief, Fricke, instead of prosy arguments about the dead, and sententious sermon-like appeals, stopped him at once with a few words: "Make not yourself sinful, Fritz, by your wild grief." The boy was but five years old, yet he could feel this;

something in him told him that he had done wrong, and he at once checked his tears. Glover's *Leonidas* was one of the books which Fricke read to him, and we can easily understand how the stately tramp, and pomp and circumstance of war in this Poem, impressed the child's mind. Well had it been for him had not Fricke been called away. He could sympathise with the Poetry and chivalrous feeling growing in the boy's heart; and such sympathy, and quick perception of his character, could alone have saved him from its danger. As it was, his poetical faculty being then first encouraged, and afterwards checked, the results, as we shall show, were most fatal.

His next tutor, also from Halle, was named Sachse, a strong-minded, sensible sort of person, but utterly unequal to his task. He was one of those rule-and-line men, who cannot allow for the difference between human nature and that of stocks and stones; who think that all education lies in laying down certain hours and rules and pursuits, and driving their pupils into them. He could not possibly have understood Fouqué. And the consequence was, that the boy went on listlessly, learning nothing, or worse than this, learning to hate learning. He began to live most strangely to himself. His outward life was that of a listless, idle boy, but his inward was full of mystery and wild imaginings, visions of glittering armour and conquering heroes. He gives an anecdote of this period of his life, which shows what was in him. Frederic the Great was naturally the hero of the time, and, of course, both as a hero, and as personally connected with him, was often in his mind. He saw him alive but once, at a review at Potsdam. The figure of the little old King, with his bright eye and commanding glance, bowed by age, on a high English horse, courteously acknowledging Madame de la Motte Fouqué's obeisance, remained firmly in his mind. Still more, when, not long afterwards, he saw him a corpse. The body was laid on a sofa under a canopy in a great church attached to the Castle of Potsdam, clad in the usual garments, with a solemn repose on the noble and hardly altered features. All was the same as before, but that the nose was sunken at the roots, giving somewhat of the look of an eagle to the face, and that the lips were fast closed; some officers stood near, fanning away the flies. All were admitted to see him, a railing having previously been so arranged, that the multitude should enter and go out at two different doors. All were kept moving forward, and those who wished to observe most closely might return as often as they chose. The Fouqué family, as friends of the departed King, were admitted within the barrier: thus the boy was enabled to observe the awfulness of the scene, and the deep sorrow of the bystanders, and to mark the old Grenadiers, returning again and again to take a last look at their beloved commander, ever as they drew near, putting on a parade deportment, while the tears dropped silently from their hard, weather-beaten

faces. Nothing was left unobserved by him. As they passed through the royal apartments, he was struck, child as he was, with the contrast they displayed. In an alcove behind a gilt screen, stood the little camp-bed which Frederic always carried with him; in another room, the richest damask hangings and sofas, gnawed by his favourite spaniels, and, even in his lifetime, never mended; in another, was a clock once famed for exact time-keeping, but now stopped, whose case was an image of the Emperor Titus, with the legend, "*Perdidi diem.*" We have dwelt on all this thus minutely, because it appears to us very remarkable, that a boy of seven years old, which was his age at this time, should be able to feel them. That he did so, is sufficiently proved by his remembering them till his sixty-third year, when he wrote his Autobiography. It is easy enough to understand how a general impression should be made on any child; but what surprises us here, are the particular and formed ideas that he should be able to feel the poetry and meaning of the circumstances. And what follows is still more striking. He went home, thought as usual, much, and said little or nothing to any one. But the scene had left an impression on his heart, to come forth again in a dream. He found himself at a Court festival, with many of his friends about him. Presently a whisper went about "*Frederic is come to life; he is about to join us.*" Soon after the old King came in, and, accosting the child, asked, in a deep voice, "*Are you related to General Fouqué?*" He replied, "*I am his grandson.*" "*You must make yourself a great man,*" answered the King, "*if only you would be half such as he.*"

We care not if this anecdote seem puerile. It appears to us most clearly to show what the boy's mind was, and what would really have stirred him. He had already formed an idea of what was great and good, and his inward, or dreaming life, was longing after it; while, at the same time, he was cast into another or outward life, wearily dragging on through a series of lessons and rules without understanding or feeling a word. The objects of the inward life were real, heart-rousing, admonishing; those of the outward were false and useless. Sachse's line of tuition was an endeavour to laugh and drill the boy out of that disposition which was born in him, and which, being neither sinful nor dangerous, if properly managed, but, on the other hand, holy and exalted, it was his business to cultivate as the gift of God, as that in which his pupil should be brought up. This is the most difficult and most neglected part of education. People do not see that it is one thing to strive against the evil and corrupt affections of our nature, and another to kill those which, not being at all evil, are incomprehensible and startling to their shallow minds. Sachse was, however, unconsciously to himself, endeavouring, in fact, to cast from young Fouqué's heart the principle of activity and earnestness, that which might

then have made him, as it actually afterwards did make him, industrious and worthy; to reduce him to the merest well-seeming nonentity.

The boy became daily more reserved and less understood, till at last something very like idiotcy began to develope itself. The germ of poetry, the aspirations after the unseen world, thus suddenly checked, took naturally a morbid growth. The period of his boyhood was fertile in experimental teaching. The useful-knowledge-system was already dawning into light. There were many children's books, but all sadly deficient in that truth and earnestness, we may say that poetry, which alone can touch a child's heart. Numberless small plays were given to be learned, with the view of teaching morality and high philosophical motives for living virtuously to the unfortunate little victim. Characters were brought in to show that anger is bad, because as in that particular case it sometimes makes enemies, it does no good in the long-run; that we should not cheat or lie, because people sometimes, as in the moral tale, find you out and will not trust you, or because it is injurious to the principles of human citizenship; that we should not hoard money, because people sometimes lose it, and the like; involving morals, utterly deficient as well in logic as in the power of convincing the heart. Fouqué gives an amusing anecdote, illustrating the uselessness of these tales. There was a cross little girl in the house with them. He, child as he was, set to work to convince her of her fault, lead her to confess, and then have a school-book reconciliation. Accordingly he read her an account of two children from Africa, one good, one bad, duly expatiating on the advantages which his goodness brought to the good, and the evils which his badness brought to the bad. "What do I care?" was the girl's immediate answer. And "What do I care?" perhaps not in words, but at least in feeling, is, we suspect, the general answer to all these moral tales. Sachse, however, plied him with them vigorously; but the more he struggled to fit his pupil to the tone of German morality of the end of the eighteenth century, the more did the boy shake him off. He made plays and tales for himself, not merely, like most children, inventing, but actually transcribing them; picked up legends of forests and caves, and old ballads, and learned them quickly enough. For there is something in the wisdom of the men of old, so different from the bald morality which we have been deprecating, which at once strikes the heart. Their own minds were awakened by verses of the Bible, and snatches of hymns and old heroic tales. Their hearts and fancies were braced and strengthened, and along with them their understandings also; and so what they wrote bore the same character, and was well fitted for minds like Fouqué's, deeply cast in their mould. He felt the meaning of old things, as well as that of the solemn sights which nothing can take from earth. He lived, as we have

said, in a world, not of objects, but their meanings. Thus he took rapidly to the harpsichord, because he at once grasped the notion that notes expressed sounds. His young mind dwelt much on the mysterious idea of the Antipodes. Outward things began to speak strangely to him of death, till, in his happiest moments, as he says, a gushing feeling of distress came over him, bringing not so much thoughts of himself, as of the grief to those he loved. And the worst of it was, that no one fully understood him. All joined in aiming to convince his heart through his head, rather than his head through his heart.

Yet there is something in a mother's love which cannot be reduced to rule and line, something which is sure to strike home. And Madame de la Motte Fouqué was able, in some degree, to allay the boy's cravings for sympathy. Not, we should say, that she thoroughly understood her son; but this instinct of maternal tenderness supplied the place of accurate discernment of his character. He saw her hanging over his bed at night, and knew the meaning of the prayer which she offered up for his welfare. When, then, he lost her, he lost all that on earth could fill his heart. "November 20, 1788, was," he says, "a fearful morning for me! I had gone joyfully to bed the night before, because both the physicians had pronounced that the danger was entirely past. Next morning, our friend, Count Schmettau, stood by my bedside; and his noble heart must have been all but broken, when, starting up, I asked him, 'How is my mother?' 'Poor Fritz,' he said, 'she is very ill . . . You will soon have no mother on earth.'" She hardly recognized her son when he went to her bedside, "but quietly turned her deer-like eyes upon him, and asked him what he wanted?" The terrified boy was carried away, and an hour or two later she died. Her illness was typhus fever; and as her face was much altered, it was immediately covered with a veil. In this state the boy saw her, and the consequence was, that he fell into another of his strange dreams. The very next night he dreamed that he crept into the room where his mother lay. To his horror, she sat up and clasped him in her long cold arms! He strove to free himself, and, in his struggles, he thought he cast at the veiled form a little painted box, which she had given him shortly before. He woke with a shudder of remorse and anguish. This dream, fearful enough under all circumstances, still more so to a child of ten years old, came back again three nights in succession. Each morning he awoke in greater agony, yet could not make up his mind to confide his grief to any one. After the third vision, all health and strength left him, both of body and mind. He fell back to the state of a child three years old. He began to love no sports nor toys, but those of babyhood. Sometimes, however, scraps of poetry fell from him, or he fancied himself some great hero, ridding the earth of wild beasts. Sometimes he would babble about the northern legends, which

he had lately been eagerly reading; sometimes mere babyish nonsense. In the midst of his talk he would faint away. He reasoned to himself, with a strange mixture of madness and childishness, on death and the dead. A morbid love of eating came over him. When his father, and Schmettau, took him for change of scene to Potsdam, his mind still remained the same. everything had a ghostly, unreal look. An awful feeling possessed him that he had to seek something, yet not exactly knowing what; a feeling far other than *ennui*—the craving of an unregulated mind for her who was departed; unregulated, because misunderstood, and lacking sympathy and religious tone. At length, a new train of thought came over him; he began to dwell on his mother's love to him, and his ill return for that love; how many of her wishes he had neglected; how he had missed so much of her when alive, never now to be recalled. This, he says, saved him. The fountain of his tears was opened. Tears softened his heart, gave a vent to his troubled thoughts, and, to use his own expression, staved off imbecility. His mind gradually recovered, and with the mind, the body also.

[We are compelled to break off very abruptly, but we hope to resume the subject in our next Number.]

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1. *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David.* New York: Miller. 1841.
 2. *Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.* New York: Swords. 1841.
 3. *The Churchman Newspaper.* New York.
 4. *The Gospel Messenger Newspaper.* Utica, United States.
 5. *The Banner of the Cross Newspaper* (Philadelphia). *The Episcopal Recorder* (Philadelphia). *The Chronicle of the Church.* *The Western Episcopalian* (Gambier). *The Christian Witness.* *The Southern Churchman.* *The Christian Examiner* (Boston). *The True Catholic; Reformed, Protestant and Free* (Baltimore). *Charleston Gospel Messenger.* *The Primitive Standard* (Clarksville, Tennessee).
 6. *The Double Witness of the Church.* By the Rev. WILLIAM INGRAHAM KIP, M.A. *Author of the Lenten Fast.* New York: Appleton. 1843.
 7. *The Church Almanac for the year of our Lord, 1844.* New York: Protestant Episcopal Tract Society, &c.

PART II.

PERHAPS the most valuable materials for the history of the Anglo-American Church, are to be found in Dr. Hawley's "Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the Uni-

States of America. Vol. I. Virginia; Vol. II. Maryland."— This collection we shall frequently refer to, and in redeeming our promise, of December, too long deferred, we shall partly attempt to give an historical sketch of the rise and progress, or rather of the apostasy and resuscitation, of the Transatlantic Church, as well as furnish materials by which its daily working, its moral temper, its present aspect towards the frightful brood of sectarianism, the waste and howling wilderness to which it has pleased God to banish His faithful witness, may be estimated.

And let us never forget that it seems to be part of our own mysterious probation in this land of England to originate much evil, of which the full fruits are borne in times and places far distant and different from our own: we seem reserved, it may be for a work of repentance, and it may be only for a more signal judgment. We have in many things a bad pre-eminence in evil; and yet we are held back from following our own example, so to say, and from consistently carrying out our own principles. England has led the way in national crimes, and yet she has never been so blackened with actual sins as many nations which, in principle, have only been her imitators and followers. We have set precedents which we have been withheld from following out in all their atrocity; we have in Church and State rocked to our very base, and yet we have righted; other communities have been shattered to atoms by convulsions which seem scarcely to have affected our integrity, and yet which we commenced. England, for example, was the first to break up the feudal empire, and yet there is more of the aristocratic element *practical* among us than in any other part of the world; we were least of all kingdoms merged in the mediæval imperial power, and yet the Roman law is the foundation of the legal practice of half the island; long before the name of Luther was heard we set the example of the frightful conspiracy against ecclesiastical authority in Wicliffe and the Lollards; the Reformation *principle*, in its destructive aspect, state it how we will, had most ample leisure to do its worst among us because backed by the Court; and still, in that tempest of destruction, we alone, of all the bodies which renounced the supremacy of the Western Patriarch, have preserved, however, according to some, shorn, either apostolic form, or discipline, succession, or doctrine. Again, we set the example of successful rebellion; and consummated it by bringing a royal martyr's "discrowned head" to the block, after the mockery of a judicial sentence; and yet, can we compare our rebellion and revolution to that of France? We led the van in the great philosophic school of infidelity, in Lord Herbert of Cherbury; and yet can we measure the actual results of English Deism with the present state of educated minds in Prussia and France? We were the first to preach the godless maxim of "civil and religious liberty all over the world;" but it has been reserved for us, but for our rebellious children, to practise it in

America. We have been ever, then, among the earliest to sow the seed of evil; but its harvest has been laid up for others; we have been restrained from carrying out principles, though we have had boldness and sagacity enough in originating them.

And, of course, this view of our social state is at once consoling and threatening. It seems, if we may speak on such a subject, that a very peculiar part has been assigned to the Angel of this nation, to witness for great truths, and, in some sense, still to hold and avow them in theory, and as abstract rules, even while we have been the very first to set the example of direct treason against them in practice and fact. Hence, it may be, the great inconsistency between our subjective and objective state; hence our contradictory words and deeds; hence our alternating and swaying theology; hence our mixed policy in Church and State government; hence the universal assent at present given to the practice of ruling England, civil and ecclesiastical, by mere expediency and negation. For if, as is said, the tendency of all existing political parties is to coalesce upon mutual surrender, so is it also most certainly the all but avowed intention of the present heads of the Church so to trim the balance between *contradictory* views, even upon the very first principles of the Gospel, that a dogma, a decision, a mind made up, a truth settled and acted upon on either side, in a word, *consistency* alone is to be proscribed among us. Our highest aim is to acquire a colourless medium of mind, tinted by all passing shades of thought, but absorbing neither light nor warmth; and when this characterless character is acquired and presents itself under the convenient no-meaning of a prudent man, a moderate man, a safe man, one not given to extremes, then look out for stalls and mitres—then welcome red-tape and despatch-boxes.

The fact is, that we are the most *unprincipled* people, at the present moment, on the face of the globe: who can tell what we are, Protestant, or Catholic; either, or both, or neither? we have not settled it ourselves. We cannot agree whether we are priests or ministers: we do not know whether we believe in the sacraments or not; *adhuc sub judice lis est*, whether ours is part of the Catholic Church, or the same in kind as the Free Secession. Bishop Jewell tells us that "Zuinglians, as some contemptuously call them, are Christians, and friends, and brethren;" and five thousand of our Clergy are ready to talk of "our dear dissenting brethren." And then Dr. Pusey tells us plainly that Zuinglians deny the faith, and are Socinians, all but in form; and Mr. Wm. Palmer calls upon us to "anathematize the very principle of Protestantism" (which, in his sense, we do most fully). And then as to our Prayer-book; we have been disputing for at least two centuries as to its very meaning. From all which plain people get miserably distressed and perplexed; they see,—indeed every one sees but those, however high in

station, whose business and function it is *not* to see,—that of two contradictories both cannot be equally true; *e. g.* it cannot be true that baptism confers regeneration, if it is true that it is only an instructive ceremony. It cannot come to the same thing whether the words “whosoever sins ye remit” are a commission, or a prayer; and yet, till we have settled these things, till we have pronounced—This is orthodoxy—This is heresy—and till we have resolved to *act* upon such decisions, it is little short of nonsense to talk of “the Doctrines of the Church,” and “Our standard Divines,” and “Our recognized Theology;” because all these convenient phrases just simply beg the question, and assume that we have settled both doctrine, and standard, and appeal, and authority. There can be no question that we should not have been left to arrive at our present most wonderful state, unless a great moral end were to be attained by it; we should never have been permitted to retain so much, however unproductive, had it not been intended that we should some day or other *claim* our rights as a Church, or, with equal explicitness, formally renounce them.

And this being our present state, it is the natural result of that anomalous and suspended animation, that trance-like life which we have so long led. It is one of imminent danger; few things are so seriously startling as an accomplished hypocrite; few things more inexplicable than fine words and few deeds accompanying; to read our books, to hear us talk, to listen to our claims, since the revival of letters, the Church would seem to be the Sole Reality, and yet what is it in action? It is simply because it does not speak—and is not aggressive—and does not rebuke—and does not display its claims, that the world doubts that it is. And this having been our policy, is our curse, and will be our ruin. Our very heaviest condemnation, perhaps, may be, not so much that we have been rich, or luxurious, or hard-hearted, or neglectful, or latitudinarian, but that having “known the truth,” we have not thought the truth to be *therefore* acted out; having permitted such forward claims to authority as a Church to have been made for us, and in us, we have been content to lodge a silent protest; for it was the servant who *knew* his Master’s will who was beaten with *many* stripes. Better, far better, may it be for the most miserable set of ignorant Ranters, who are convinced that they are just as good as pope and cardinal, and *who act out this conviction*, than for a bench of Bishops to talk of a Church, and yet to leave ours such as, till the last decade of years, it was.

Nor are these thoughts out of place in resuming our notice of the American Church in the United States; we are much bound up in our daughter’s welfare; for much of her sins and weaknesses, where they exist, we are directly accountable; the present religious aspect of the United States is, as for other

reasons, so it may be for an especial warning to ourselves. As we said, the Anglo-Americans are not only what we have shown them the way to be, but what we legitimately should have been ourselves at the present moment, had our own precepts been followed at home. In them, therefore, we must view our own warning, and our own neglects. It is not for nothing that we have been spared the degradation which has swept over others. For to have been mercifully preserved may be only that our final apostasy should be the more conspicuous. Our learning—our claims—our “mitred front”—our primitive model—our literary talents—our witness to ancient truths—our exclusive spirit—our endowments and patronage—these things, of which we have hitherto delighted to boast, shall condemn us; the very amplitude of our means to become a glorious Church, shall be the strongest testimony against us. Never, perhaps, since the days of Constantine, was there a body of men so largely gifted with all external advantages of respect, wealth, acquirements, and opportunities to do their Master’s work, as the Clergy of the Church of England; and yet, if they have incompletely or inadequately fulfilled their mission, any cause must be assigned for their failure rather than ignorance of the work which the Church demanded of them. And the very hour of our last trial may be at hand. Let us see how we have, as a Church, treated our colonies in British America.

It must not be supposed that the early colonists were either ignorant or neglectful of the first and sacred duty of making their new homes Christian. They did, to some extent, come up to that heathen piety which deemed a colony a sacred thing, and they lighted the voyaging fire of the Gospel at the paternal altar. Sir Walter Raleigh, the first settler of Virginia, left a hundred pounds “for the propagation of the Christian religion in Virginia,” when he assigned the original patent to Thomas Smith. The first charter granted by James to the London Company, assigns, as one reason for the grant, that the new undertaking was “a work which may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of His Divine Majesty, in the propagating of the Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness, and in miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God;” and the royal instructions issued to the colonists at the same period, 1606, require “that all persons should kindly treat the savage and heathen people in those parts, and use all proper means to draw them to the true service and knowledge of God.” Indeed, the Bishop of New Zealand’s anxious desire to incorporate the aborigines with the settlers, was anticipated in the settlement of Virginia: the Company were, in the same instrument, instructed “to provide that the true word and service of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said colonies, but also, as much as might

be, among the savages bordering upon them, according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England." In accordance with which Christian principles, we find that the *jus connubii* was acted upon between the settlers and natives; Pocahontas, —an Indian princess,—received christian baptism at the hands of the Rev. Alex. Whitaker, son of the celebrated Whitaker, Master of St. John's, Cambridge, and was married to a Mr. Rolfe; and from this union are "descended some of the most distinguished members of the Church in Virginia at the present day." (Hawks, p. 29.) Whitaker, "the Apostle of Virginia," (though in adopting this phrase the first clergyman, Hunt, must not be forgotten,) is known in England as the friend of Nicholas Ferrar; and it was probably at his suggestion that this eminent saint left three hundred pounds to the infant college of Henrico, founded and endowed as a "school for the English, as well as for the natives." This institution was destroyed, and the coincidence is significant, in the unexplained massacre of the colony, or at least the greatest portion of it, by the Indians, in 1622; and it was not till William and Mary College was erected, that the attempt to consolidate the Church, and to convert the natives by a similar provision, was again made.*

In the quaint, yet religious language of the seventeenth century, Virginia and Maryland are styled, in an historical narrative of 1656, "Leah and Rachell, or the two Fruitfull Sisters of Virginia and Maryland." It does not appear with what especial propriety they are linked together, since the first lord proprietary and colonist of the latter colony was the celebrated Lord Baltimore, a conscientious convert to Romanism. With the view of securing for his own communion that liberty which it could not enjoy in the mother-country, this nobleman transported himself to Maryland, but died before he was enabled to found his plantation. Dr. Hawks tells us, that in "his discussions before the council he never concurred with those who deemed the extirpation of the natives to be necessary; he contended that duty required the effort to convert and civilize them." Although the first patent issued by Charles I. to the Romanist Cecil, son of the first Lord Baltimore, professed "a laudable zeal for extending the Christian religion, and the territories of

* Nor were these laudable principles lost sight of. In the instructions given by the London Company to Governor Coyatt, in 1621, he was urged "to use all probable means of bringing over the natives to a love of civilization, and to the love of God and His true religion." The employment of native servants was urged, that they might be employed as instruments "in the general conversion of their countrymen." And a certain number of Indian children in each township were to be educated, and "the most towardly of them fitted for the college of Henrico; and they earnestly require help and furtherance in that pious and important work; not doubting the particular blessing of God upon the colony, and being assured of the love of all good men on that account." Had this noble scheme been ever acted upon in our dependencies, "God's way might have been known upon earth, His saving health long all nations."

the empire, and bestowed on the proprietor the patronage and advowson of all churches which, (with the increasing religion and worship of Christ,) within the said region, hereafter shall happen to be built, together with licence and faculty of erecting and founding churches, and chapels, and places of worship, and of causing the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our kingdom of England," it was not very probable that a colony, consisting almost entirely of Romanist emigrants, should be much of a Leah to the Anglican communion. Indeed, it was but a barren daughter; for we do not hear of any Church of England Clergy till 1676, and then three in number for 20,000 souls. At the Orange Revolution in England, the Lords of Baltimore were violently despoiled of their proprietary; and at the appointment of a royal Governor, Copley, (we believe an ancestor of the present English Chancellor,) the Anglican communion was established in Virginia.

It does not seem too much to say, that State Establishment, as conducted and settled in America, was the bane of the Churches in Maryland and Virginia. Into the lawfulness of Establishments we are not now about to enter; we refer, in the way of objection, to *such* Establishment as that of the Transatlantic Church. The step was itself, upon the very lowest ground, expedient; for at this period the majority of the colonists were Anglicans; we object to the *mode*, not to the thing itself; and to it may be traced, in connexion with other causes to be hereafter alluded to, the final separation of these States from the English empire.

The original endowment of the Colonial Church was, in Maryland, "a tax of forty pounds of tobacco [the staple of the country] per taxable poll, to be laid out in the repairs and building of churches, and in the support of ministers;" and in Virginia, 1621, it was enacted, that "each clergyman should receive from his parishioners 1,500 pounds of tobacco, and sixteen bushels of corn; ten pounds of tobacco being the maximum of tax upon an individual." All which was right enough if the true divine principle of *tithe* had been announced in this payment; but, in fact, it was a mere compulsory money assessment, in which no principle whatever was involved. Tithe is an absurdity in terms, without the full hierarchical system of sacrifice and priesthood, offering and succession, of devotion on the part of the people, and benediction on the part of the Church. It is because tithe has been considered in England apart from its connexion with the full sacerdotal principle, that in tithe commutations and moduses, the essential element of tithe, in its sacred character, has been lost; and it was from a similar blunder in America, that this gift, even of the fruits of the earth, well as it sounds, was nothing more than a State stipend—a bargain of hire—a secret simony and selling of sacra-

ments. A payment, in whatever kind, to "a minister," is one thing; an offering at the altar another. Pew-rents, because they are voluntary, are not *therefore* better than an endowment; so the present American Church must not plume itself upon excelling, in this particular, her tobacco-paid forefathers: and, on the other hand, all compulsory payments, either in produce, or in the value of produce, are not, even though they recognise the separate responsibility of individual souls, *therefore* the divine system of tithe; nor yet because objections lie against the assessments of Virginia and Maryland, must it be concluded that to give "the tenth of all" is other than a fundamental Christian duty.

For, be it observed, there was, strictly speaking, no *altar* in the American Church before the Revolution; and therefore there could have been neither tithe nor priesthood, since these are correlatives. Which thought brings us to the second inherent corruption of the American Church. It was without Bishops, and therefore it was alive only with death. A Church without a Bishop is *ex terminorum* an absurdity—a contradiction—a negation—a logical *non est*. And though this is generally admitted now, we must carry our thoughts back to days when even a Hooker refined such an axiom away. But in this one principle was implied the whole being of a religious community; because our American off-shoots had not this grace, they were but as branches plucked off a tree and planted in a July sun. And so the great Churchmen of the last century were convinced; some, perhaps, from imperfect and unsatisfactory reasons, such as the mere want of a ruling Head; * some upon low grounds of expediency; some from the overpowering testimony of hard fact; and some, it is to be presumed, from the higher and more spiritual conviction and sense of the pervading and sanctifying presence of grace diffused in *all* the ministry of the Church which is inseparable from the Episcopate. Applying this truth to the endowment of the Virginian Church, we can at once understand how temporal prosperity, apart from the Church's life and spirit, would be rather a curse than a blessing: there existed no guarantee for the blessing of Heaven.

Hence it is instructive to trace how the true value of the Episcopate has grown upon us at home. Its existence was preserved in the reign of Elizabeth by the narrowest possible escape from annihilation; in which fact abundant reason may be found for a consequent inadequate perception of its importance. Privileges which are so lightly esteemed as to be all but lost, are slow in recovering their hold on the mind. But apostolic rule was

* A curious testimony to the want of a separate *ruling* order is produced by Dr. Hawks (Virginia, p. 96,) in the records of the Baptist Association of 1774, where this body "set apart *Apostles*, whose work was to pervade the Churches, to do, or at least to see to the work of ordination, and to set in order things that were wanting."

preserved to us that in the fulness of time we might value it; and it was disregarded for the same reason, as we hinted when we began this paper. We have been mercifully forced into an acknowledgment of the blessedness of the Christian Episcopate by finding to what evils its loss, as on the European Continent, its abeyance as in the Colonies, has inevitably and invariably conducted. But it is, at the same time, consoling to observe how, with a godly jealousy, our best Churchmen have always indicated the *πρώτον ψεύδος* of the Continental Church in the absence of the Episcopate.

The jurisdiction of the Bishop of London over the Colonies seems to have originated in an application to that prelate—perhaps for no other reason than because his metropolis was the seat of government—to provide missionaries for America. Such, at least, is Dr. Hawks' conjecture (p. 36) with respect to the emigration of the Clergy to Virginia, in 1619. Laud seems to have embodied this transmarine authority of the Bishops of London by a formal recognition of it.

"And now, at last, 1633, we have the face of an English Church in Holland, *responsal to the Bishops of London for the time being, as a part of their diocess, directly and immediately subject to their jurisdiction.* The like course was also prescribed for our factories in Hamborough, and those further off; that is to say, in Turkey, in the Mogul's dominions, the Indian Islands, *the plantations in Virginia*, the Barbadoes, and all other places where the English had any standing residence in the way of trade."—*Heylin's Cyprianus Anglicanus*, p. 260.

This order in council he procured soon after he was promoted to the see of Canterbury. But we cannot find that either he, or any of the divines of the seventeenth century, felt that the extension of the Episcopate was the only way of planting the Church in the Colonies. Indeed, it was not till after the revolution during Compton's Episcopate, that Ecclesiastical Commissaries, whose office under the English law is "to supply the office and jurisdiction of the Bishop in the out-places of the diocese"* were appointed; Dr. Blair for Virginia; Dr. Bray for Maryland; the former in 1689, the latter in 1687. And it is remarkable enough, that the application for this functionary came from the Colonists themselves, when they asked for a "a superintendent Commissary, or *Suffragan*, invested with so much of the authority of the diocesan as would capacitate him to redress what is amiss, and supply what is wanting in the Church." (Maryland MSS. from the Fulham Archives.) This mention of a *Suffragan* is the first distinct recognition of the need of a Colonial Bishop.†

* Termes de la Loi.

† Mr. Caswall tells us that the first application for a Bishop was in the reign of Charles II. We find no authority for this statement; but it probably exists in a pamphlet of 1661, "Virginia's Cure," prepared by Sir William Berkeley, the Governor, and presented to the Bishop of London.

Indeed, never was the need of a Bishop more apparent. The missionaries and chaplains were poor, ignorant, and profligate. Discipline, waning at home, was extinct abroad. Not only had the Church few, but disgraceful pastors; and the consequences of this it is needless to detail: and though the Commissary might visit and charge, he could neither authoritatively censure nor degrade. And a ministry, whose ordination was to be procured only by a voyage of 4,000 miles, and a people among whom confirmation was unknown, and whose churches and churchyards were unconsecrated as the rule, formed a community as little like a Church as we can conceive.

Dr. Blair discharged his discouraging office for more than half a century with diligence and intrepidity, and to his exertions is due the foundation of William and Mary College, which remains a blessing to the Church, and a noble monument to his memory. Dr. Bray's is one of the brightest names in the annals of our Church; and his tenure of office, as it is perhaps the only bright spot in the early annals of the Transatlantic Church, we may perhaps be pardoned for sketching somewhat in detail.

Dr. Bray was not a rich man; indeed his slender means compelled him to leave Oxford soon after he had taken his first degree. As soon as he received the appointment of Commissary to Maryland,

"With an ardour which seemed to have formed one of the strong traits in his character, he immediately directed his whole attention to a consideration of the best means of accomplishing the great object he had in view. He was well aware that more Clergymen were essential, and that none but the more indigent of that class were likely to forego the comforts of friends and homes for the labours of a Missionary in the Colonies. His hopes, therefore, rested upon the poorer Clergy; but they, as he remembered, would want books to qualify them for the proper end of such a mission; and the possession of a library might also operate as a temptation to some to embark in the plan. To the Bishops, therefore, he applied for assistance and encouragement in procuring proper parochial libraries for the missionaries in America. His application was not in vain; and such was the encouragement he met with, that, ere he closed his labours and his life, he had succeeded in establishing, within the present limits of the United States, no less than thirty-nine parochial libraries, some of which contained more than a thousand volumes. Let it be remembered with gratitude, at least by American Churchmen, that in this great work he expended not merely time and labour, but more money than any other individual who can be named. He gave nearly all his earnings to the advancement of religion and the Church in these colonies. It may sometimes, even yet, fall to the lot of the American Churchmen to meet, in some secluded spot of our country, with a volume which once formed part of Dr. Bray's parochial libraries; (for, alas! the lapse of time, and casualties of the war of independence, have scattered the most of them;) and should it be so, let the sight of the antiquated volume serve for the time in the place of a more enduring monument to the memory of one of the best benefactors that the Church in America ever had. Who can tell how much the faith and piety of our forefathers may have been indebted to the presence of these libraries, extending, as they did, from Massachusetts to Carolina? Who can say how far these books contributed to the correct understanding and faithful preservation of those peculiarities of our religious system, both as to belief and practice, which we cannot, as Episco-

pallians [Churchmen?] conscientiously relinquish."—*Hawks' Maryland*, pp. 83—85.

To this very day a society—we fear not a very active one—exists at home, "The Associates of Dr. Bray," whose object is to provide parochial libraries for our own country; nor must it be forgotten that Dr. Bray was one of the founders, not only of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, but of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; that he was the friend of Nelson and Grabe, Stanhope and Wheler; that *his* books were among the first recommended by the latter Society; and while the historian of the American Church—no prejudiced or enthusiastic testimony—attributes to his books and his principles almost the very existence of the Church in that continent, we, in England, and in this very Society, have been content, not only to abandon his footsteps, but to reject his works from our catalogue. But let it never be lost sight of, whatever these Societies are, or are likely to be, that to them is owing the Colonial Episcopate of our own days, and the preservation, however crippled, of the Church in America. Well may the Society for Propagating the Gospel be proud of such a testimony as the following:—

"Not disheartened, the grand idea of a congregation, or society, *pro fide propagandâ*, to extend over the whole kingdom, and to be chartered by the crown, which he had laid before the Bishop of London, now took complete possession of Dr. Bray's mind; and early in the year 1699, a few individuals, of whom Dr. Bray was one, began to meet in a voluntary association; hence arose those noble institutions, 'the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,' and 'the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.' To this latter institution especially, the American Church owes a debt of grateful affection, not likely soon to be forgotten. When that Society is asked what it has done, it may point to the American Episcopal Church, and say, 'There is our visible memorial—there is one chapter in our history;' and let not the remark be deemed either arrogant or invidious, that the Missionary Society which can point to such a trophy of successful labour, *is not to be reckoned second to any Missionary institution in Christendom.*"—*Hawks' Maryland*, pp. 92, 93.

Dr. Bray's plans for securing missionaries were of the most prudent description; he proposed that each Bishop in England should appoint one missionary from his own diocese; and that the faithful should be urged to contribute to his support at the rate of 50*l.* per annum; such contributions to be paid to the Archdeacon at the Easter Visitation; and which plan was partly commenced, Dean Sherlock engaging to pay 10*l.* per annum, and one of the Bishops 20*l.* per annum, "so as I continue in my Bishopric." Till this is done, or till a Missionary* College is established, it is worse than useless to attempt to propagate the Gospel with implements which are *too bad for the home market.*

* Now we are on this subject, we must ask why the two *Missionary Fellows* of Jesus College are not compelled to do that for which they receive their endowment, or to resign their Fellowships?

Nor did Dr. Bray's efforts stop here; in 1702, he projected a more extensive scheme for the spiritual welfare of Maryland. He saw that till a Bishop was provided neither permanence nor reverence could be secured to the Colonial Church; he, therefore, published in England a memorial on the necessity of an ecclesiastical superior in Maryland: he proposed a plan for the endowment of a Bishopric, and set about collecting subscriptions; but, owing to the malign influence of the State, and, perhaps, to the supineness of the English hierarchy, the scheme was blighted at home; though, it is pleasant to record among the earliest and largest contributions to the funds of the Society for Propagating the Gospel such benefactions as these, which showed that the seeds sown by the good Commissary were only dormant. In 1715, Archbishop Tennison, 1,000*l.* towards the settlement of two Bishops, one for the Continent, the other for the Isles of America: in 1717, a person unknown, 1,000*l.* towards the maintenance of a Bishop in America when such Bishop shall be established there: in 1720, Dugald Campbell, Esq., 500*l.*, the interest to be applied to the Society's general design till a Bishop or Bishops be settled in America: and in 1741, Lady Elizabeth Hastings 500*l.*, towards the maintenance of one or more Bishops to be settled in the English plantations in America. After Dr. Bray's resignation of his office as Ecclesiastical Commissary, he was empowered to nominate his successor, and it may be well to remark that his choice fell upon Archdeacon Hewetson, the friend and monitor of the more celebrated Bishop Wilson; another proof, if such were wanting, of the theological temper of the founder of the two venerable Societies.

In 1714, Governor Hart and the Clergy formally asked for a Bishop; and, ten years after, this demand was repeated by Commissaries Henderson and Wilkinson, with an offer of the proceeds of their offices and other means to the extent of 600*l.* per annum; and we find, as early as 1702, one of the first missionaries of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, Talbot, in an interesting letter published in the *British Magazine* for February, 1844,* saying, "we have great need of a Bishop here to visit all the Churches, to ordain some, to confirm others, and bless all;" and in 1703, "we have seen several counties, islands, and provinces, which have hardly an orthodox minister among them, which might have been supplied, had we been so happy as to see a Bishop or Suffragan apud Americanos."

Talbot's history is a very remarkable one: he happened to be chaplain on board the ship which took out another noble person, George Keith, who was the Society's first missionary to America; and so struck was he with his fellow-voyager's self-denying

* Apparently by the present excellent Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, Mr. Ernest Hawkins.

spirit that he voluntarily offered himself as the companion of Keith's missionary labours. Keith, as his name might have led us almost to augur, was a descendant from the great Quaker race: himself a convert from that heresy, he was destined to be a wonderful instrument in making other converts from it in New York and Pennsylvania, and other plantations in which it was settled and endowed. This voyage was a very blessed one: perhaps because—and such testimonies to the practice are very rare—as Keith tells us, “*daily prayers according to the Church of England were offered during its continuance, in which the whole ship's company, officers and passengers, devoutly joined.*”—(British Mag. p. 124.) Our own account of the toils and virtues of this pair of friends is confirmed by Dr. Hawks; but the subsequent history of Talbot is so curious, and so little known in England, that a long extract may not be out of place, to show that Bishops Seabury and White *were not the first Bishops in America.*

“When Mr. Keith returned to England, to report to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, Mr. Talbot fixed himself at Burlington, in New Jersey. No one of the Clergy felt more sensibly the indispensable need of actual supervision of the American Churches by a Bishop; no one wrote oftener to the Society on the subject, and in his numerous letters in our possession, there is a manly, direct earnestness, and freedom of speech, which carry with them an irresistible conviction of his sincerity and devoted zeal for the Church. Year after year he represented facts, and prayed that a Bishop might be consecrated and sent. At last he despaired of ever seeing one in the Colonies. He had now become the oldest Missionary on the Continent. Suddenly he seems to have called to mind the Nonjuring Bishops of England. He asked for, and obtained leave to visit his native land. After an absence of two years and a half he returned, and was speedily followed by the Rev. Dr. Welton. It was soon whispered that *these gentlemen were in Episcopal orders*, having been consecrated by the English Nonjuring Bishops: *there is no doubt that such was the fact.* Dr. Welton was invited to Christ Church, Philadelphia, and Mr. Talbot still made Burlington his home; both however travelled into the other colonies, and there is direct evidence that they at least administered confirmation, and wore the robes of a Bishop.—Governors thought the subject of sufficient moment to be presented to the authorities at home, and it was there brought before the Privy Council. His Majesty's writ of privy seal was addressed to Welton, commanding him upon his allegiance forthwith to return to Great Britain; and upon this order Welton sailed to Lisbon.* *Talbot was at the same time dismissed from the employment of the Society for Propagating the Gospel;* and in his answer it is observable, that he intimates his knowledge of the cause and studiously avoids any contradiction of its existence. Both Talbot and Welton had been in Maryland, and had there endeavoured to perform Episcopal acts. They never prayed for the King and royal family, but for the King and Prince. Their success in Maryland was but small; they found but one or two of the Clergy to acknowledge them.—Whatever Episcopal acts they performed were privately done, and tradition countenances the opinion that some such were performed. Bishop White was accustomed to relate a story which he had heard from his elder brethren when he was but a youth, which may be here most appropriately preserved. A gentleman who had been ordained by the congregationalists of New England, and who had officiated

* Where he died in 1726.

among them for many years, at length expressed doubts about the validity of his ordination, and manifested no small trouble of mind on the subject. Suddenly, about the time of the arrival of Talbot and Welton, he left home without declaring the place of his destination, or the purpose of his journey. After an interval of a few weeks he returned, and gave no further information of his movements, than that he had been to some of the southern colonies; he also said on his return, that he was now perfectly satisfied with his ordination.—It was soon whispered that he had visited the Nonjuring Bishops and received ordination from them. He never said so: but among Churchmen it was believed that such was the fact; and the circumstance furnished them with an additional argument in favour of sending over Bishops attached to the reigning family. About the time of the alarm created by the acts of Talbot and Welton, Commissary Henderson, prompted by the fear that a schism might be introduced by the Nonjurors, unless the Colonial Churches were speedily supplied with the Episcopate by the acting Bishops in England, proposed to sell to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, for a sum much below its value, his land, houses, and stock, that it might be appropriated to the support of an American Bishop. We have not been able to discover that the Society ever hearkened to the proposal.”—*Hawks, Maryland*, pp. 182—186.

Dr. Hawks does not seem to be aware that Welton was consecrated by a *single* Bishop, Ralph Taylor (and, therefore, in a most irregular way), at some time between March 22, 1720, when he (Taylor) was consecrated by Hawes, Spinckes, and Gandy, and his death, Dec. 26, 1722; and that Talbot was consecrated by Welton himself, and Welton's consecrator, Taylor; nor does Dr. Hawks add, which we state on Mr. Perceval's* authority, (*Apology for Apostolical Succession*, p. 224.) that Talbot afterwards took the oaths and submitted. It is useless at this time to go into the probable results had this mysterious measure ever been carried out in America. It is more than doubtful whether consecration by a single Bishop is at all valid; and while we cheerfully admit the temptations to which Talbot in the bitterness of his soul was subjected—fearful almost as those of the Patriarch's daughters—we can plainly see that, both for our sins, and for those of the American Church, the Episcopate was withheld in the way of a judgment.

We may now rapidly figure the general aspect which the American Church presented when the war of Independence commenced—that scourge for our mutual sins. It does not fall within our present limited plan, to trace the successive arrivals of false doctrine, heresy, and schism, which were drained off into this unhappy continent: the Pilgrim Fathers, as they are nonsensically called—Penn, the Quaker—Cotton Mather—the Dutch Calvinism of New York—the Puritanism established

* There is some mistake—probably a clerical one—in Mr. Perceval's dates: he states that Taylor consecrated both Welton and Talbot in 1723-24, and yet he makes Taylor to die in 1722. We may as well remark, that we are hardly prepared to go so far as to talk of “the wretchedness of the schism” when White, Lloyd, and Turner consecrated Hickes and Wagstaffe. If ever that *opus desideratissimum*—the history of the Nonjurors—is written, we shall perhaps better understand their motives and principles.

by law in New England—the more than inquisitorial despotism which proscribed the Church and its doctrines, as in Massachusetts—the fines and imprisonments inflicted on all who maintained the doctrines and celebrated the solemnities of the Church—all these things are tolerably well known to our readers. The northern settlements were almost entirely colonized by professors of every form of false doctrine; in Maryland and Virginia alone, was the Church established, and in such a way that perhaps this, as we have already hinted, was not the least important element in its fall. The very loyalty* of Virginia infested it with Erastianism; the most extraordinary and stringent laws† against nonconformity, first put forth by Sir Thomas White, in 1611, and partially re-enacted by Sir John Hervey, in 1629, had their share in the spiritual destitution of the colony. The facts that Maryland was settled by Romanists, and that the lords proprietors of the Baltimore family, were, up to 1715, of that communion, were against the growth of the English Church; and the influx of dissenters into the southern states in the seventeenth century, with the low standard of acquirements and character which the established Clergy maintained, are quite enough to account for any amount of evil.

And it ought to be noticed that the settlement of an American Episcopate was opposed by almost every interest. By the American Clergy of the lower class, too often, it is to be feared, lest the presence of any authorized superior should disclose their own disorders; by the people, in whose minds the Episcopate was inseparable from the execution of Sir Thomas Smith's High Commission given in the last note; by the government at home, who thought Bishops must not be made too cheap, which feeling was not altogether perhaps absent from the English bench; by the American Governors, who had been accustomed to lord it in a most extraordinary way over the Church as Governors, and with exactions even yet more peculiar when there was a settled aristocratic proprietor, such as the Baltimores of Maryland.

"Maryland was brought under an anomalous mixed kind of jurisdiction, in which the respective rights of the Baron of Baltimore and the Bishop of

* Not only did Virginia make a vigorous resistance to the authority of Cromwell, but it became a refuge for the Royalists—of the "Cavaliero Wildrake" cast too often—and it is remarkable that Charles II. was proclaimed at Jameston, by Sir William Berkeley, in 1659—sixteen months before the Restoration of the 29th of May.

† For cursing and swearing, *death* on proof of the third offence—for unworthy demeanour to any minister of the Gospel, to be whipt three times—for not attending the service duly twice a day *upon the working-days*, for the first offence, loss of his or her day's allowance—for the second, a whipping—for the third, six months in the galleys—on Sundays for neglecting Church, *death* for the third offence—for not attending catechetical instruction for the first time of refusal, to be whipt once—for the second, to be whipt twice—for the third, to be whipt every day; "and upon the Sabbath when the minister shall catechise, and of him demande any question concerning his faith and knowledge, he shall not refvse to make answer *upon the same perill*." These laws were never, it seems, acted upon.

London were never accurately defined. Theoretically the Bishop of London was the diocesan: spiritual jurisdiction, therefore, including the important particulars of discipline, belonged to him, and the clergy had all been long accustomed so to think. But they were embarrassed because they found that jurisdiction was, in some mode or other, in the hands of the proprietor also. Now they saw the Bishop consulting Lord Baltimore, and now his lordship was consulting the Bishop. Delegated ecclesiastical power was ungraciously received by the laity, and met with but little recognition and less respect in the person of the Commissary. At one moment the proprietor would write and inform the clergy that he valued the Church; and at another they would find the Governor representing this same proprietor, opposed to the clergy, forbidding them to assemble in convocation, crippling the efforts of the Commissary to administer wholesome discipline, and aiding the foes of the Church in the legislature. *They were distracted by a divided allegiance, for they knew not where, and to what extent, ecclesiastical power existed.* Thus Lord Baltimore presented to a living: the Bishop of London licensed: the Governor inducted: if the incumbent did wrong the Commissary tried him: and when convicted, *no power* punished him: for, after induction, the proprietor could not remove him: and the Bishop of London, *nominally* his diocesan, could neither give nor take away the meanest living in the province. The common want of a Bishop, so sensibly felt, and earnestly represented, from time to time, by the Colonies, was nowhere more felt than in Maryland. Had a Bishop been present, the conflicting rights of the proprietor and Bishop of London would have been quietly conceded to an ecclesiastical superior on the spot; crime in the clergy would have been punished, and even the proprietor would soon have found it to be his interest to sustain the Bishop. It is not wonderful that when it was the fashion to send to the Colonies the refuse of the English clergy—insomuch that our wonder is less that the Church in many places did not grow, than that it was not utterly extinguished—that the clergy should exhibit but a sad example to their parishioners. It was natural that the laity should feel aggrieved by the imposition on them of inducted clergymen who were a disgrace to the Church, and yet were irrevocably fastened to it. *They saw no remedy but to legislate directly against the clergy:* this exasperated the latter, but it had been wiser if both had united in making a loud and ceaseless appeal for a Bishop.”—*Hawks' Maryland*, pp. 189—192.

In the great contest between the Clergy and State of Maryland, in 1726, that object was almost attained. The Clergy, seeing that nothing short of it could prevent the ruin of the Maryland Church, with unprecedented earnestness implored the Bishop of London for a Bishop; and, in reply to this appeal, Bishop Gibson actually invited a Mr. Colebatch to London to receive consecration as a Suffragan: whether the Bishop had secured the consent of the Crown does not appear; but the whole measure was rendered abortive by the Colonists serving Colebatch with a writ of *ne exeat regno!* And, after this, in the Reports of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, we find Mr. Bacon writing—

“ Infidelity has indeed arrived to an amazing and shocking growth in these parts; it is hard to say whether it is more owing to the ignorance of the common people, or the misconduct of too many of the Clergy.”—1740.

In the friendly bosom of the Society the “faithful among the faithless” of the Clergy alone found sympathy. Bishop Gibson, in the later years of his life, after having quarrelled with Lord

Baltimore, neglected the Colonial Church; and his successor, Sherlock, seems to have taken up the strange notion that America would be most likely to obtain Bishops if the Bishop of London refused to have anything to do with it.

These efforts were not confined to the southern states; and, in 1763, the celebrated Dr. Chandler, himself a convert from Congregationalism in early life, pleaded so successfully the cause of the Church, that, in a few years, throughout the New England States, a general application for the Episcopate was made.

"New York and New Jersey, with the occasional aid of Connecticut, were conspicuous in these solicitations. They spared no efforts to get up an unanimous appeal to the Church of the mother [or rather step-mother] country; the Clergy of these states formed a convention, with Seabury, *afterwards first Bishop*, for its secretary, and despatched two of their members to secure the operation of the southern Churchmen in procuring an American Episcopate."—*Hawks' Virginia*, p. 126.

To this appeal the Maryland Clergy responded, by drawing up addresses to the King, to the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, and Lord Baltimore, praying for a Bishop. What reply it received from, or whether it was ever forwarded to, the three former, we are not informed; but the latter coolly told the Clergy that "all the livings in Maryland were his donations, and *therefore* stood in no need of Episcopal supervision." (*Hawks' Maryland*, p. 257.) But it was soon found that the question of the Episcopate was now out of date; the time had gone by; the fingers were on the wall. Schism out of the Church, and profligacy standing at its altars; rebellion nurtured by dissent; neglect at home, and sin, moral and spiritual, in the Colonies, had filled the cup of vengeance; two centuries of wickedness had sown the wind, and civil war was the whirlwind. The American Revolution had begun before Bunker's Hill.

Thus, as early as 1771, the significant answer of the Virginian Clergy to the New Jersey Mission, showed that even the minds of the Clergy were possessed with the notion that the Episcopate would only link the Colonies more closely to that mother-country, with which political ties were completely, for all practical purposes, already broken. At this time Commissary Cann summoned the one hundred Clergy of Virginia to address the King on the subject of a Bishop; so few attended the summons that it was felt that so small a meeting could not assume the authority of a *Convention*. On a second summons still fewer met—only twelve in number; and when the proposal was laid before this scanty assembly it was *rejected*; and four of the most active clerical opponents of the plan actually received an unanimous vote of thanks from the legislature for their rejection of a Bishop, which they had embodied in a protest, delivered to the Convention, in which, amongst other reasons, they argued against the appointment,

"Because the establishment of an American Episcopate, at this time, would tend greatly to weaken the connexion between the mother-country and her Colonies, to continue their present unhappy disputes, to infuse jealousies and fears into the minds of Protestant Dissenters," &c.—*Hawks' Virginia*, p. 128.

The Clergy were for the most part loyal, though some of them were violent and some consistent partisans of the popular cause. Such were Bp. Madison, Bp. White, and others on the one side; and on the other, the Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg, "who relinquished his spiritual charge, accepted a commission as a colonel in the colonial army, raised his own parishioners [against his King], and retired from the service as a brigadier-general;" and the Rev. Mr. Thruston, (the man's name savours of belligerency) who bore arms also as a colonel, mindful of the noble example of Odo, Bp. of Baieux, and Bp. Compton, who rode at the head of a troop of horse for Church-principles and the Orange Revolution of 1688. About one-third took part against the Crown; but the loyalty of the remainder made them especial objects of persecution; and it seems like reading the old history of our civil war, to be told of the Clergy of one state, Virginia, reduced, in the eight years of Revolution, from one hundred to twenty-eight—of roofless churches—desecrated chancels—the priests starved, scourged, and hunted down, or saying the service with "pistols concealed under the surplice;" and if in the Cromwell rebellion Will Dowsing had an American counterpart in one Claiborne—a felon convict, who was employed in the holy "work of rooting out the abominations of popery and prelacy in Maryland"—the atrocities of the Transatlantic Reformers and Revolutionists of the eighteenth century, where "chalices are used for morning-drams and marble fonts for horse-troughs," (*Hawks' Virginia*, p. 236,) are not exceeded by the malignity and devilish malice of any reformers and rebels in the world. Never did a wilder storm sweep over any part of the Lord's vineyard: Gebal and Ammon and Amalek, the quiet malignity of the Quakers, the open violence of the Baptist, the old Puritan and covenant spirit of the Congregationalist, all were armed against the Church; and it was but the earnest prayer and prevailing intercession of such men as Jonathan Bouchier that, as we have told the fall, we shall have to tell the more extraordinary revival of the Church. Well might he and such as he say—

"Why hast Thou then broken down her hedge: that all they that go by pluck off her grapes?"

"The wild boar out of the wood doth root it up: and the wild beasts of the field devour it.

"Turn Thee again, thou God of hosts, look down from heaven: behold, and visit this vine;

"And the place of the vineyard that Thy right hand hath planted: and the hedges that Thou madest so strong for Thyself."—*Ps. lxxx.*

(*To be continued.*)

Charge of H. E. Manning, Archdeacon of Chichester. London: Murray. 1843.

Charge of R. J. Wilberforce, Archdeacon of the East Riding. London: Burns. 1843.

Statements by, and Communications to, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Society for the supply of Additional Curates.

THE Bishop of Tasmania is only one among many of our Colonial Bishops who has cures with stipends attached to them, and can find no one to accept them. At this time he is in want of seven priests, and is able to offer 200*l.* per annum to each for his support. Neither is it abroad alone that this difficulty of finding a due supply of well-qualified applicants for the office of the ministry is experienced. Most of our readers will remember, each some one or more poor cures, in his own immediate neighbourhood, which have waited long, or are still waiting, for any person fit to undertake them. At this moment we have in our eye the assistant-curacy of an agricultural parish, the stipend of which is 60*l.*, the population under 900, for which the Bishop of London is unable to find any person qualified for, and desirous of, being ordained upon it as a title. This is only one case out of hundreds, although to us a peculiarly startling one; because there are not required, in this case, those sacrifices of strength and of taste, in the high sense of the word, which are often attached to a poor curacy. The reports, however, of the Societies above-mentioned, which are full of most painful statements of demands uncomplained with, furnish, perhaps, a stronger proof of the melancholy fact, *that we have not, as yet, the men to do the work which must be done.*

The Societies complain continually that they have not the pecuniary means to relieve the cases of spiritual destitution which are brought before them; but how is it that *these* means are so universally required? Are there no persons who study law without a hope or intention of living by it? Are there no men who give up their lives and fortunes to scientific pursuits for science's sake? Are there not hundreds of young men of energy and enthusiasm, who fritter away those energies, and that zeal, without an object in life towards which to bend them? Whilst these are to be found, so long the complaint of the Church, if truly read, is this, that she wants not wealth so much as men; that she seeks the energies of her children rather than their possessions. The Additional Curates' Fund has fifty applications from a single county; and wants both money and men.

"Not walls, but men, are cities," is an eternal truth, and one which, in its universal application, it were well to remember.

"Let the Church," says Archdeacon Manning, "enter upon the field of its spiritual warfare in apostolic poverty, so it be with apostolic zeal. What she needs, at this crisis of her trial, is not acts of legislature, and grants of money, but living men, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith, wise in the truth, gentle in ruling, makers of peace; sons of consolation, kindled with charity, choosing, above all earthly boons, to spend and to be spent for the souls for whom Christ died."—*Charge*, 1843.

This is a very sad conviction, for it is easier to get anything about a man, however near to him, than his very self. It is easier for men to make any sacrifice of property, than to render one long offering of their lives to a painful service. It is harder, therefore, to supply this want than any other; and, in addition, it is a work requiring longer time for its accomplishment. Meanwhile, golden opportunities are slipping away, and whilst the harvest is white, the labourers are few.

Now, if any member of our Church is tempted by these painful thoughts to turn away, even for a moment, from loving his spiritual Mother, and to fix his eyes, with a half-longing gaze, upon that mighty mistress of men, who seems, without an effort, to pour forth her countless clergy, and, without the delay of deliberation, to send out her bishops and inferior ministers to fix rival altars, and rival chairs, in every district of our colonial empire, he is grieving himself, and endangering his allegiance, most inconsiderately.

We would refer any persons, whose minds have been ever crossed by such thoughts, to that part of Wordsworth's postscript to Vol. V. 1835, in which he proves, that the lowering of the value of ecclesiastical benefices, only makes them an object of ambition to a lower class of society. This lower class is necessarily a larger class, and there is, therefore, naturally, a more numerous body of candidates for such preferment as is obtainable in the Romish communion, than for that which we enjoy. None of our readers who have travelled in Romish countries, however little, can forget having been struck by the fact, that the clergy in those countries are drawn from, and connected with, persons of much poorer circumstances, and of lower rank and education, than those from which our ministry is generally derived. The education, too, required, is to be had much cheaper than is possible here, and very much lower indeed than is usual.

Not that these are the only causes to be taken into account. We must not forget that there is very little opening abroad for young men in secular occupations; and that the absence, or unpopularity of schismatics, turns all those into the ministry of the Church, whose misdirected zeal fills our conventicles, and gathers our congregational crowds in streets and fields.

Far, then, as it is from our wishes to derogate from the high praise due to the zeal of the Romish Church, we think it right to state these circumstances in defence of that Church which has a far greater claim upon the affections and energies of her children. We are desirous, however, of examining impartially, as far as may be, into the causes of our grievous deficiency; and we will endeavour, with our readers' leave, to mention several lines of conduct which may, in some degree, remedy the evil.

I. One of the main causes of our want, appears to us to be, that the ministry of our Church has been so long regarded as—in the worldly sense of the word—a profession. Our connexion with the State misunderstood and abused, our Establishment having come to

be regarded—very much because it really was so—as a *provision* for younger sons, together with the great amount of lay patronage, have all tended to produce, and that not ineffectually, a worldly view of a spiritual society. It is never, or next to never, a question in a parent's mind, "Shall I bring up my son for God's service, or for a worldly calling?" But "to what profession or trade shall I educate my children? Shall I send them into the law, into business, or into *the Church*?" The ministry is put on a par with any other calling, and the decision of the parent or guardian is formed upon the same principles in the one case and in the other. "Is there any opening?" "Will he get on in the Church?" "Is so and so likely to take him up?" These, and similar queries, with their answers, too often supply the premises from which the conclusion is obtained, that A. and B. shall become clerks in the counting-house, or clerks at the altar.

The gentlemanliness, the tranquillity, the literary pursuits of the clerical life, have been some of its best inducements to many. The opportunities for field-sports, the introduction to the rich, or mere lucre, have been the motive causes of too many.

It was upon the former of these inducements that Sir R. Peel, if we remember aright, grounded his hope that there would always be an adequate supply of ministers for the poor benefices which his new scheme is to form. He trusted to the worldly, rather than to the unworldly, advantages of the ministry for its continuance. He relied upon the English love of gentlemanly life, rather than upon that burning zeal to serve God which consents, nay, rejoices, through evil report and good report to witness to His truth. The fact is simply this, that neither parents for their children, nor children for themselves, have learned to *make a sacrifice in the choice of their calling*. The Clergy will make sacrifices—the greatest sacrifices—when once they are in orders. When they have felt the yoke, they do not shrink from it, but embrace it. One taste is foregone, and then another; one habit and luxury is sacrificed, and then another. The gun is given up, and the ball; the horse is laid down, the pictures are sold (we speak from instances within our knowledge); the use of the daily prayer, in church, or at home, is felt to be a clerical duty and positive obligation; society, however necessary and dear before, is found too expensive in time and money; a curate is kept who receives *double the income of the benefice*; schools are built, and the Church restored at such a sacrifice of the little fortune possessed as would astonish the world if it ever knew these things. But all this generally comes *afterwards*. We need but allude to Mr. Newman's sermon, "*Make ventures for Christ's sake*." Very few candidates for Orders know what they are doing when they bind themselves by those solemn vows, which will make them the basest or the most glorious of men in the morning of the resurrection. They make sacrifices for the calling *when chosen*, but very few make a conscious sacrifice in the *choice of that calling*. Still fewer look forward years before to a

dedication of themselves to a work, which, if their souls be saved, will cost them infinite self-denial, weariness, and disappointment.

The efforts made by poor parents to educate their sons at the Universities, and to make clergymen of them, are no proof to the contrary of our position. These efforts are nearly always made from motives however laudable, equally worldly. To have a learned son, a "scholar," and a minister, is more a subject of parental than of Christian satisfaction, to this class of people.

If our position were not sound, we should see parents, on all hands, bringing up their children to minister in the sanctuary; caring comparatively little whether in the wildest rural district, or the crowded city; whether (when they are gone to their rest, perhaps even before) in distant lands, or at home, they are able to exercise their calling; so they do but once obtain that calling, and ever after duly honour it. We should see the rich setting apart not only the subscription, but the child; not only the child, but that which shall enable him to serve the Church gratuitously; dedicating, in fact, out of pure love towards God, and a deep practical experience of the blessedness of Gospel privileges, a minister unto the Lord, who should be able and ready, wheresoever and whensoever the Church ordain, to exercise her holy function.

II. Another reason of this evil is, that we have not that hold upon the middle class which we must obtain before the Church can be sound throughout. We are stronger than Rome in this respect; but still we are miserably weak. That body of the nation in which most energy resides is not ours. In confirmation of this assertion we would refer our readers to Mr. Maurice's Letter to Lord Ashley, and we will quote again from Archdeacon Manning.

"It is perfectly true that a middle class has existed among us for at least two centuries and a half; and that the same class has ever been the seat of an active spirit which, in times of excitement, has before now been found opposed to the Church. At this day the middle class has attained to a measure of wealth and numbers, and to a vigour of understanding, and energy of character, unequalled in earlier times. But it is not penetrated by the pastoral ministry, as the upper class by kindred and association, and the lower by direct instruction and oversight. It is, therefore, open to the inroads of sectarianism, and to theories of all kinds, social, religious, and economical. Perhaps in no one region of English society is religious unity so much wanting. It is full of fine gifts and sympathies, with strength of intellect, great activity, solid love of truth, justice, reality, and manhood. These are the elements of a noble character, capable of great things in the ministry of Christ's kingdom. Now these will be either for us or against us, according as we draw them into communion and brotherhood with ourselves. This, then, is the critical element of our day. All other difficulties and contentions, political and theological—all changes in our ecclesiastical system, and in the statute law, as it affects the Church, are light and transient compared with the fact that, between the lowest and the highest of our people, there is a class, numerous, wealthy, active, powerful, among whom the Church partly has neglected, and partly has been unable, to discharge her pastoral office."—*Charge*, 1843.

If once we can bring these our brethren by Country into the fold of the brethren in Christ, we shall be able to draw from their ranks

recruits well adapted for our service ; men of patient and constructive minds, accustomed to oppose and conquer difficulties ; anxious for objects of pursuit, and indefatigable in following them when chosen ; and in every way fitted for the work in hand. The zeal which is now wasted in the support of schism and of heresy, will then, under the banners of the Church, be turned with overwhelming force against infidelity and sin.

III. A further cause of the malady was hinted at whilst we were speaking of the Church of Rome, viz. the Expensiveness of our Clerical Education.

Independently of the cost of schooling, which would be commonly greater to the future minister than to the future man of business or tradesman, a college education, with its books, expenses of degree, and other charges, cannot be reckoned under, generally much over, 600*l*. And if this be not mitigated by scholarships or exhibitions, which presuppose interest or talent, or some peculiar educational circumstances, the amount is altogether greater than those persons can afford whom we are especially anxious to interest in the supply of a faithful ministry to the Church. It is true that literates are ordained for the colonies, and, occasionally, or rather very rarely, for England. But this is not generally known ; neither are the clerical collegiate institutions which have been formed, and will, we trust, continue to gather around our cathedrals, yet familiar to the country.

The university authorities can do something, perhaps, to diminish this evil, which presses especially upon the Clergy, who are seldom able to bring up their sons to their own beloved calling. But far more may be effected by a general effort to dismiss the notion that a university education is necessary to give influence to a clergyman ; and that gentlemanly manners, and classical knowledge, (both of which may well exist without a college life,) are required in a clergyman more than, or so much as, sound doctrine, and deep theology, and fervent piety.

It must no longer be thought that a man must be a gentleman, in the vulgar sense of the word, in order to be an English Clergyman ; nor that for a poor man ordination is tantamount to emigration. Nor need we fear lest our Church should lose weight, by losing somewhat of caste. She could better endure to have more zeal and more faithful servants, with less elegance, than she can bear up against the polite indifference of too many of her servants. Some parts of the following earnest words of Archdeacon R. Wilberforce, in favour of license of preaching to an order of Deacons, well express our opinion as to the vanity of some of the fears which would be urged against the remedy.

“ If men teach, whose natural interest is to foment divisions, who can only justify their own lack of commission by disparaging ours, while we rejoice if they do good, we must needs lament when they do harm, and be jealous, not of their popularity, but their errors. I repeat it, then, the remedy is to call in the assistance of those who will speak the *whole* truth. Let them have commission from the same authority with ourselves, and their worldly interest would not

tempt them to disparage it. Let them understand and set forth those higher functions which God's priests are especially set apart to discharge; and instead of grudging their popularity, we should rejoice at it. Would God all the Lord's people were prophets."—*Charge*, 1843.

We have quoted these words in support of our belief that there is no need to fear, that an educationally inferior body of men would not safely and well discharge the duties of an inferior ministry: only if, in the exercise of that ministry, they be found wise and zealous, learned and persuasive, then let it be seen to England and to all the world, that no educational disadvantages can exclude high merit from high reward.

We have already indirectly mentioned some remedies for the mischief, of which we have endeavoured to explain the causes. We will, however, subjoin four definite suggestions:—

I. First, we would propose, not of our own thought, nor in our own words, the establishment of an order of Deacons, as a means of drawing many into the ministry, and as forming a body of candidates, according to merit, for higher orders.

"Is there not zeal enough in the lower ranks of society, which asks only to be moulded into a Church form? And this is the staple material for the Church's growth: give her *men* of zeal and devotion, and the sordid help of endowments she could either command or despise. What need we then but the aid of those numerous spirits in every generation, to whom the spectacle of that vice and misery which overspreads our land is a resistless call to array themselves against it? Why not give mission to those to whom God has given zeal? As to the objection, that we could scarce employ their aid, I will say a word afterwards; meanwhile observe, that the present hindrance is not with the Church."—*Archdeacon R. J. Wilberforce*, *Ibid*.

II. Secondly, it seems clear that there ought to be some retiring pension for Clergy disabled by age or sickness. Mr. Gresley proposed this in one of his early *Tales*, ("Clement Walton,") and it is a plan which, in respect of justice and charity, needs no words of ours to recommend it. But our object in mentioning it here is this, that we conceive its adoption would remove some of the obstacles which now prevent an adequate supply of ministers. We can scarcely expect that affectionate parents will educate their sons for Holy Orders, with no further wish for them (which is the thing we so much desire) than that they should usefully and purely discharge the duties of low and ill-paid offices in the Church, if those dear children are to be left exposed to want in the hour of sickness and in the helplessness of age. The parents in whom we most especially desire to see the longing spring up which should dedicate their best, even their own flesh and blood to God, are chiefly, as we have before mentioned, persons who can barely educate their sons sufficiently to fulfil their wishes. These, then, have a right to ask of the Church, that their offspring shall not be deserted in their hour of need; and unless they see the claim which is founded upon that right regarded, we cannot expect them to bestow their children. A parent's heart
s within it the voice of God, even as the Church has; and the call

of love and the call of duty, must not be brought into unnatural collision.

Again, one of the chief lessons which the Church is called upon to teach in this crisis, is disinterestedness and self-devotion. Now, so long as she demands unlimited exertions of her servants, and labours exclusive of all other occupations, and destructive often of health, without endeavouring to alleviate, as far as may be, the temporal evils which she causes, she negatives her own teaching. She asks sacrifices of others, and for them makes none.

The Church should be enabled to say to those whom she calls into her poorer benefices and offices, that they must be content to labour on in poverty; that holy orders are no vocation for the amassing of money; that the calls upon their liberality are such that they must not expect to save from their scanty pittance; that they must not be looking away from their work to prospects of preferment, but rather devote themselves, and form their plans, *as for life*, in the position which they first receive; that, as they took up the burden poor, so poor they will lay it down in death, having lived a strait life here to obtain the fulness of the life hereafter. But, at the same time, she should say to them, Be faithful to me, and I will be true to you; give to me your youth and strength, and I will support your age and sickness; feed my people with the bread of life, and you shall never want, whilst I have anything.

To do this, is only to do what is right; and to do less than this, is a grievous wrong to those who brave the danger, and a sore and fatal discouragement to many. No State grant, even if attainable, is to be sought for this purpose. A diocesan fund could be obtained for it, from the alms of the faithful, just as easily as that which is now formed for the maintenance of the widows and orphans of the Clergy; and numbers of the wealthier Clergy, and their relatives, would be found to increase this endowment, from time to time, by donations and bequests.

III. Another remedy, and one in which we have the greatest confidence, is to be found in frequent and earnest endeavours, on the part of the Clergy, to set men's minds and hearts right as to the motives, duties, and privileges of the ministry of Christ. We would respectfully entreat them to set forth this blessed office, from time to time, in all its beauty; to speak of all the severe but lasting joys attendant upon its rugged life; to preach of the unspeakable blessings attached to the due fulfilment of its duties; to tell of its unrivalled usefulness and benevolence; to say how high is the dignity, how weighty the office, to which the ministers of God are called, even to be representatives of Christ, ambassadors of God, stewards of His mysteries, dispensers of eternal life; to bring before men's minds the assurance that "beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace;" and "blessed are they that sow beside all waters, that send forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass;" and the very words of promise

which God has spoken to His ministers, "When the Chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away."*

The Clergy should no more shrink from thus declaring the dignity and the blessedness of their calling, than from setting forth their authority and their commission. It would be as foolish and wrong in a Priest to hide the doctrine of Apostolical succession, through fear lest he should appear to arrogate to himself peculiar honour, as it would be in a parent to forego his parental authority for similar reasons. Equally dangerous, also, is it to neglect to bring before men's minds the blessedness and dignity of the Christian priesthood; equally, because upon the same principle in each and all cases, what God has set forth must not be hidden; what God has blessed and honoured, and endued with power, must be openly revered and esteemed.

There are many opportunities in which a parish Priest might, with especial force, perform God's work in this portion of His vineyard. In peril, in sickness, in affliction, before the gift of children, and when that gift, well nigh withdrawn, has yet been continued, to the speechless joy of parents; at these seasons, the public or private teaching of the Clergy would go home to a mother's and a father's heart, as they were telling of Hannah's joy, and of the dedication of the youthful Samuel, or of the mission of St. John the Baptist, or of the calm surrender of her child by the Blessed Virgin, as she became more and more convinced of His heavenly calling. And thus, true sacrifices would, from time to time, be made by thankful hearts, real resignations of something valued and beloved back to the Giver. If in such cases the parents were rich, they would be easily led to see that they were called upon to give to the Church, without a drawback, that they had the means and the invitation to provide a minister of sacred things who could *serve gratuitously* as to this world's payments. There need be no difficulty through the laws respecting titles to Holy Orders, for a father could subscribe as much to the general funds of the Church as the Church was giving to his child, so that the gift should be *perfect*.

But all this special advice and guidance would be absolutely nothing, compared with any teaching which would convince young and old, fathers and children, that there is but one motive which can lead a man into the ministry with any hope of salvation to himself and to "those that hear" him, and that that one motive is the love of God. To teach the parent that, under peril of the sin of sacrilege, he may not bring up his son to Orders for preferment, or station, or tranquillity, or a life of letters; to imprint upon the hearts of the young that to serve God in the sacred ministry of His Church is of itself the object, the *only* object, of the aspirant for such a dignity, would be to confer a blessing on the Church which would relieve her of half her sorrows; which would give her, in a few years, a true

* See such texts as 2 Tim. iii. 6-8; Dan. xii. 2, 3; Luke xii. 42, 44; Matt. 28.

Priesthood ; neither squires, nor men of fashion, nor farmers, nor caterers of trashy literature, nor politicians, nor lovers of the table, nor possessors of any other character than that of sober, self-denying, earnest, gentle, long-suffering, humble, studious, loving and beloved pastors of their several flocks.

Let men be constantly admonished to watch their children, as God's talents committed to their care ; and in their choice of callings for them, to seek His good, and not what seems to them their own ; to pass by the best hopes of ecclesiastical preferment sooner than send a doubtful servant to so hard a work ; to surrender all desire of worldly honours for their sons, if they perceive that their children's hearts are set to dedicate their peculiar powers to God. Let them, too, be constantly held back by priest and layman from giving the weight of their influence to the prevailing error, from speaking with lightness of the holy calling, of spiritual dignities, and spiritual offices. Let them be cautioned not to look upon Holy Orders as a mere profession on a par with all others, but to regard it as a calling differing from all other occupations, pursued though they be to God's glory and man's good, as the cathedral from the house, as the altar from the table, as the font from an ordinary vase ; as God's own peculiar, consecrated, and awful ordinance, to be approached with fear, and to be discoursed of with reverence. Let the young be guided to decide, with all the powers of their will, for or against this sacred calling ; to feel that Holy Orders must be *the one* object of their lives thenceforth, or no object at all ; that the only doubt that can arise as to their future path will spring from uncertainty as to their eventual fitness, or from obligations to parents or near relatives ; but that nothing else ; neither poverty, nor hardest labour, nor loss of home and friends, may turn aside the purpose of their hearts ; that, as to difficulties, they must be vanquished ; that the human will steadily fixed by *self* on one design is strong to accomplish it, but fixed towards God, by the motions of His Spirit, must prevail ; that as others have toiled upwards in spite of every obstacle, for science, for learning, for arts, for glory, and even for gold, so that their own resolution being steadily fixed on Holy Orders as its object, will surely be accomplished ; that even to be a door-keeper in the house of the Lord is enough, or more than enough ; that the usual course of education is sweet, with its privileges of the public schools and of the universities ; that a rural cure in England is a paradise to a heart so set ; but that all these are nothing compared with the great end, and that to be a schoolmaster and a catechist, and by degrees a missionary, in whatever corner of the globe, is welcome, so that the one purpose be attained—the holy, glorious purpose of serving God as an ambassador from heaven. Let this be our teaching more and more, and, bright though our picture was of the Clergy which we might possess, it would assuredly have its reality, and be but a faint copy of many portions of that glorious estate.

We will mention one further light in which the dedication of chil-

dren to the ministry may be placed before the minds of parents—that of a safeguard from sin. It is not so usual a subject of fear with fathers as with mothers; but with the last, if they be lovers of good themselves, the chief anxiety is even for the preservation of their children from the contamination of vice. There are many moments when even a mother's delight in the support of her children's presence is cast out by such fears for them in their lives, that she could well resign them to her Heavenly Father. She sees all around her the promises of families blighted by the deadly touch of sin: she sees the young, in all their freshness, seized hold of, one after the other, by the world, and her heart fails her. Gladly would she give them to the convent or the monastery, were it possible; but this cannot be: and the dishonest ways of business, and the brow furrowed with this world's cares, and the many gallant vessels wholly shipwrecked, turn her fears continually to her own home. Now it were something to tell a parent in this frame of mind, of a sacred calling which, the dangers of education (common to all) once passed, forces the mind, in so far as it is honestly pursued, away from the world, away from grosser temptations, out of self, and all thoughts of gain and glory; which is a life in the sanctuary, a perpetual contemplation of sanctities, a continual sacrifice of self, almost as exclusive of secular pursuits and thoughts as the monastery itself, and wholly marked out in the eyes of all men for peculiar holiness. It were something, surely, to cheer the parent, to be able to teach her for her comfort, to mould the hearts of her sons as wisely, and gently, and prayerfully, as she would do so successfully, towards such a life, and to guide their feet into this way of peace.

And thus the minds of future ministers would be turned, even from childhood, towards a quiet and good life, and to the cherishing of tastes and powers which best befit their intended calling. A boy thus trained “will remember, first of all, that which he has often been told by his earliest instructors, that, just so far as he nourishes all gentle affections within him, and keeps himself from sensual defilement, and seeks the temper of a little child, and thinks on things which are lovely and pure, and maintains a cheerful heart, and does good according to his opportunity, and strives to avoid noisy excitements of the flesh or the spirit, and is not impatient of present perplexity, or greedy of distinctions,—so far he will be able, in quiet meditation and prayer, to learn the mind of the Spirit, and to know in what part of His vineyard God has destined him to labour;” and afterwards, when he finds “that a certain stronger sense is given to him than to others of man's highest destiny, mixed, perhaps, with a less keen perception, than in other men would be desirable, of those necessities which, though they may be baptized with a heavenly life and adopted into religion, are themselves of the earth earthy,—when spiritual forms, which the majority have need to see reflected in sensible mirrors, rise up before him in their naked substance and majesty,—when good and evil present themselves to him, not as

means to some result, but as themselves the great ends and results to which all is tending,—when the conflict which is going on within himself, leads him to feel his connexion with his kind,—when there is imparted to him a lively sense of temptation, and of its being most perilous to those whose objects and vocation are the highest,—when he has been endued with a certain habit of measuring acts and events, not by their outward magnitude, but according to their spiritual proportions and effects,—when he has been taught to reverence poverty and helplessness,—when he has understood that that truth is the highest, not which is the most exclusive, but which is the most universal,—when the immediate vision of God, and entire subjection of heart and spirit to His loving will, seem to him the greatest gifts intended for man, after which every one for himself and his fellows may aspire; then * he has surely discovered his calling, and the Church has obtained such a servant as she needs.

IV. Our fourth hope is the Church's great weapon, *prayer*. "The harvest truly is great," said our Lord, "but the labourers are few; *pray* ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he will send forth labourers into his harvest." Now it is strange that whilst we have in the prayers for the Ember Weeks, the Collects for the Third Sunday in Advent, St. Matthias' Day, St. Peter's Day, St. Bartholomew's Day, and in the daily prayer which precedes that of St. Chrysostom, opportunities of asking as a Church of its blessed and ever-present Head, that His ministry may be holy and effectual; yet we have no means whatever in our public services of beseeching Him to incline the hearts of holy men to His especial service. The cause of this omission may have been, that at the last revision of the Liturgy, England was not a missionary country, nor so over-peopled at home as she now is. But whatever the cause may have been, we venture to hope that Convocation will accompany such steps as it may think right to adopt with regard to the establishment of more numerous clergy, with a form of prayer which will enable the whole Church publicly to entreat the public blessing of an adequate ministry.

And whilst we are upon this subject we would make another suggestion of a similar character.

When Convocation meets for the first time after so long an interval, it will do so under peculiar difficulties; greater, perhaps, than any which it has encountered since the Reformation: for it will assemble, as it were, *on trial*. We do not mean that the State will be able, if its measures are opposed by Convocation, to prevent any future representation of the Church, but that the moral influence of Convocation, its weight, and its whole value, will be to be sifted and tried. Churchmen will watch its proceedings with hope, not unaccompanied with deep anxiety; and should it be found unequal to its

* Maurice's Kingdom of Christ, vol. ii.—The Ministry.

office, they will look upon it as a fresh hope cut away from under them ; as a dream and a delusion unworthy of another thought.

But, independently of the future prospects of this body, no thinking member of it will look forward to its session without great anxiety and self-distrust, when he remembers how much is to be done, how dangerous it is to do, what an infinity of counter-schemes will be proposed, how desirable it will seem to make some changes in the Book of Common Prayer, how worse than undesirable it would be to make a hundredth part of the alterations which will be contemplated, how unsafe it will be to tamper with the allegiance of the Clergy by changing that to which all are as yet solemnly sworn and pledged. And if these fears weigh upon the members of Convocation, as doubtless they will, with many others in addition, then surely one of the first acts of Convocation should be to put forth a form of prayer similar to that for Parliament, by which the Church may pray continually for its safe guidance through all difficulties, and for God's blessing upon all its labours.

We hope and trust that Convocation will give us forms of prayer for both these necessities. Meanwhile, every true Churchman can remember the first in his private devotions ; and can occasionally recur to it in the congregation, also, when he says, "Thy kingdom come."

We cannot conclude without stating our belief, that, after all, perhaps the chief cause of our want of ministers is to be found in our unhappy divisions. We do not bring them forward to complain of them. They are the necessary result of previous evils, and of the clashing of divine principles through an unholy alliance and conjunction with the evil principles of man's nature. Every one of us, too, must feel that part of the evil lies at his own door, and is to be charged to his own uncrucified temper, and his many sins against his brethren. But this we do say, that if the Church be anything,—if oneness be any note of its existence,—if there be one Spirit in the Communion of Saints,—if, in short, Christianity be not a name and a delusion, *this evil is remediable to a very great extent, and must be remedied.*

It would be of little use to speak to the Noels, and Sutcliffes, and Spencers, and Bickersteths, even if they were to hear us. Their desire of unity seems only to embrace a oneness with those who, of whatever so-called denomination they may be, yet agree in this one thing, that they deny the distinctive doctrines of the Church. But we do hope that such men as Lord Ashley will listen to those who speak to them as Mr. Maurice has done, and will think of the incalculable evil which the weight of their example is doing by driving in still farther the wedge of our sad divisions. We do hope, too, that men like Mr. Bedford will consider how more and more difficult each act of indiscretion, each uncharitable opposition to the prejudices of the weak, renders the great work of presenting the Church to the hearts of our countrymen as a Power and Presence to be loved and trusted.

Every idle word, and every idle act, is in these days doubly amenable to judgment; and if, by God's grace, they are pardoned in the agent, they seem to be allowed to do incalculable mischief to those to whom they are offences.

All men who desire to see God's people fed with the food of life, should weigh well the minutest portions of their social life—their words, their manner, and their habits; should support the truth as the *only* thing worth contending for, without faction, or satire, or precipitancy—by love, by persuasiveness, and by constancy; for let them be well assured, that, so long as the middle classes consider our Clergy inclined to Romanism, and so long as the upper classes know that he who acts out his Prayer-book will be opposed, and libelled, and denounced, and thwarted; so long will there be an unwillingness in parents to expose their children to the dangers and the trials of ministerial life.

Contributions to the Edinburgh Review. By FRANCIS JEFFREY, now one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland. 4 vols. London: Longman and Co. 1844.

WE learn from the last *Quarterly* that the re-publication of Reviews has not hitherto proved a profitable speculation. We hope, however, that the disappointment (if disappointment there be,) neither is nor will be such as to discourage the practice: for whatever good it may have as yet done to the Booksellers, there can be no question, we think, that it is likely to prove highly serviceable to Letters. Some time ago we expressed our satisfaction on the appearance of the "Recreations of Christopher North," "as rescuing some of the most remarkable literature of the day from the oblivion which the fugitive form of its first appearance must otherwise have entailed upon it;" and the same consideration applies to whatever is really valuable in any other of our periodical works. There seems to us to be much; indeed, the authorship of a great deal is sufficient by itself to prove that; for how can long and elaborate Essays on interesting and important subjects by such men as Southey, Jeffrey, Macaulay, and Brougham, be other than valuable? But were they allowed to remain where they first appeared, not all the celebrity of their authors, nor all their intrinsic merit could save them from oblivion. The many never dream of *exploring*; that which is to be found somewhere in forty or sixty volumes is to all intents and purposes *nowhere* to them. Besides, when the rumours attending an article's first appearance have died off, its authorship becomes more uncertain, except the style be a very marked one, and even of that the

many possess but little power of perception. The *Spectator*; indeed, and one or two works on the like plan, survive in men's minds, although their form has never been altered, nor each author's contribution detached from the place wherein it was at first embedded. But then they never exceeded certain very moderate limits: so moderate as to make none of them, when completed, more than a moderately-sized library book; and, in the case of the *Spectator*, the whole has a unity of scope and character, totally unlike what can possibly characterize the long ranges of the *Edinburgh* or *Quarterly Reviews*.

Further. Ever since Periodical publication took its present form, it has been the only means of presenting the world with much valuable matter which it is fit should be formally affiliated on its authors, after that value has been well ascertained. All who know anything about the matter, know how seldom a man can escape pecuniary loss in publishing grave disquisition of any sort that does not tell on some prevalent excitement of the moment; and how blamelessly unwilling are the publishers, by trade, to transfer such loss from him to themselves. But ever since the great northern journal first hit upon the ingenious plan of disguising Essays under the form of Reviews; ever since it has been an admitted custom that an author write his article first, and then look about to see what book or books will do to put at the head of it, many an ingenious person has been enabled to give to those capable of appreciating them, the benefit of his researches or his reflections, at a time when they could no otherwise have been published; and had to congratulate himself on a system which, whatever be its defects, has turned what would have been a ruinous expense, into a moderate profit, bringing a little money into a pocket from which any other mode of publication would have drawn a very great deal. We may boldly say of other journals, that they contain many an essay which is the best extant treatise on its subject; while we cannot but think that views have been exhibited in our own pages with which we have not met elsewhere, and which, but for the present system of reviewing, might not yet have seen the light.

This being so, most people must feel a satisfaction in seeing the Essays of a Southey, a Carlyle, or a Macaulay, gathered from their previous dispersion through the long ranges of journalism, and formally recognised by their respective parents. The majority, as we have said, *search* for nothing, and to them they would have been otherwise lost; but even we, who sometimes like the scholastic attitude of consulting an index and turning over many books, at other times relish the juxta-position of that which comes from the same hand and relates to similar matters.

There is another advantage which may be looked for from

re-publications like those before us, though some of the authors in question have not chosen to avail themselves of it. We have said that one great justification of our present system of reviewing consists in its ushering into the world many valuable Essays on important matters, which might have otherwise been detained in the darkness of MS. At the same time every adept in the craft knows how anxious the publishers and proprietors unavoidably are not to have too much undistributed weight, too much unrelaxed gravity; how they dread Philology, look cold on Metaphysics, and avert their face from obscure or remote Divinity; how pathetically they implore a little seasoning to the more solid viands, how their countenances brighten at the announcement of a *light article*. All this tempts the author to connect his speculation, if he can, with matters of present and passing interest, to choose unworthy texts for his grave theme, to affect an inappropriate vivacity. Indeed, one of the drawbacks of our calling is its tendency to infuse an element of impertinence into the style, which is apt to intrude itself even into our gravest lucubrations. Now when the Essayist is re-publishing, he may rid his work of such superfluities, may raise it to its appropriate dignity of aspect, manner, and accompaniments, may wash out from it the stains of *journalism*. Neither Mr. Smith nor Lord Jeffrey have chosen to do this, for which omission several reasons might be offered peculiar to their case; but allowing them their due weight, we think it would, on the whole, have been better if they had.

It is from the Edinburgh Review that most of our recent re-publications have been made, and it is with the Edinburgh Review that we shall mainly have to do in the sequel of these remarks. Indeed, all that we have hitherto said, may be considered as connected with that Review, it being undeniably, with all its faults, the parent of that numerous progeny to which we belong. The various Reviews which have followed in its train have all been moulded into its form and outline, while nothing at all like it, as far as we ever heard, existed before. Indeed, we believe that no question exists as to the utter worthlessness of periodical criticism in the period immediately preceding the Edinburgh Review. We say *we believe* this, for we cannot own to much personal acquaintance with it; nor are we aware of any of our acquaintances who could; but so universal a tradition must be derived from fact. There can be as little question that the Edinburgh Review was the beginning of a new and better epoch. Quite independently of the actual merit of its criticisms, or the depth and value of its speculations, it aimed high, it invited and gathered together the best powers of the time, it gave a new tone at once to criticism and to letters; and to it, as their model, must we ascribe the merit of the many able Reviews which now fill Christendom.

But, in spite of their community of character, the Edinburgh possesses an interest confined to itself and to that periodical, which, far more than the rival Quarterly, undermined its power and subverted its literary authority—we mean Blackwood's Magazine. These two alone owe their birth and vitality to *coteries*, whose history and character it is interesting to trace.

Edinburgh has for a century been eminently the city of *coteries*. A provincial and comparatively limited metropolis must ever be more favourable to their rise and vitality, than such a vast universe as London: and in Edinburgh, more than in any other, do many things combine to foster them. It is the seat of an university, which is not drowned, as one in London must necessarily be, in the roaring sea of business and bustle around. It is full, too, of men uniting just so much of daily occupation and daily leisure as can hardly fail to engender the literary spirit. We cannot, indeed, in spite of all its outward beauty, find it in our hearts to call it “the Modern Athens,” except as a joke. It is not the home of genius—the soil fertile of all that is brightest and grandest in the powers of man. It would be bitter irony to describe its inhabitants as

ἀποφερβόμενοι κλεινοτάταν σοφίαν
αἰὲ διὰ λαμπροτάτου
βαίνοντες ἀβρῶς αἰθέρος.

Florence alone, of modern cities, answers to the notion of Athens. She only has been a sacred spot, fruitful of genius, asserting an intellectual rule over the whole bright land whereof she is the “brightest star”—the mother of profoundest wisdom and of purest and most ethereal art. But, though Edinburgh be nothing of the kind, though there be no plastic influences in her atmosphere marvellously forming men into the choicest and noblest specimens of their race, (and though woe betide us all if we took to cultivating her peculiar dialect!) yet is she a very pleasant city to all who can live amid a good deal of conceit, very strong prejudices, and a still stronger east wind. She is, as we have said, very favourable to what is called *literature*; and did possess, when the Edinburgh Review rose into being (we know not if its vacancies get worthily filled up), as remarkable a literary coterie, in the total absence of any really great man, as existed anywhere in the wide world. Of this coterie, Mr. Jeffrey was, in virtue at once of his position as editor of the Review, and also of his personal claims, the perpetual president.

Now one circumstance at once distinguishes this northern junta of men of taste and letters from any that exists, or could exist, here in London. It was mainly composed of the legal profession; and the gentleman whom we have just declared to its head, the editor and principal writer of its great Review,

the soul of all the society around him, the brilliant no less than perpetual converser, the man of sparkling fancy, of taste, discernment, and sensibility, the arbiter of poetical triumphs, the living antithesis of all that could be deemed dry, and dull, and grave, was, during his whole literary course, at the very head of the bar, making as handsome a fortune thereat as so limited a bar admits of, and a sound and learned, as well as a successful, lawyer. And in this, to English ears, singular combination, he was far from alone; he was, in fact, only *primus inter pares*. The gentlemen around him were like him—the very wittiest and merriest, as well as the most intelligent and elegant-minded company in which a man could find himself; and at the same time receiving the highest emoluments and honours of a profession, at the course and character of which bright, elastic, and literary spirits in England are apt to look with no little dismay, as, of all others, the most adverse to their tastes and temperament. And assuredly they do so with some reason, supposing them in the least danger of eminent success, for the circumstances involved in eminent success at the English bar are indeed frightful to think of. Accordingly, we do not remember many instances among our lawyers, of any one uniting the highest powers and attainments of his profession with the capacity of *arbiter elegantiarum*, dispenser of authoritative criticism on all sorts of art, and sovereign of his company, as was done by Lord Jeffrey, and, in their measure and degree, by the men who surrounded him.

Now for this peculiarity of the Scottish bar, there may be several reasons. Obviously, it may be in great measure accounted for by its limitation. Much as the Scotchman of every degree loves law, the whole country cannot furnish more than a small proportion of the legal business in a year which passes through Westminster in a term. Consequently, eminent success in Scotland is not the unspeakable calamity which we cannot but deem it here. It is true that there are no fortunes made of twelve or fifteen thousand *per annum*; but it is also true that the Scottish barrister can enjoy his two or three thousand a-year infinitely more than the English does his far more splendid income. He can meet his friends at dinner with a body not much jaded, and a mind only stimulated by the change from the morning's occupations; he is not incessantly obliged to fly from the brightest society to a weary consultation; and (no unimportant circumstance) when he holds such, it is not in dusty, worm-eaten chambers, looking down on a dingy court, but in the elegant study of an elegant house, looking out on clear space and bright sunshine, and perhaps on a prospect of scarcely-rivalled beauty. Now, men who have the habit of daily tasking their brains just enough to make them enjoy evening society, instead of unfitting them for it, cannot lay aside the mental activity which they have just been cultivating: their sinews are still

braced for vigorous exercise ; their faculties are clear and bright, and move nimbly. But, as good taste prohibits professional conversation, and frivolous talk is, by hypothesis, out of the question, how is all this superfluous energy to find vent, except on matters of general intellectual interest ?

It may, too, admit of question, whether the professional education of the Scottish barrister be not more akin to literature than that of his brother in the south, grounded, as the former is, on the Civil Law. However great a privilege it may have been to England to have possessed that body of indigenous law in which she has ever gloried, we cannot help suspecting that, as a matter of individual culture, the mind has more food from, and is better—at all events more elegantly—formed by studying the Roman jurisprudence than by our long and dingy series of decisions. Law, we imagine, is far more of a science depending on first principles, and presenting the beauty of method, symmetry, and logical connexion in the one case than in the other. But whether or not the Civil be thus more congenial to the literary spirit than the English Common Law, the mode in which, till lately, it was learnt by the Scottish student had some undeniable advantages in this respect. The last generation of such uniformly, when they could, finished their legal educations abroad,—generally, we believe, at Leyden or Utrecht. Everybody must remember Bartholine Saddletree's lamentations over his father's infatuation in not having sent him to the latter place. Thus, belonging for the most part to the highest classes of his country,—for the bar is the aristocratic and all-governing profession of Scotland—finishing his education by some better experience of foreign life than the modern system of lolling in carriages, and carrying on all intercourse with the natives of other lands by means of a courier, and afterwards, at the very height of success, enjoying as much intellectual leisure as any man ever should, or as any man of mental energy ever will, desire, it is no wonder that the eminent Scottish barrister should, as a general rule, have been a very different sort of person from what one can ordinarily hope to find amid the corresponding grade of his English brethren, brilliant as may be individual exceptions amongst the latter.

These considerations may partly serve to solve the puzzle of an eminent barrister at the head of his profession, and during the very busiest of his profession, being not only editor and principal writer of an elaborate and important Review, but, also, in range of literature, in delicacy of taste, in liveliness and versatility of mind, in frequency of gay and brilliant intercourse with others—all that Lord Jeffrey is known to have been. Other circumstances in his position may perhaps serve to explain his defects.

But if the circle in which this distinguished gentleman has

always moved, possessed the advantages on which we have been descanting, and many besides, it laboured under some grievous disadvantages also. A *coterie*, anywhere, has a natural tendency to be epicurean and *poco curante*. Among persons tolerably equal in intellectual power and accomplishment, those who eschew earnestness and enthusiasm, always, in the ordinary intercourse of life, obtain the ascendancy over those who are romantic and eager, the latter being far more ashamed of their warmth, when not sympathized with, than are the former, if in the same circumstances, of their coldness. But, if this be the natural tendency of all literary *coteries*, much more is it that of a Scotch one. Among the subordinate evils of the course which Scotland unhappily pursued during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has been the all but complete cutting away of the cords that bound her to the past, and the accompanying removal of outward objects and institutions, which must at once demand and stimulate veneration. You may pass through the whole land and see no ancient architecture, except here and there some lonely ruin, attesting, by its fragmentary sublimity, both the grandeur of one age, and the barbarity of an ensuing one. In the ears of the grand majority of Scotchmen no ancient ritual was ever sounded; no awful ordinances have ever fenced in their rebellious minds; no institutions, the legacy of a distant past, have ever lifted them to a larger or more commanding level than the present. The courts of law are nearly the only exceptions, and they are surely not enough to fill and expand the mind in this direction. The Scottish antiquarian is thrown on the subjects which filled the mind of Scotland's great poet and novelist, — the legends and traditions of the old families of the country, seldom very worthy or ennobling ones, to which the genius of Scott gave far more than he could ever have got from them. And if his capacity of veneration, which was surely beyond the common, found no better scope, what remains for men of a literary turn, with a far inferior capacity, to whom the subjects which delighted Scott were felt to be intrinsically uninteresting, and whose professional pursuits gave them no license for the severity of science, but a cold epicurean literature? The ecclesiastical establishment, we need scarcely say, has never had any hold on Scottish men of letters; and the Church is too unknown, too unmanifest, to exercise any influence except over such as seek her.

It would have been very wonderful, therefore, had the literature of the early part of the Edinburgh Review been of a higher tone than it is. Its Rev. Chaplain, Mr. Sydney Smith, was obviously not the person to confer on it any benefit of the sort. But, in the absence of veneration, earnestness, a high imaginative character, and depth, there is much to admire in Lord Jeffrey's moral tone. His papers are, with few exceptions,

in that true and pervading style of courtesy, which marks none but gentlemen in the highest sense of the word. They are full, too, of amiable feeling, an assertion which we need hardly modify by any reference to the bantering character which marks several of them; for if Mr. Jeffrey was not a very earnest character himself, he can hardly have been expected to calculate on the effects of earnestness in others; or to imagine that they would care much for what he, in their place, would have dismissed with a shrug and a joke.

These merits, combined with the literary range, which is unusually wide, with a tenderness of feeling which gives a wonderful charm to much of his writing, with a liveliness of style, in great measure compensating for its want of purity, and an eloquence, small and tinkling indeed, yet musical and fascinating, with an acuteness of thought and argument apparent, perhaps, in proportion to the smallness and insignificance of the subjects, give some considerable value to Lord Jeffrey's present re-publication. In addition, we must remark, that, in his capacity of critic and reviewer, he was a careful, nay jealous, watcher over the great land-marks of morality, at a time when many popular writers were unobservant of them, and some even labouring to effect their removal; and, though we fear latitudinarian enough in his religious principles, he was no scoffer in his literary capacity; the articles in the *Edinburgh Review* which are most offensive in that respect, being the contributions of his Reverend co-adjutor.

We are disposed, therefore, to look indulgently on Lord Jeffrey's faults, as not being materially worse than the natural result of his position and circumstances, combined with his own especial sort of talent and temperament. It does not, for example, greatly move us to find him maintaining against Mr. Stewart that the Philosophy of Mind, though furnishing a good and bracing game, is not intrinsically a valuable pursuit; because, on his premisses, we think he arrived legitimately at such a conclusion; and, because, all the mental philosophy he ever saw, all that Scotland has, till very recently, fed and fostered, hardly deserves higher praise.

Neither have we much fault to find with him because of his treatment of the greatest poets of his day. In the volumes now before us, we are presented with reprints of the *Edinburgh Reviews*, of *The Excursion*, *The White Doe of Rylston*, and some other criticism on Wordsworth. To the first named paper, the critic appends the following note:—

"I have spoken in many places rather too bitterly and confidently of the faults of Mr. Wordsworth's poetry; and forgetting that, even on my own view of them, they were but faults of taste, or venial self-partiality, have sometimes visited them, I fear, with an asperity which should be reserved for objects of Moral reprobation. If I were now to deal with the whole question of his poetical

merits, though my judgment might not be substantially different, I hope I should repress the greater part of these *vivacités* of expression; and, indeed, so strong has been my feeling in this way, that, considering how much I have always loved many of the attributes of his genius, and how entirely I respect his character, it did at first occur to me whether it was quite fitting that, in my old age and his, I should include in this publication any of those critiques which may have formerly given pain or offence to him or his admirers. But, when I reflected that the mischief, if there really ever was any, was long ago done, and that I still retain, in substance, the opinions which I should now like to have seen more gently expressed, I felt that to omit all notice of them on the present occasion, might be held to import a retraction, which I am as far as possible from intending; or even be represented as a very shabby way of backing out of sentiments which should either be manfully persisted in, or openly renounced, and abandoned as untenable.

"I finally resolved, therefore, to reprint my review of 'The Excursion;' which contains a pretty full view of my griefs and charges against Mr. Wordsworth; set forth, too, I believe, in a more temperate strain than most of my other inculpations,—and of which I think I may now venture to say farther, that, if the faults are unsparingly noted, the beauties are not penuriously or grudgingly allowed; but commended to the admiration of the reader with at least as much heartiness and good-will.

"But I have also reprinted a short paper on the same author's 'White Doe of Rylstone,'—in which there certainly is no praise, or notice of beauties, to set against the very unqualified censures of which it is wholly made up. I have done this, however, not merely because I adhere to these censures, but chiefly because it seemed necessary to bring me fairly to issue with those who may not concur in them. I can easily understand that many whose admiration of the *Excursion*, or the *Lyrical Ballads*, rests substantially on the passages which I, too, should join in admiring, may view with greater indulgence than I can do, the tedious and flat passages with which they are interspersed, and may, consequently, think my censures of these works a great deal too harsh and uncharitable. Between such persons and me, therefore, there may be no radical difference of opinion, or contrariety as to principles of judgment. But if there be any who actually admire this *White Doe of Rylstone*, or *Peter Bell the Waggoner*, or the *Lamentations of Martha Rae*, or the *Sonnets on the Punishment of Death*, there can be no such ambiguity, or means of reconciliation. Now I have been assured, not only that there are such persons, but that almost all those who seek to exalt Mr. Wordsworth as the founder of a new school of poetry, consider these as by far his best and most characteristic productions; and would at once reject from their communion any one who did not acknowledge in them the traces of a high inspiration. Now I wish it to be understood, that when I speak with general intolerance or impatience of the school of Mr. Wordsworth, it is to the school holding these tenets, and applying these tests, that I refer: and I really do not see how I could better explain the grounds of my dissent from their doctrines, than by republishing my remarks on this 'White Doe.'—Vol. iii. pp. 233, 234.

This, it must be confessed, is dying *game*. If ever critical decisions have been reversed in this world, those of Lord Jeffrey's on Wordsworth have undergone that mortifying fate. He must surely know this himself; he must surely know that the phrase, "there are such persons" as "actually admire this *White Doe of Rylston*," &c., most inaccurately represents the real state of the case; that not certain "persons" only, but the whole rising intelligence of England, whether or not considering these Wordsworth's "best and most characteristic productions,"

differs altogether from the northern critic's estimate at least of some of them: and though we have some respect for dying *game*, it would have been better and manlier, we think, if he had acknowledged this; if he had admitted that, whilst he retained his original estimate of the poems in question, the educated public had gradually, but decisively, formed a different one.

As far as our memory serves us, the articles on the Excursion and the White Doe are reprinted *verbatim*; so that we have only Lord Jeffrey's declaration, "I said so then, and I say so still," to go by; he has produced no new arguments in favour of the ground he took. The whole question is thus reduced to a mere question of taste. If he does not admire the White Doe, and we do, why, we can only pity him, and he us; but the tables are turned, so that we now pity him in company with others, whereas he pities us, we suspect, in nearly solitary grandeur.

But, bating some unfairnesses of which he has been guilty, we really think Lord Jeffrey's treatment of Wordsworth in the Edinburgh Review, calls for much less apology than he has seen fit to make. Such "asperity" as he alludes to was a matter of very little consequence; and his main estimate of the poet was constitutional, natural, and necessary to him—one which we do not see how he could have helped forming. We do not believe that he ever had the capacity of discerning, admiring, or relishing *greatness*; and greatness, to the mind which does not acknowledge it, must always seem ridiculous. Lord Jeffrey has a fine perception of sweetness, delicacy, and pathos; such a genius as that of Campbell is one altogether congenial to him; and, accordingly, there is scarcely any poet of the age to whom he has done such hearty justice. To Keats, too, he was able to give praise no less sincere than generous; and no man has ever shown a keener relish for the sweetnesses of our elder drama. Sublimity, transcendent greatness, are the things into which, as we have already said, he never has been able to enter. And, therefore, though he has been guilty of the grossest unfairness in dealing with Wordsworth, which we suppose must be considered a good joke, and though no person can be referred to his writings on the subject, as capable of at all informing him what is the peculiar character of Wordsworth's genius; though none but that poet's *subordinate* beauties are ever displayed there; and though no one could guess from Lord Jeffrey's account of the matter, that Wordsworth was, with the exception of a few eccentric productions, the most truly *classical* poet of the day,—the one who approached most nearly to the pure, calm dignity of Grecian art; we will not, as we now once again declare, quarrel with the author now before us, either for his past treatment of, or his now re-published criticisms on, a man who is by this time as far above his praise, as he is independent of his censure.

But we confess we think that our critic might, with great advantage, have spared us the re-publication of a *post-mortem* attack on Coleridge, which occurs in a review of *Mackintosh's Memoirs*,—Lord Jeffrey's "*last* considerable contribution to the Edinburgh Review," as he himself informs us. That we may do him full justice, we present our readers with the whole passage nearly entire :—

"In the 'Table-Talk' of the late Mr. Coleridge, we find these words :— 'I doubt if Mackintosh ever heartily appreciated an eminently original man. After all his fluency and brilliant erudition, you can rarely carry off anything worth preserving. You might not improperly write upon his forehead, "Warehouse to let!"'

"We wish to speak tenderly of a man of genius, and we believe of amiable dispositions, who has been so recently removed from his friends and admirers. But so portentous a misjudgment as this, and coming from such a quarter, cannot be passed without notice. If Sir James Mackintosh had any talent more conspicuous and indisputable than another, it was that of appreciating the merits of eminent and original men. His great learning and singular soundness of judgment enabled him to do this truly; while his kindness of nature, his zeal for human happiness, and his perfect freedom from prejudice or vanity, prompted him, above most other men, to do it heartily. And then, as to his being a person from whose conversation little could be carried away, why the most characteristic and remarkable thing about it, was that the whole of it might be carried away—it was so lucid, precise, and brilliantly perspicuous! The joke of the 'warehouse to let' is not, we confess, quite level to our capacities. It can scarcely mean (though that is the most obvious sense) that the head was empty—as that is inconsistent with the rest even of this splenetic delineation. If it was intended to insinuate that it was ready for the indiscriminate reception of anything which any one might choose to put into it, there could not be a more gross misconception; as we have no doubt Mr. Coleridge must often have sufficiently experienced. And by whom is this discovery, that Mackintosh's conversation presented nothing that could be carried away, thus confidently announced? Why, by the very individual against whose own oracular and interminable talk the same complaint has been made, by friends and by foes, and with an unanimity unprecedented, for the last forty years. The admiring, or rather idolizing nephew, who has lately put forth this hopeful specimen of his relics, has recorded in the preface, that 'his conversation at all times required attention; and that the demand on the intellect of the hearer was often very great; and that, when he got into his "huge circuit" and large illustrations, most people had lost him, and naturally enough supposed that he had lost himself.' Nay, speaking to this very point, of the ease or difficulty of 'carrying away' any definite notions from what he said, the partial kinsman is pleased to inform us, that, with all his familiarity with the inspired style of his relative, he himself has often gone away, after listening to him for several delightful hours, with divers masses of reasoning in his head, but without being able to perceive what connexion they had with each other. 'In such cases,' he adds, 'I have mused, *sometimes even for days afterwards*, upon the words, till at length, spontaneously as it were, the fire would kindle,' &c. &c. And this is the person who is pleased to denounce Sir James Mackintosh as an ordinary man; and especially to object to his conversation, that, though brilliant and fluent, there was rarely anything in it which could be carried away!

"An attack so unjust and so arrogant leads naturally to comparisons, which it could be easy to follow out to the signal discomfiture of the party attacking. But, without going beyond what is thus forced upon our notice, we shall only say, that nothing could possibly set the work before us in so favourable a point of view, as a comparison between it and the volumes of 'Table Talk,' to which

we have already made reference—unless, perhaps, it were the contrast of the two minds which are respectively portrayed in these publications.

In these memorials of Sir James Mackintosh, we trace throughout the workings of a powerful and unclouded intellect, nourished by wholesome learning, raised and instructed by fearless though reverent questionings of the sages of other times (which is the permitted necromancy of the wise), exercised by free discussion with the most distinguished among the living, and made acquainted with its own strength and weakness, not only by a constant intercourse with other powerful minds, but by mixing, with energy and deliberation, in practical business and affairs; and here pouring itself out in a delightful miscellany of elegant criticism, original speculation, and profound practical suggestions on politics, religion, history, and all the greater and the lesser duties, the arts and the elegancies of life—all expressed with a beautiful clearness and tempered dignity—breathing the purest spirit of good-will to mankind—and brightened not merely by an ardent hope, but an assured faith, in their constant advancement in freedom, intelligence, and virtue.

“On all these points, the ‘Table Talk’ of his poetical contemporary appears to us to present a most mortifying contrast; and to render back merely the image of a moody mind, incapable of mastering its own imaginings, and constantly seduced by them, or by a misdirected ambition, to attempt impracticable things:—naturally attracted by dim paradoxes rather than lucid truths, and preferring, for the most part, the obscure and neglected parts of learning to those that are useful and clear—marching, in short, at all times, under the exclusive guidance of the Pillar of Smoke—and, like the body of its original followers, wandering all his days in the desert, without ever coming in sight of the promised land.

“Consulting little at any time with anything but his own prejudices and fancies, he seems, in his later days, to have withdrawn altogether from the correction of equal minds; and to have nourished the assurance of his own infallibility, by delivering mystical oracles from his cloudy shrine, all day long, to a small set of disciples, to whom neither question nor interruption was allowed. The result of this necessarily was, an exacerbation of all the morbid tendencies of the mind; a daily increasing ignorance of the course of opinions and affairs in the world, and a proportional confidence in his own dogmas and dreams, which might have been shaken, at least, if not entirely subverted, by a closer contact with the general mass of intelligence. Unfortunately this unhealthful training (peculiarly unhealthful for such a constitution) produced not merely a great eruption of ridiculous blunders and pitiable prejudices, but seems at last to have brought on a confirmed and thoroughly diseased habit of uncharitableness, and misanthropic anticipations of corruption and misery throughout the civilized world. The indiscreet revelations of the work to which we have alluded have now brought to light instances, not only of intemperate abuse of men of the highest intellect and most unquestioned purity, but such predictions of evil from what the rest of the world has been contented to receive as improvements, and such suggestions of intolerant and tyrannical remedies, as no man would believe could proceed from a cultivated intellect of the present age—if the early history of this particular intellect had not indicated an inherent aptitude for all extreme opinions,—and prepared us for the usual conversion of one extreme into another.

“And it is worth while to mark here, also, and in respect merely of consistency and ultimate authority with mankind, the advantage which a sober and well-regulated understanding will always have over one which claims to be above ordinances: and, trusting either to an erroneous opinion of its own strength, or even to a true sense of it, gives itself up to its first strong impression, and sets at defiance all other reason and authority. Sir James Mackintosh had, in his youth, as much ambition and as much consciousness of power as Mr. Coleridge could have: but the utmost extent of his early aberrations (in his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*) was an over-estimate of the probabilities of good from a revolution of violence; and a much greater under-estimate of the mischiefs

with which such experiments are sure to be attended, and the value of settled institutions and long familiar forms. Yet, though in his philanthropic enthusiasm he did miscalculate the relative value of these opposite forces (and speedily admitted and rectified the error), he never for an instant disputed the existence of *both* elements in the equation, or affected to throw a doubt upon any of the great principles on which civil society reposes. On the contrary, in his earliest as well as his latest writings, he pointed steadily to the great institutions of Property and Marriage, and to the necessary authority of Law and Religion, as essential to the being of a state, and the well-being of any human society. It followed, therefore, that when disappointed in his too sanguine expectations from the French Revolution, he had nothing to retract in the substance and scope of his opinions; and merely tempering their announcement, with the gravity and caution of maturer years, he gave them out again in his later days to the world, with the accumulated authority of a whole life of consistency and study. At no period of that life, did he fail to assert the right of the people to political and religious freedom: and to the protection of just and equal laws, enacted by representatives truly chosen by themselves: and he never uttered a syllable that could be construed into an approval, or even an acquiescence in persecution and intolerance; or in the maintenance of authority for any other purpose than to give effect to the enlightened and deliberate will of the community. To enforce these doctrines his whole life was devoted; and though not permitted to complete either of the great works he had projected, he was enabled to finish detached portions of each, sufficient not only fully to develop his principles, but to give a clear view of the whole design, and to put it in the power of any succeeding artist to proceed with the execution. Look now upon the other side of the parallel.

"Mr. Coleridge, too, was an early and most ardent admirer of the French Revolution; but the fruits of that admiration *in him* were, not a reasoned and statesmanlike apology for some of its faults and excesses, but a resolution to advance the regeneration of mankind at a still quicker rate, by setting before their eyes the pattern of a yet more exquisite form of society! And, accordingly, when a full-grown man, he actually gave into, if he did not originate, the scheme of what he and his friends called a Pantisocracy—a form of society in which there was to be neither law nor government, neither priest, judge, nor magistrate—in which all property was to be in common, and every man left to act upon his own sense of duty and affection.

"This fact is enough:—And whether he afterwards passed through the stages of a Jacobin, which he seems to deny—or a hot-headed Moravian, which he seems to admit,—is really of no consequence. The character of his understanding is *settled* with all reasonable men: as well as the authority that is due to the anti-reform and anti-toleration maxims which he seems to have spent his latter years in venting. Till we saw this posthumous publication, we had, to be sure, no conception of the extent to which these compensating maxims were carried; and we now think that few of the Conservatives (who were not originally Pantisocratists) will venture to adopt them. Not only is the Reform Bill denounced as the spawn of mere wickedness, injustice, and ignorance; and the reformed House of Commons as 'low, vulgar, meddling, and sneering at everything noble and refined,' but the wise and the good, we are assured, will, in every country, 'speedily become disgusted with the *representative form of government, brutalized as it is* by the predominance of democracy, in England, France, and Belgium!' And then the remedy is, that they will recur to a new, though, we confess, not very comprehensible form of '*pure monarchy*, in which the reason of the people shall become efficient in the apparent will of the king!' Moreover, he is for a total dissolution of the union with Ireland, and its erection into a separate and independent kingdom. He is against Negro emancipation—sees no use in reducing taxation—and designates Malthus's demonstration of a mere matter of fact by a redundant accumulation of evidence, by the polite and appropriate appellation of a 'lie;'

and represents it as more disgraceful and abominable than anything that the weakness and wickedness of man have ever before given birth to.

"Such as his temperance and candour are in politics, they are also in religion; and recommended and excused by the same flagrant contradiction to his early tenets. Whether he ever was a proper Moravian or not, we care not to inquire. It is admitted, and even stated somewhat boastfully in this book, that he was a bold dissenter from the Church. He thanks Heaven, indeed, that he 'had gone much farther than the Unitarians!' And to make his boldness still more engaging, he had gone these lengths, not only against the authority of our Doctors, but against the clear and admitted doctrine and teaching of the Apostles themselves! 'What care I,' I said, 'for the Platonisms of John, or the Rabbiniisms of Paul? *My conscience revolts!*—That was the ground of *my* Unitarianism.' And by and by, this infallible and oracular person does not hesitate to declare, that others, indeed, may do as they choose, but he, for his part, can never allow that Unitarians are Christians! and, giving no credit for 'revolting consciences' to any one but himself, charges all Dissenters in the lump with hating the Church much more than they love religion—is furious against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and Catholic Emancipation,—and at last actually, and in good set terms, denies that any Dissenter has a *right to toleration!* and, in perfect consistency, maintains that it is the duty of the magistrate to stop heresy and schism *by persecution*—if he only has reason to think that in this way the evil may be arrested; adding, by way of example, that he would be ready 'to ship off—*any where,*' any missionaries who might attempt to disturb the undoubting Lutheranism of certain exemplary Norwegians, whom he takes under his special protection.

"We are tempted to say more; but we desist; and shall pursue this parallel no farther. Perhaps we have already been betrayed into feelings and expressions that may be objected to. We should be sorry if this could be done justly. But we do not question Mr. Coleridge's sincerity. We admit, too, that he was a man of much poetical sensibility, and had visions of intellectual sublimity, and glimpses of comprehensive truths, which he could neither reduce into order nor combine into system. But out of poetry and metaphysics, we think he was nothing; and eminently disqualified, not only by the defects, but by the best parts of his genius, as well as by his temper and habits, for forming any sound judgment on the business and affairs of our actual world."—Vol. iv. pp. 520—527.

We think Lord Jeffrey was far more excusable in first writing than he is now in re-publishing this passage. When it first appeared, the loss of Mackintosh to his friends was not many years less recent than that of Coleridge to his. He must, moreover, be excused for then resenting with needless warmth a derogatory estimate of the man, who was at once the great Whig intellectual idol, and we believe his own admired and beloved friend; and though his own recollections of the poet can hardly be favourable,* we think he might have paused in the present case before repeating his attack, and might have meditated on its exceeding unfairness, as well as the extent to which it was uncalled for. By way of example of the former fault, take one speci-

* Those derived from their interview at Keswick, in connexion with the facts of which Lord Jeffrey afterwards gained a great advantage over Coleridge, as ever was gained on a question of facts by one man over another. We commend, however, the good feeling, which we doubt not contributed to banish from this collection the review of the *Biographia Literaria*, supposing that to have come from Lord Jeffrey's pen.

men—a pretty fair specimen by the way—of the *Jeffrey* notion of what is just and right in adverse criticism. Coleridge “at last actually, and in good set terms, denies that any dissenter has a *right to toleration*! and in perfect consistency, maintains that it is the duty of the magistrate to stop heresy and schism by *persecution*—if he only has reason to think that in this way the evil will be arrested, adding, by way of example, that he would be ready ‘to ship off—*anywhere*, any missionaries who might attempt to disturb the undoubting Lutheranism of certain exemplary Norwegians, whom he takes under his special protection.”

Certain exemplary Norwegians! Whom he takes under his special protection! What a funny air does this way of putting it give to the passage *supposed* to be cited;—cited, too, not from a treatise sanctioned or deliberately given to the world by its author, but from the reminiscences of a great man's *Table-talk*. Now, we will, by the aid of an imperfect recollection, not having the volumes before us at present, give what we conceive to be the substance of what Coleridge really said.

If we remember aright, he spoke of the practical necessity for toleration in modern England, as something felt to be axiomatic on all sides; and yet when one begins to think about it, singularly difficult in theory,—of the doubt which might attach to what is taken for granted to be the dissenter's *right* to it on general constitutional grounds, irrespectively, of course, of the Toleration Act. He then says, that, though practically an advocate of toleration in England and countries similarly situated, he might be very much disposed to “ship off” any disturber of religion among a people like the Norwegians, who are united in a faith and practice, right at least relatively, to the supposed disturber. Now, if Lord Jeffrey can see no difficulty here, if the case supposed be perfectly clear to him, he must excuse our saying that it is because he has never really estimated the several bearings of the subject.

But we must hasten to a close. Mr. Macaulay's contributions to the *Edinburgh Review* have, as we need scarcely say, a far higher literary value than Lord Jeffrey's; but by the time that the former gentleman got access to that Review, it had ceased to have any national character, whole numbers being written, quite as probably in England as in Scotland. About Mr. Macaulay, whether we look at his birth, education, acquirements, or cast of thought, there is obviously nothing Scotch save the name. We may, therefore, stop at this point of our reviewing labours, and ask in what the intellectual life of Scotland either has consisted, or is likely ever to consist?

Its past character, has, in every important point of view, been deplorable enough; but is it likely to be better hereafter? We fear not, except as regards one ground of uncertain hope. At present, we fear that Scotland is undergoing a steady process of

deterioration and vulgarization. The coterie of Lord Jeffrey was a refined and brilliant one—that which dispossessed it, the school of our princely friend, *Christopher North*, though very superior in its literature, was too eccentric, to say the least, to guide the national mind. Is there any third one at present worth naming? Is there any refining, humanizing influence at this moment at work in Scotland? There is a spread of prejudice and vulgarity—a *Yankee* state of matters—fearfully on the increase there; but we could look at such a state of matters in the face, frightful though it be, were we sure that there were opposing powers in operation. But the aspect of Scotland is not encouraging. Year by year does the past seem to get more obliterated there. Year by year does a mere mechanical progress gain ground over the real civilization of ceremony and observance, and fierce passions grow in ever-increasing strength, without any venerable objects to check, and soften, and raise and purify them. This people seems unable to keep the little that is fine in art which it had spared to itself in the hour of its madness. The venerable minster of Glasgow, the only complete one left in Scotland, except that of Kirkwall, is now propped up along the north-side; and so unable has that wealthy Presbyterian city proved itself to preserve its grandest ornament, that, if it remains much longer in their hands, this beautiful and very *peculiar* structure must perish.*

In so dark a time, we must turn to the *Church*: she alone can preserve Scotland from passing into an altogether *iron age*. She is now preparing for herself a college. Let her remember all her functions; let her betake herself to the sedulous cultivation of whatsoever things are lovely and of good report; let her preside over the minds as well as the consciences of her children; let her draw out their faculties; let her get ready (for it will soon be her task) to cultivate that national character which, amid the wreck of all else, remains tough and ineradicable in Scotland; and she may yet become the mother of a literature and a school of sentiment as well as of practice, as superior to all which that country has hitherto known, as are her divine character and universal aim, to the human origin and narrow scope of the sect which has too long usurped her place and obscured her claims.

* We believe that what is called the *Residuary* Establishment, finds liberal town-counsellors not over-willing to support all the kirks now thrown on their hands, maintained as those in towns are by pew-rents, which do not appear to be sufficiently forthcoming. Might not wealthy Churchmen bide their time, seize the favourable opportunity for purchasing what was the cathedral of Glasgow, on such terms as shall make both buyers and sellers willing to obtain the necessary parliamentary sanction, and thus restore a noble temple to a body, from which it should never have been taken, and which, unlike its present sectarian usurpers, would, we trust, know both how to maintain and how to use it?

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Über das verhältniss der Bischöflichen kirche von England zu der ursprünglichen Apostolischen. Von M. CHLEBUS, *Licent. d. Theologie, &c.* Leipzig, 1842.

Die Zustände der Anglicanischen kirche, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verfassung und des Cultus. Von HERMANN F. UHDEN, *Candidat des Predigtamts.* Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1843.

THERE is no lack of tokens of a movement of the powers of the mind in the generation in which we live toward the work which all good Christians believe that the Author of the Gospel left behind him upon earth. It is impossible to accuse this generation of apathy and inactivity; and, however justly Mr. Uhden may characterise the past century as a time of universal torpor, and forgetfulness of the terrible issue of all human action, which the Gospel foretels will be consummated by the powers that obey God in another world, it would be clearly unjust to bring such a charge against this present generation. We have clearly made a step towards an earnest and thoughtful anxiety for the things of the world to come. We have begun to be concerned about the issue there promised, to the different schemes and efforts which we observe to be now making here. In some wonderful manner the idea of a day of reckoning, a literal tribunal, a judge, an inquiry, and a sentence, has stolen over the mind of the English nation, and has found a resting-place in the hearts and thoughts of many amongst us; who, by their possession of those worldly advantages, would at another time have been thought above the reach of notions so superfluous, or at least so unwelcome. Let it, then, be understood that all that is said, talked, written, and controverted upon questions which either draw their interest out of the Revelation of Jesus Christ, or affect the Church which He has left upon earth, is something more than a mere caprice of the human mind, wandering in the wilderness, and fixing its gaze upon Mount Sinai, only because it is tired of Mount Hymettus, and is tempted to go a honey-gathering in some fresh region. The heart of man is the same on the whole, and the Revelation of Jesus Christ is certainly the same to-day, yesterday, and for ever; and though to speak of one time as a time of religious indifference, and another as a time of religious activity, is so far an *ex cathedra* judgment, upon which but little real dependence is to be placed. The Apostle would say, "judge nothing before the time," yet the acts and the conduct of any people undoubtedly afford materials for the formation of a judgment approximating to the truth, as far as truth is required for practical purposes, provided the person taking the office of judge upon himself be careful to look well and patiently below the surface, and, above all, see that he brings an unbiassed and an unwarped discernment to the task. Upon this score, as will appear by and by, we have less fault to find with Mr. Uhden

than *prima facie* could be expected in the case of a German theological student, brought up in the hot-bed of mere intellectual theology, and writing, as most German authors have now for some years accustomed themselves to write, without any clear practical object in view. As for Mr. Chlebus, we are at a loss to know what possible end the author could have intended his pamphlet to serve; and, with all the kind feeling which is due to a foreigner, and to one who takes up so important a subject, the perusal still leaves us in the dark. "What meaneth this great display of knowledge and discernment?" Good sir, whom are you labouring to persuade? and what is the particular line of thought which you seek to recommend?—Like the Barmecide's entertainment, the table is decked out with its garniture of plates, couches, and carpets, and an endeavouring entertainer would have all his guests believe that he has nobly provided for their satisfaction, but, when it comes to the question of literal viands, he leaves us most cruelly in the dark; where they are to be found, and at what hour of the feast he will please to order them to be brought in. Perhaps, however, we are throwing away time and space even in this passing notice upon a publication, the chief characteristic of which seems to be its off-hand exhibition of superficial research, the more to be regretted, for the author's sake, from the miserably low estimate he must needs have formed of the sacred character and deep interest of the subject he has so lightly approached.

We have now introduced our two authors, chiefly, as probable samples of a class hereafter to become more and more numerous, in proportion to the increasing intercourse between our own nation and the cultivated portion of northern Germany; and before we lay before our readers any portion of their labour, it may be desirable to say a few words upon the nature of the circumstances under which the Protestant of Germany is compelled to form his views of religion.

Professor Möhler has well remarked, in his singularly lucid investigation of the heterogeneous religious associations which issued out of the convulsion that attended the Reformation, that the grand dilemma into which its leaders came, was felt to be, how to provide for the authority of the Teacherhood that was to stand in the place of the Apostolic Ministry which they removed. They tried various pleas, such as the utility of the public preaching of the word of God, and the expediency and propriety of maintaining order, and providing for the service of the houses of God (which were retained, notwithstanding that the liturgy that had been before connected with them was banished). Yet, if it were lawful to cast out an Apostolic succession of ministers, and to discard their ritual, it was not less lawful for all who desired to reject that which came in their place; and to set up, as soon as ever they had a mind, some rival something more in unison with their individual taste: Luther and those who succeeded laboured strenuously to deter from all such attempts, and to support the authority of the ministrations which they were the means of forming; but the only one ground which can maintain the minister of religion—"the power and commission of Almighty God,"—they did not dare to claim for their institutions, except upon such weak and vague grounds as threw the claim open to all others whatsoever.

The Apostolic power, conveyed by the laying-on of the hands of the Bishop, they could not appeal to; they had put asunder what God had joined together, and their self-formed ministry proved unable to stand the test of time.—It was subject to the denunciation of the Prophet, (Isaiah viii.) “Associate yourselves, oh ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; take counsel together and it shall come to nought; speak the word and it shall not stand, for God is with us.” What more, it may have been thought, can be wanting according to the best human foresight? Here is the glorious light of the Reformation, the pure evangelical truth of the Scriptures, proclaimed and set forth by men earnest in their work, who have braved great personal dangers for the sake of their belief. What more can be desired? Yet something more was wanting, as the sequel has shown; and that was, that, however pure the truth may have been, however earnest the intention, however irreproachable the object, it was still incompatible with the glory and honour of Almighty God that men should associate themselves to do these things. Almighty God has decreed that what He does, that shall stand,—and that what men associate themselves to do, shall not stand; and therefore it is that for the three hundred years that have passed since the days of Luther, the associations which he and his friends formed to maintain the purity of the Gospel, as they thought, have been growing worse and worse; and it needs no more than a superficial acquaintance with the actual state of society, as it has grown up, and now is, in Northern Germany, under the influence of these associations and their innumerable subdivisions, to have abundant proof, that, though they may have spoken the Word, yet that it has not stood, and that, though they may have taxed human efforts to the utmost to maintain their cause, yet that their cause has failed. Theology has fallen in the hands of these associations: in one point of view, into a mere quagmire of the intellect, and in another, into a profession that is recruited from the refuse of the people. So that with the exception of one or two individuals remarkable for their sagacity, the reputation of a theologian holds the lowest rank in Protestant Germany; and it is not beyond the truth to say, that, putting the talent and qualifications of individuals aside, and the plain, humble, and praiseworthy zeal of some few of the country ministers, the whole body of German religious teachers are held in the meanest estimation by the people at large. So true is Professor Möhler’s observation, that the doctrine of Luther was equal to the task of destroying the fabric of spiritual allegiance to the existing Church, but it could not compass the building up a new Church in its place.

It would be foreign to our object to make any allusion to the existing state of the particular religious association of which Mr. Uhden is a member. What we have said belongs to our subject, as an explanation of the fact, Why a foreigner should take such an interest in exhibiting the different parties and rival interests actively at work in the bosom of the Anglican communion. The very atmosphere that a Protestant German student of Theology breathes from his birth, is party spirit; the gymnasium where his boyhood is passed is full of it, the university where he attends his theological course is

literally nothing else; his society is nothing but disputation; his home in most cases an irreligious one; his notion of the pulpit is that of a mere place of vent for his laboriously-acquired knowledge. From his earliest days his ideas upon religion are trained in the confused spectacle of discordant thought and principle, which is ever before his eyes; how, therefore, can such a training have any tendency to place before the conscience of a mortal man the conviction that he is, or is to be, the servant of the Almighty Ruler of the kingdoms of the world; and that his work is to be the building up, the training, the teaching, the ministering in the things of God unto a divine society, the fundamental principle of which is, that the association is the work of God, the only reason entitling him to think that what he may say or do, in the province of Theology, will have any issue for good, being the assurance that he has a commission from the Almighty God, which all men will recognize, to speak and preach and labour in His vineyard? It is manifest that the Protestant German theologian's idea of Theology, and its application to the wants of human society, is immeasurably far from such a view as this. He looks upon Theology as the science of a revelation, a province subject to the powers of the human intellect, like chemistry, or geology, in which truth is to be attained in the Baconian way, by the multitude of inductions. He looks upon mankind precisely as a heathen philosopher would, that though in general they are incapable of going deep into the subject, and on that account less deserving of attention than if they were better judges, yet as this cannot be helped, the materials for disciples and followers must be taken as they are, and the best must be made of them. We mean, this is the view of what the abstract German theologian would be in whom the tendencies of their system should be fully developed; of course it is not ventured to be asserted that the better feelings of the human heart are always so effectually rooted out that such a scientific monster of Theology, is a phenomenon of common occurrence; but such is the system; and it will be borne in mind that out of this system Mr. Uhden, whom we judge to be a young man, from the title of his work, came to study and learn the actual working of the ministry and institutions of the English Church.

It is obvious at first sight, that the main stumbling-block in the path of such an observer, who has throughout shown a patience of investigation and a dispassionate tone of judgment highly to be commended, would lie at once in the principle of association peculiar to the body, the condition of which he came over to examine. Is the Anglican Church one of those associations which the movers of the great religious convulsions of the sixteenth century, formed for the purpose of maintaining and propagating what they considered to be the Evangelical religion of the Scriptures? or is she part of the Catholic kingdom of Jesus Christ, associated by the power and Spirit of God to protect and propagate what the Apostles delivered as the faith committed to the Saints? The Anglican Church, as a living fact, is a corporate body possessed of sufficient visibility and sufficient distinctiveness of constitution and practical energy, to induce a student of no ordinary discernment and power of observation, to quit his own country, to acquire a strange language, and, having acquired it,

patiently to accumulate the various details, not only of the actual state of this Church, but also of her past history and fortunes; and withal, he has thought it worth while to obtain an accurate and minute account of many portions of her legal and canonical constitution, such as is possessed by few of her own members; this looks little like an impression on the author's mind, of the *invisibility* of the Anglican Church. It may be a matter of some wonder, then, that an observer who has taken such praiseworthy pains in the execution of his task, should stumble over the very question, which is the most momentous of all, and which is, in fact, that very one from which the whole investigation derives whatever value and importance it may possess.

It is, as was before hinted, inconsistent with the supremacy and majesty of Almighty God, that any corporate body, the principle of whose association is founded by human contrivance only, should long continue together. Virtue and sanctity alone enable men to act together, and these qualities are the work of God in his new creation. It is the nature of all human beings to prey upon each other like wolves, until God has been pleased to cleanse them and give them a different mind; and, in whatsoever society they are placed, it is their nature to seek to destroy, mutilate, disorder, and to dissolve that society, unless God work a miracle upon them and give them the heart and mind to seek instead to build it up and to join it together. The reason why Nineveh, Babylon, Persia, and Greece—which are tolerable specimens of vast associations of mankind—have been broken in pieces, is simply that God had no motive of His own glory to interpose, and therefore suffered human wickedness to run its course; and it ran of itself to dissolution. One society only, of all the associations of the earth, is secured from this inherent tendency to dissolution, but the price that is paid for this protection, is the giving over into the hands of God the principle and work of the association; and God, Who is a jealous God, Who has made all things for His own will and pleasure, and Who has placed before Himself His own glory, as the end for which He suffers this world to prolong its existence in the midst of the universal wreck of all human associations whatsoever, is pleased to preserve one *society* whole and compact in the world; because the members of this society ascribe to Him the glory of the work of their association. This society is the Catholic Church, and the instrument of its association is the sacrament of baptism, which joins the person receiving it to the mystical body of the incarnate Son of God,—and God, who is a jealous God, jealous of His own glory before the nations of the world, has hitherto, for eighteen hundred years, maintained this association in the world, and has not suffered it to be broken in pieces, because it ascribes its association to Him. All other associations whatsoever He disowns, and, although the design they propose be ever so praiseworthy, yet He brings them to nothing, because they do not manifest themselves in the earth as His work. For the very reason that they presume to act of themselves, He allows them to run their own course; and this course is towards dissolution.

Mr. Uhden opens his work by stating that the "*Anglican Church goes back to the Reformation as the occasion and ground of its*

coming to life, but that it differs from all other associations which sprung up out of the Reformation, in the predominant consciousness of its continuity as a Christian Church, as shown by the effort to maintain even an external union with the visible Church." A confused and indeterminate statement, certainly, but made, it would appear, on purpose to slur over the real difficulty. Is this consciousness of *continuity* a well-founded one? The fact that an Anglican Church could come to life at the Reformation, and yet possess a consciousness of her continuity, is a description of something so wonderful, that, though it might be a matter of less surprise, were it known to come from the other side of St. George's Channel; but in the thoughtful and well-considered work of a German scholar, and at the very outset too, and, as it were, a sample of the whole investigation! We own we are a little surprised that the genius of Green Erin should have so effectually migrated as to find an abode in the far-famed city of intelligence—the philosophical Berlin. This, however, is the real difficulty: the Anglican Church, whatever her present state may be, has a deep, unextinguishable sense of her *continuity*; that she is a living part of that vast Christian society who have the mark of the finger of God upon them, and whose vocation upon earth is to set forth the glory and honour of Almighty God, Who hath chosen her for this very end. How can such a conviction admit of any reconciliation with the notion of a matter-of-fact birth at the time of the Reformation! The contradiction is plain; yet it is only as one of the daughters of the Reformation, in common with the production of a similar birth, that the theologians of Germany can take any interest in the Anglican Church. They seem to have been themselves awakened at some sound or cry of the bridegroom's coming, and finding the oil in the lamps of their discordant societies—which they persevere to call by the name of Churches—to be all but spent, like persons beginning to see themselves in a bad plight, they cast about for help, and seeing the Anglican Church in apparent force, they come over to her, and show symptoms as if they were inclined to say, Good Sister of the Reformation, for sisterhood's sake, give us of your oil, for our lamps are going out. It is well known to be matter of grave consideration in the cabinet, as in the consistorial bench, of Prussia, that the Protestant multitude of Germany has lost all unity of thought and affection; that they are in a state incapable of reconciliation by legislation; that the study of Theology does but promise to add fresh materials of discord; that the liturgic life and ritual habits of the people have sunk far below the measure of even Pagan worship in the times of the Roman Republic; nay, have almost ceased to exist at all, so that any revival of individual zeal does but bid fair to increase the existing confusion, until it should be ascertained in what path zeal, if revived, might safely and beneficially advance. Thoughts of this nature beginning to operate in a cabinet, which has for many years placed its confidence in the strength of its power and apparatus of war, have been the occasion of such visits to England as that of Mr. Uhden, and the evident intention has been to discover, if possible, with a view to adoption, some remedy for the religious evils of Protestant Germany; to ascertain, in short, where the great

strength of the Anglican Church lies, in virtue of which, notwithstanding her many grievous defects, she is still continued a visible corporate body, impressed with the consciousness of her own unity and her continuity.

This cannot be regarded otherwise than as a mark of praiseworthy care on the part of German statesmen.—Yet how such investigations as these of Mr. Uhden are to minister a remedy to the evil, it is impossible to see. That very thing in which the strength of the Anglican branch of the Church does lie, has been entirely overlooked; as if it were of no sort of importance to the existence and permanence of a corporate body, that the work of its association should be the work of God, and the honour and glory of the Almighty God of the Universe should be at stake, in the eyes of the nations of the earth, that His work should be found such as to last. The Church, in the eyes of Mr. Uhden, is a mere Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, and he accounts it to differ from other societies only in the circumstance of the subject it takes in hand, and as a society to be upon a par with any other society; for example, that for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, or for the Suppression of Mendicity or Cruelty to Animals, or in fact any society. The Reformation, he would have to be the standard of what is meant by the Gospel, though Professor Möhler's work has now made it evident that for any man who is in earnest, and who, as a Protestant, desires to gain some definite notion of the Gospel, to go to the time of the Reformation for a definite view is merely to go to a *rudis indigestaque moles*, of conflicting sentiment, on which the mind of the dove can find no rest for the sole of her foot. Yet, nevertheless, owing to the marvellous, inexplicable, and invincible attachment of the human intellect to the systems of its own creation, the era of Reformation, or, as in Germany it might be more truly called, the era of Rebellion against the Apostolic Succession, is clung to with the tenacity of drowning men catching at straws, as the standard of the truth of the Gospel of the Son of God. As long as this continues to be the case, Protestant Germany can never become other than she now is; for she hereby persists in disowning the one only power of God which He has given for the healing of the nations.

This, however, is rather a digression from our subject. We shall now present our readers with the heads of the chapters in Mr. Uhden's work, that they may form an opinion of the nature of his task.

1st Chapter,—Characteristic of the Anglican Church; 2d. Of the Clergy, and the Constitution of the Church; 3d. Of the Parties within the Anglican Church; 4th. The Book of Common Prayer; 5th. Preaching and the Cure of Souls. 6th. Of the Outward Means at the disposal of the Church, and the New Churches that have been built. 7th. Religious Life and Morals. 8th. The Position of the Anglican Church towards sects of Dissenters. Appendix, containing various Documents of Interest.

It will be easily perceived that titles similar to the above betoken a work of mere investigation, such as, were we to look for a parallel in heathen times, we should fix upon the narrative Herodotus has left

of his own inquiry and examination into the ecclesiastical system of Egypt, the comparison being entirely in favour of the heathen writer ; particularly the point which in the case of a professed Christian is the less pardonable : we mean awe and veneration for the mysterious and sacred character of the subject under examination. The men of Bethshemesh looked into the ark of the Lord, and they were smitten—fifty thousand three score and ten men—a token that curiosity and an unchastised approach to learn the secrets of God should be an abiding abomination in His sight. Does not such a work as the one before us seem dangerously like an attempt on the part of its author to look into the ark of God, to search out the secret of the great strength of the ark ; to find out why it stands upright when the surrounding people see their religions totter and fall down ; in fact, to learn and educe the secret of this from his investigation ? Whether God will be pleased to suffer those to learn who draw nigh in this spirit is not for us to determine ; the responsibility of the deed is before God to judge, who knows under what circumstances it was undertaken and finished.

Yet we will, notwithstanding, say that we are not sorry to hear that it has been translated by a Mr. Humphrey, and published by Lover.* It is the privilege of the Christian to draw good out of evil. What can be more evil at first sight, than to see faithfully represented in the narrative of a foreigner, a minute account of the various factions which are at war in the city of God ; and who are busy biting and devouring each other, and spending their precious time in strife and contention and every evil work, which they are called to spend, in doing the work of the Lord's vineyard ? Yet, if this be the melancholy fact, what can be more instructive to the members of the Anglican Church, in their several stations, than to find that a student from a foreign country has seen and discerned their unchristian disunions ; and has gone home to set before his countrymen a detailed narrative of the jealousies and dissensions, the animosities and unkind suspicions, which alienate Anglican Christians one from another, in such a manner, that if we should prove unable to blush for ourselves, there is little doubt they will blush for us ; and will be sincerely ashamed for those, who, while their pretensions are so lofty, and are yet not wanting in actions so unbecoming, and in behaviour towards each other so little Christian ? Viewed in this light, the third chapter of the book before us, overcharged as it is with the offensive details, and adopting and seeking to perpetuate the names and unauthorized watchwords of the day, in an almost gratuitously irreverent and disrespectful manner, is most instructive to us as coming from a foreigner. It holds us faithfully up to ourselves,† in a manner which no home production would be entitled to assume. It is a

* Not that we intend the slightest commendation of the translation ; a worse version we never saw of any foreign work ; it is disgraced by an offensive title, and notes, whose vulgarity is only equalled by their ignorance. And we quite regret to see Mr. Hatchard's respectable name employed as a bait and unalike-weight to what is a mere bookselling speculation of the lowest class.

† Thus how startling ought it to be to find Mr. Uhden, of course only describing what he saw, gravely declare it to be "*the usage of the English Church to sit during the prayers.*"

proverbial saying, that listeners never hear anything good said of them ; yet listeners who have chanced to hear themselves spoken of have often felt the justice of what has been said come home to them, with a force and power that a formal taking to task would in vain have sought to produce. Who, among such writers as ourselves, is entitled to take the English clergy or the English laity to task for the many grievous scandals with which the Church abounds? It is beyond our province. Natural modesty strongly points out, that to mourn in silence over the stains and blemishes of the fair and goodly inheritance of the Lord's vineyard is more becoming a Christian than an unkind though zealous exposure of them to the eyes of the scorner and the infidel, with a view to the extorting their removal by clamour and outcry ; remedies in themselves worse than the evils they profess to seek to cure.

Yet may we not quietly imbibe a lesson from the history and representation which a German Protestant has drawn up with no inconsiderable care, of the state, prospects, and condition of the Anglican Church? If even one individual, here and there, should but ask himself, on rising from the perusal of this work,—Is this state of things, here described, becoming the city of God?—something has been gained. And if he finds himself constrained in conscience to condemn many things, of the truth of which there is no little to doubt, then let him take courage: let him not shrink temperately to avow his disapprobation. We must see and know, rather we must be taught and learn to know, our failings and short-comings, before we can hope to take any step towards an amendment. How quiet, how unsuspected a means of gaining this most needful knowledge does this voice from Berlin, which we have been considering, afford us. We have all been nourished up in an atmosphere of empty and unmeaning and laudatory phrases, and have contracted a habit of believing them strictly applicable to the Anglican Church ; and it is more easy and more natural to subside into a belief in the excellences of that which is very dear to us, than to be painfully alive to her defects and blemishes. And though we would most earnestly deprecate any approximation to the hateful sin of the wicked son, who could make it his boast that he had seen his parent's nakedness ; yet every day must make it more and more evident, that the hope of improvement in the actual condition of this our branch of Christ's Church in the path of Catholic devotion, is much more bound up in individual readiness to acknowledge past error and neglect, than individuals are ready or disposed to believe. The individual must step forward in his sphere and vocation, and must, temperately and affectionately, disown the boastful titles, which have so long cheated us with the shadow, while they have kept back from us the substance, of excellence. The individual must not be afraid to own, that while the Church has boasted of her holding the seats of the Apostles in possession, she has not done their works ; she has not fed the poor, clothed the naked, visited the sick, instructed the ignorant, reclaimed the rebellious and disobedient, in any manner or degree, compatible with her claim to be the Apostolic body, with a commission from the God of Heaven to discharge these duties. No, let not an individual among us be ashamed to con-

fess, that the poor have been consigned over to the forced arms of a legislative provision, the sick have been suffered to die unvisited, the ignorant have been left a prey to the emissaries of Satan, and the ministers of division; the rebellious and disobedient have been, and still are, suffered to run their course unchecked and unawed by any censure from those who profess to sit in the seat of him who delivered the irreclaimable offender over to Satan, that he may learn not to blaspheme. Until the sense of these things presses upon the minds of the members of the Anglican Church with a burning sense of the inherent shame that is contained in them, let our words be ever so encomiastic in speaking of our Church, we are not, as the people and vineyard of the Lord, in any real progress of amendment. We are but carrying on and prolonging the old cheat, which has for so many years lulled the energies of our best members asleep; propping up the miserable notion that improvement was out of the question where perfection had been attained; whereby we have made it most plain, that to be deceived into the notion of our own perfections has been the most effectual barrier to the removal of our real defects; and, in the multitude of self-congratulations, we have forgotten the scripture truth, that not he who commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth.

Of the truth of these remarks we are very forcibly reminded in the circumstance that Mr. Uhden has twice noticed, that the Church has gone on for three hundred years to declare that a restoration of godly discipline is much to be wished for, without so much as making an effort to carry into effect that which she obviously so much approves. Are we, then, so callous, that we can bear that a member of another nation should display this instance of the unfaithfulness of the Anglican ministry to the powers committed to them; and we continue without any sense of shame at our inconsistency and neglect? Jacob, on one occasion, when he reproved his sons, urged upon them the consequence of their misdeeds, that they should make his name to stink in the sight of the people of the land. Have we no suspicion that our continued neglect of that godly discipline, which we declare to be so desirable, will make our name to stink in the sight of the people of the land? rather has it not already had this effect? and do not our parochial clergy know, from bitter experience, how much the neglect of this godly discipline has weakened their hands, and strengthened the hands of the wicked, that they should not turn from their evil ways and live? To what other purpose, also, do the services of the festivals, and the order for the fasts remain in the book of prayer, when it appears from Mr. Uhden's report that their memory and observance has totally perished from the minds of the people?

In these and many other points of our plain and inexcusable neglect of duty, we must submit to be described faithfully, as we really are, by one of a strange communion; and happy will it be if the plain and circumstantial account which he has sought to give, become the means of awakening even one individual, who may contemplate the state of his Church, as here reflected in the mirror of a foreigner's mind, to rouse himself to do his part at least to remove those blemishes and spots which dishonour the city of God. And happy will

it be for all those, before whom this work may come, if they will allow themselves to draw this benefit from it, and avoid the example of those people whom the prophet condemns ; to whom, though God would speak with another tongue, yet they would not hear.

The Search after Proserpine ; and other Poems. By AUBREY DE VERE. Oxford: J. H. Parker. London: Rivingtons. 1843.

THE interest with which we naturally greeted another volume by the author of "The Waldenses" was a little damped on finding that it was not destined to give any indication of progress, the principal poem in the present collection having been written in 1840 ; and the others, either in the same year, or earlier ; so that, instead of being essays subsequent to those by which he has won our attention, they are, probably, previous—and many of them considerably previous. If, then, Mr. de Vere's first volume was youthful in all things,—its beauties, as well as its defects,—much more is his second. We have here less self-restraint, and more mimicry of others ; less discrimination in the selection, and a more bewildering confusion of imagery ; in short, all the faults incident to boyish poetry, whatever be its power or promise. Still it is full of beauties of no common order ; neither have we any right, because it does not answer a particular expectation, to be otherwise than thankful for so agreeable a recreation as it affords us.

The poem from which the book takes its title, is a short lyric drama, founded on one of the most beautiful of all mythological legends. Mr. de Vere has adorned it with a profusion of song and imagery ; the latter painfully crowded, considering that it is often delicate and original. Human interest, of which the author has elsewhere shown so great a command, is obviously not to be looked for here ; but, in those joyous moods, when we love to be dazzled by gorgeous hues, and to have our ears filled with ringing melodies, in the same moods as those in which we read Shelley, we shall often have recourse to "The Search after Proserpine." The blank verse dialogue bears but a small proportion to the lyrical, which is both natural to Mr. de Vere's temperament as a poet, everything with him running into song, and suitable to the character of the poem. Of that blank verse we shall content ourselves at present with one very beautiful specimen. It is thus that Hermes encourages Ceres in her descent to the shades, whither her daughter has gone :

HERMES.

Not comfort only,
Deep-bosomed Goddess, grave, and dulcet-voiced,
But aid I bear : and need there is of both !
Alone she sits beyond the utmost bound
Of laughter from the Gods, or shaft Phœbean—
And thou art justly restless for thine own.
Hear then the ordinance of Jove—Descend !
Yon rock shall like a billow arch thy way—

Descend into the Stygian waste : behold
 Once more thy tender daughter face to face :
 Kiss her once more : once more upon thy knee,
 And in thine arms possess her. This is much—
 Yet more : if seed not yet of flower or fruit
 Unblessed have touched her lips, henceforth and ever
 With thee she dwells in sweet society !
 Descend ! the will of Jove, before thee running,
 Makes smooth thy path, and the Caducean charm
 Waved from this wand, around thy feet shall beckon
 A quire of bright Immortals fit to grace
 The steps of a departing Deity.
 Ethereal Seasons ! from the snowy clouds,
 Your ambient nests on cold autumnal days,
 Hover once more about this spot : and ye
 Gift-feathered Hours, at heaven's wide gate for ever
 On broad and billowy wing suspense, the cord
 Aerial, that detains you, bursting, fly
 With unreverting faces to the earth,
 And breathe a sudden spring on valley and plain.
 And ye, infantine Zephyrs, on whose lips
 The Gods have breathed—thou, too, delight of Heaven,
 Iris ! descend ; and o'er the shadowy glen
 Thy many-coloured scarf from both thy hands
 Fling wide ; and cast the brightest of thy smiles
 Upon the head of this descending Power !" —Pp. 28, 29.

This is followed by a Chorus, sustained in turns by the Hours, the Zephyrs, and the Nymphs of Sicily.

(*The Hours sing.*)

STROPHE.

A beam on Earth's chill bosom
 Falls pointed 'mid her sleep ;
 And leaf, and bud, and blossom,
 Up from their dull trance leap :
 That bright beam at Earth's centre
 Hath found the mailed Winter,
 And touched his snow-cold lips ;
 Upon his breast that beam doth rest
 And frost-bound finger tips.

ANTISTROPHE.

From deep grass gently heaving
 Quick flowers in myriads rise,
 A wreath for Winter weaving—
 It falls below his eyes !
 His old grey beard it covers
 Like locks of mirthful lovers ;
 It makes him laugh with pride,
 As he a youth had grown in sooth
 And found a youthful Bride !

(*The Zephyrs sing.*)

STROPHE.

The bright-lipped waters troubling
 Of the pure Olympian springs,
 We caught the airs up-bubbling,
 And stayed them with our wings !
 From the beginning sealed,
 Like sweet thoughts unrevealed,
 Those airs till then lay hid ;
 Like odours barred in buds yet hard
 Or the eye beneath the lid.

ANTISTROPHE.

Our pinions mildly swaying
 With an undulating grace,
 We bid those airs go playing
 Over Earth's beaming face ;
 On the laurel banks new-flowered,
 On the ridge of pine dew-showered,
 On every leaf and blade
 That leaps on wings and all but sings
 In sunshine or in shade !

(*Hours and Zephyrs sing together.*)

STROPHE.

Over the olives hovering,
 Brushing the myrtle bowers,
 Dark ground with blossoms covering,
 The Zephyrs and the Hours,
 With laugh and gentle mocking
 We play, the green boughs rocking,
 Above each other rolled
 From laurel leaf to laurel leaf,
 That sing like tongues of gold !

ANTISTROPHE.

Now like birds fast-fitting
 On from bough to bough,
 Like bees in sunshine knitting
 Murmuring mazes now :
 Parting oft—oft blending ;
 And for ever sending
 Spangled showers around ;
 With eddying streams of scents and gleams,
 And deep Olympian sound !

(*Sicilian Nymphs singing.*)

FIRST STROPHE.

Numbers softer than our own,
And in happier circle running,
Like Flora's crown, or Venus' zone,
They are braiding in their cunning.
All the God-throned air is glowing
With a ferment of delight;
All the flowers in rapture blowing,
Every moment swell more bright,
And higher round the pale stems clamber
In vermilion wreaths or amber.

FIRST ANTISTROPHE.

Half in terror, half in pleasure,
Little birds on warmed boughs waking,
Launch abroad a rival measure,
Floral births with songs o'ertaking:
O'er the shadows little lights,
And o'er little lights a shadow,
Bound along like gamesome sprites
On the green waves of the meadow;
And new streams are up and boiling,
And new insects round them coiling!

SECOND STROPHE.

On one side a cedarn alley,
On the other a myrrh brake,
Downward streams the mystic valley,
As flushed rivers their path take

By hills their devious waters curbing—
Airs ambrosial forth are swung
From boughs their crimson fruitage orbiting—
Iris, borne those airs among,
Flings o'er the dim wildernesses
Her illumed dishevelled tresses.

SECOND ANTISTROPHE.

Through a mist of sunny rays
Gleam bright eyes and pinions shiver;
O'er the mountain's breast of bays
Panting dew-gems bask and quiver.
All the Gods with silent greeting
In this sumptuous harbour met,
Make the palace of their meeting
Rich as Juno's cabinet;
Golden-domed, and golden-gated,
With sacred pleasures never sated.

Hush—wild song, no more!
Nor dance of lyric lightness—
A shadow from the shore
Steals, and blots the brightness.
Like children tired of play
The splendours melt away:
Trips by each elf—mark! Iris' self
Dissolves in waning whiteness!

Pp. 29—33.

We have no space to quote copiously from this interesting volume; nor need we, for the purposes of criticism: the whole, both in merit and demerit, being of the same character as the "Search after Proserpine." Some strains, however, it contains of a higher mood, such as might well have appeared in the author's former volume. Of these, the following extract, from a very fine poem on visiting Delphi, must suffice as a specimen:

Were these but fancies? O'er the world they reared
The only empire verily universal
Founded by man—for Fancy heralds Thought;
Thought Act; and nations Are as they Believe.
Strong were such fancies,—strong not less than fair.
The plant spontaneous of Society
In Greece, by them with stellar power was dewed,
And, nursed by their far influence, grew and flourished,—
A state of order and fair fellowship,
Man with man walking, not in barbarous sort
His own prey finding, each, and his own God—
A state of freedom, not by outward force
Compressed, or ice-like knit by negatives;
A frank communion of deep thoughts with glad,
Light cares with grave—a changeful melody,
Varying each moment, yet in soul the same—
A temple raised for beauty and defence—
An armed dance held for a festival—
A balanced scheme that gave each power a limit,
Each toil a crown, and every art her Muse—
O! frank and graceful life of Grecian years!
Whence came thy model? From the Grecian heaven!
The loves and wars of Gods, heir works and ways,

Their several spheres distinct yet interwoven,
 By Greece were copied on a lesser stage.
 Our thoughts soar high to light our paths on earth.
 Terrestrial circles from celestial take
 Their impress in man's science. Stars unreached
 Our course o'er ocean guide. Orphean sounds
 The walls of cities raised—thus mythic bards
 For all the legislators legislated!

Yet these were idols: such as worshipped these
 Were worshippers of idols. Holy and True!
 How many are there not idolaters?
 Traditions, Systems, Passion, Interest, Power—
 Are these not idols? Ay, the worst of idols!
 Not that men worship these; but that before them
 Down-bent, we neither worship them, nor can
 Worship at all. Man's spirit alone adores,
 And can adore but Spirit. What is not God,
 Howe'er our fears may crouch, or habit grovel,
 Of sensuous fancy dote, we worship not:
 Unless God look on man he cannot pray—
 Such is Idolatry's masked Atheism!
 —Yes, these were idols, for man made them idols.
 By a corrupt heart all things are corrupted,
 God's works alike or products of the mind.
 The Soul, insurgent 'gainst its Maker, lacks
 The strength its vassal powers to rule. The Will
 To blind Caprice grows subject: Reason, torn
 From Faith, becomes the Understanding's slave;
 And Passion's self in Appetite is lost.
 Then Idols dominate—Despots by Self-will
 Set up, where Law and Faith alike are dead,
 To awe the anarchy of godless souls.
 Nought but a Worship, spiritual and pure,
 Profound, habitual, and disinterested,
 A true heart's tribute to the God of Truth;
 From selfishness redeemed, and so from sense
 Secured, though conversant with shapes of sense—
 Nought but such Worship, with spontaneous force
 From our whole Being equably ascending
 As odour from a flower or fount's clear breath,
 Redeems us from Idolatry. In vain
 Are plausible appeals that deprecate
 Rites superstitious; vain are words, though shrill
 With scorn—stark, pointed finger,—forehead ridged
 With blear-eyed Scepticism's myriad wrinkles:
 Saintry we must be, or Idolatrous.
 After his image Man creates him Gods,
 Kneading the symbol (as a symbol holy
 And salutary) to a form compact
 With servile soul and mean mechanic hand—
 Thus to their native dust his Thoughts return,
 Abashed, and of mortality convinced.

At Salem was the Law. The Holy Land
 Its orient terrace by the ocean reared,
 And thereon walked the Holy One, at cool
 Of the world's morn: there visible state He kept.
 At Salem was the Law on stone inscribed;
 But over all the world, within man's heart
 The unwritten Law abode, from the beginning
 Upon our nature stamp'd, nor wholly lost.
 Men saw it, loved it, praised—and disobey'd.

Therefore the Conscience, whose applausive voice
 Their march triumphant should have led with joy
 To all perfection, from a desert pealed
 A dolorous note alone—"Repent, repent;"
 And men with song more flattering filled their ears.
 Yet still the undersong was holy! long
 (Though cast on days unblest, though sin-defiled,)
 The mind accepted, yea and the heart prized,
 That which the Will lacked strength to follow. Conscience
 (Her crown monarchal first, her fillet next,
 Snatched from her sacred brows) a minstrel's wreath
 Assumed; and breathed in song her soul abroad:
 On outcast Duty's grave she, with her tears,
 Dropt flowers funeral of surpassing beauty;
 With Reason walked; the right path indicated,
 Though her imperative voice was heard no more.
 Nor spake in vain. Though fallen, man was great,
 Remembering ancient greatness: Hymn and tale
 Held, each, some portion of dismembered Truth,
 Severely sung by Poets wise and brave.
 They sang of Justice, God's great attribute,
 With tragic buskin, and a larger stride
 Following the fated victim step by step.
 They sang of Love crowning the toils of life:
 Of Joy they sang; for Joy, that gift divine,
 Primal and winged creature, with full breath
 Through all the elastic limbs of Grecian fable
 Poured her redundant life; the noble language,
 Strong as the brazen clang of ringing arms,
 With resonance of liquid sounds enriching,
 Till soft the vowels grew as infants' laughter
 That bubbling swells through springs of Paradise.
 Of heavenly Pity, Prophet-like they sang;
 And, feeling after Good though finding not,
 Of Him that Good not yet in flesh revealed,
 By ceaseless vigils, tears, and lifted palms,
 And yearnings infinite and unrepressed,
 A separate and authentic witness bore.
 Thus was the End foreshewn. Thus Error's "cloud
 Turned forth its silver lining on the night."
 Thus too—for us at least a precious gift,
 Dear for the lore it grasped, and, by its failings,
 Needful not less vain-glorious thoughts to chasten,
 Wisdom shone forth—but not for men unwise:
 Her beams but taint the dead. Man's Guilt and Woe
 She proved—and her own Helplessness confessed.
 Such were her two great functions. Woe to those
 Who live with Art for Faith, and Bards for Priests!
 These are supplanted: Sense their loftiest hopes
 Will sap; and Fiends usurp their oracles!

Olympian dreams, farewell! your spell is broken—
 I turn from you away. From Eros' self,
 From heavenly Beauty on thy crystal brow,
 Uranian Venus, starred in gentlest light,
 From thee, Prometheus, chained on Caucasus,
 Io from thee, sad wanderer o'er the earth,
 From thee, great Hercules, the son of Heaven
 And of Humanity held long in pain;
 Heroic among men; by labours tried;
 Descending to the Shades; leading from thence
 The Lost; while infant still a serpent-slayer;
 In death a dread and mystic sacrifice—

From thee, more high than all, Phœbus Apollo!
 Light of the world whose sacred beam, like words,
 Illustrated the forehead of the earth!
 Supreme of harmonists, whose song flowed forth
 Pure from that light; great slayer of the serpent
 That mocked thy Mother; master of that art
 Healing man's ancient wound; oracular:
 Secretly speaking wisdom to the just;
 Openly to the lost from lips unheeded
 Like thy Cassandra's flinging it to waste—
 Phœbus Apollo! here at thy chief shrine
 From thee I turn; and stern confession make
 That not the meanest flower or weed yon ripple
 Casts at my feet, but holds a gift more precious
 Than all the Grecian Legends.—Pp. 84—89.

Some of Mr. de Vere's sonnets are good, but not proportionably so, we think, to his other verses; and he is most perversely partial to ending them with Alexandrines—and very serious disfigurements these are.

The *Report of the Chaplain* [Mr. C. J. Daniel] of the *Hackney Union* is so much above the average of such accounts, that we have the greatest pleasure in acknowledging it. *Because*, perhaps, amongst those requiring the soundest judgment and the most delicate discretion, the office of workhouse chaplain is usually like that of the missionary—much in times past, but too much now—confided to the siftings of the Clergy. In a sense of duty and in ability, Mr. Daniel is a praiseworthy exception: it is comforting to find such men undertaking such responsibilities. We hope for better things in workhouses: the Bp. of Exeter is bringing the subject before parliament, and as it seems with success.

Dr. Kalley and the Church in Madeira (Mackenzie) is, we believe, a reprint from the *English Churchman* furnished by a resident on the island, and contains a very sufficient refutation of the alleged "spiritual tyranny" exercised against a mischievous and weak-headed person.

Mr. Maitland, in reprinting the valuable series of papers which appeared some years ago in the *British Magazine*, under the title of "The Dark Ages," (Rivingtons,) has prefixed a preface of some twenty pages in reference to what has appeared in the *Christian Remembrancer*, upon the head of "Revival of Conventual Institutions." Mr. M. is opposed to the notion of such a revival under every modification. In many points, perhaps, we should, as he states or understands them, ourselves be disposed to agree with him. Our respected correspondent has scarcely done justice to his own proposal in introducing the term "conventual." The monastic life without vows (as contemplated by him) is not a modification of what is usually understood by that expression, but something new and different, and, it may be, better; and it is certainly not desirable, for the sake of an inappropriate name, to revive ancient prejudices. It is the name alone, for example, which has provoked this protest from Mr. Maitland. Willingly, therefore, would we give up the name, if that were all, but for the thing itself we believe that the Church has not at this time any one more urgent want. In other words, there are certain great ends of primary concernment, if not to our being, at least to our well-being as a Church, which can scarcely be accomplished in any other way than by bodies of men and women

living together in colleges or fraternities. Such are the training of priests and of schoolmasters, the perfect exhibition of the choral service, the visiting of the sick and poor in large towns by those holding the Church's commission, the life of intercessory prayer, and other objects that might be named. We deeply regret to observe that Mr. Maitland has seemed to sanction the vulgar ridicule with which we had hoped he had no sympathy, in reference to a proposal which, we are bold to say, was made in the purest, and humblest, and most devoted spirit, and with the most unquestionable fidelity to the distinctive principles of our own Church. We always deplore anything like want of generosity—inability to make the smallest concession from the rigid formula of their own ideas—in those whom we have been wont to respect as masters in Israel.

Having alluded to this temper, now so unhappily prevalent, we cannot forbear a few words of comment upon the tone of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*. The affairs of the Irish Church are wholly disregarded; for example, but one notice, and that an unfavourable one, has been vouchsafed by the Editor, of the long and noble struggle which has been maintained by Dr. Boyton, Mr. Henn, and a few others in the diocese of Derry, against a detestable, persecuting spirit, worthy of the worst days of the Puritans. The British Critic and Mr. Newman have been for months the almost exclusive theme of this periodical; and the spirit displayed has been the malevolence of the *Record*, enhanced by the proverbial warmth of Irish feeling—and this from a professed advocate of high Church-principles!

We call attention to the "Foundation Documents of Merton College," published by Mr. Heywood of Manchester (Pickering). From these, it appears, that the object of Walter de Merton, in his foundation, was the training of secular priests for the service of the Church; and yet we learn from the Oxford Calendar, that there are more laymen on the list of his Fellows than in any other college in the University: yea, so far is theology from being studied, that not one of the Fellows appear to have proceeded in this faculty. It would be unjust, of course, to throw the responsibility of this grievous unfaithfulness on any one generation of men; but, surely, a great debt is owing by the college to the Church; and an effort ought to be made, from funds devised for this very purpose, to supply the existing lack of Clergy. It is almost superfluous to observe, how strongly this publication shows, that any reform in the university system should be not in the direction of "general education," but to make the colleges more directly nurseries of the priesthood. "It is certain (says Huber) that the colleges were not originally establishments for instruction. The Fellows had no other duties than those of religion prescribed by the college statutes, and those of study prescribed by the University." And, again—"Since the statutes nowhere lay upon the Fellows the duty of teaching, no evidence is needed to prove the assertion so often made, in modern times, that instruction was their original duty, and that the neglect of it in the present day is an abuse." On the contrary, it appears to us incumbent on the colleges, if they choose to devote themselves to the useful and more *profitable* work of general education, that they should out of their funds endow certain seminaries of the priesthood.

The Life of Lord St. Vincent, by Mr. J. S. Tucker, affords one of the strangest specimens of English composition that we ever remember to have met with. The author is unable to construct the very simplest sentence correctly; and his other qualifications for a biographer appear scarcely of a higher order. It is sad that the life of a really distinguished man should not have fallen into better hands. Any member of the family, possessing an ordinary degree of common sense, and a competent knowledge of the English grammar, and who had at heart the honour of his illustrious relative, and not the *returns* to be produced by two meagre octavo volumes, would have done a good deed in furnishing a

memoir of Lord St. Vincent. But these volumes are really a disgrace to the family, to the naval service, and the English language.

A Letter to the Lady of the House, may be had at most of the respectable booksellers, (at least we picked it up at our publisher's,) ready folded and enveloped for the post; and we hardly know a more useful *development* of the penny-post system than for our readers to procure some copies, and circulate them largely in London. It is a very touching appeal from a lady to ladies, in behalf of the cruelty and oppression exercised—we trust unconsciously—by the higher and middle classes, towards the unhappy females employed as washerwomen, charwomen, and daily needlewomen. The present movement in so many quarters towards popularizing the Church by protecting Christ's poor, is among our happiest auguries.

Mr. Isaac Taylor has at length brought his "Ancient Christianity" to a close, winding it up with a "Supplement, including Index, Table, &c." (Jackson and Walford.) We have more than once had occasion to express our opinion of this work. Now that it is finished, we will say, once for all, that, in spite of some grievous blunders in fact, it is a very important book, making out a very strong case, presenting a view of sacred antiquity, which we have no doubt is the just one, when it is looked at from a *certain standing ground*. *Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coule*; and, if people choose a sectarian standing ground, we have no doubt they will see the facts of Church-history pretty much as Mr. Taylor does. That gentleman has made his choice; and on points subsequent to that choice, cannot, perhaps, on the whole be answered. His animadversions, however, in the present supplement, on the Anglican Calendar, cannot be allowed to escape so easily. We believe dissenting ignorance of the Church and the Prayer-book to be generally something far grosser than Churchmen are prepared for; Mr. Taylor would not like to shelter himself under such a plea; but if so, what other remains for him? and in what light, without any plea for such perversion of truth, would he have us regard him?

The Rev. Mr. Cattermole, to whom society is indebted for that delightful miscellany—"Sacred Poetry of the Seventeenth Century," has just published a larger, but on the whole, corresponding work, entitled, "The Literature of the Church of England," (Parker,) consisting of selections from our eminent divines of other days, "with Memoirs of their Lives, and Historical Sketches of the Times in which they lived." This is an excellent book for the library of the christian layman, being, from its smaller dimensions, more accessible, and though less full, yet more comprehensive, than the "Christian Institutes" of Dr. Wordsworth, which were, we believe, designed, as they are beyond all doubt admirably adapted, for the same end. Mr. Cattermole seems, as far as we can judge, to be a man of much literary discernment, a fair amount of reading, and of moderate, though on the whole, orthodox views. We wish he had not fallen into the common error of deploring the ground taken, and the measures adopted by Laud. We think that, under God, he was the human instrument, not of overthrowing, but of preserving the Catholic Church in England. Instead of being the beaten man he is commonly regarded, we hold him to have proved, like other martyrs, eventually a victor. Imperfect as our Church still is, we are sure that the facts bear us out in attributing her consolidation to the great Prelate who shed his blood for her. Mr. Cattermole's plan excluded, we presume, such divines as had merely professional, and no literary merit; and, considering that the greatest have ever possessed abundance of both, we dare say his book loses little by the exclusion. But why, since he takes us into the last century, does he take Atterbury as its sole representative? The clear, manly grace of Waterland surely possesses literary merit; the prettinesses of the devout Horne often expand into *beauties*; while Butler's two sermons on 'the Love of God,' wind up more sublimely than any with which we are acquainted. Indeed, much as has been said and written on Butler, we do not

think that it has been generally observed how full are his writings, as of wisdom so of beauty.

"*Hæc Apocalypicæ*," is the title of a Commentary on the Apocalypse, in three volumes, by the Rev. E. B. Elliott, (Seeley and Burnside.) It seems (for we have had no time as yet to master so considerable a work) the result of much research. We observe that the author's general doctrine is Calvinistic.

"An Historical Account of the Church of St. Margaret, Stoke Golding, Leicestershire, by T. L. Walker, architect, of Nuneaton," (Weale, High Holborn,) is a very beautiful volume, on a very interesting subject. Mr. Walker seems to have the true spirit of a christian architect. Such *monograms*, to borrow a phrase from natural history, seem to us far more really serviceable than all the general dissertations of which amateurs at present are enjoying such an abundance. The present volume is illustrated by six plates. This rarely beautiful church now needs extensive repairs. We hope that Mr. W.'s labours will ensure its receiving them.

Mr. Wilkinson, late of Harrow, in a Farewell Sermon (Hatchard) tells us that "there is *no other test* of a true minister than *true doctrine*," p. 7. If this statement be sound, Mr. Wilkinson's own position as "a minister" must be very questionable.

Mr. Brock's Sermon, (Seeley,) preached at the Christmas ordination of the Bp. of Winchester, is remarkable rather for the occasion on which it was delivered, and the station, that of Commissary for Guernsey, which the preacher holds, than for its theology, which is of the old Calvinian school of Davenant and Ussher. The Church not having censured her Bishops for such teaching, however contrary to the analogy of faith and Catholic consent, individual clergymen cannot, or will not, consider themselves more tightly laced; but, we doubt as well the charity as the discretion of taking the subject of mere personal assurance and private experience, as drawn from the common and most erroneous interpretation of Romans vii. for this particular occasion. Mr. Brock must know—none better—that his view was never, and is not, held by the majority of *our* standard divines, which is not the highest of tests, but one sufficient for this purpose: and he must have known, too, that many of his hearers had been taught to repudiate this gloss, and also to love and revere (and this from "personal experience" too) certain parties whom he thought it decorous at such a time to misrepresent and to sneer at as mere formalists, &c. If any occasion requires a preacher to abstain from exasperating and harassing subjects, surely it is a "general ordination." Why, then, with ingenious perversity, fix upon such a "still vexed" question as this particular one? We are glad to see an approximation to an orthodox view of baptism in the appendix: but this also neutralized by that most strange figment of "absolute regeneration"—only in the "judgment of charity." If Mr. Brock's exercise of discipline—and his powers as Commissary are not inconsiderable—may be argued from his doctrine, we are not much surprised at the strange accounts which we hear of the state of the Church in the Channel Islands.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

BP. OF LICHFIELD, *March 3.*
 BP. OF LONDON, *March 3.*
 BP. OF LINCOLN, *March 3.*
 BP. OF PETERBOROUGH, *March 3.*
 BP. OF RIPON, *March 3.*

BP. OF SALISBURY, *March 3.*
 BP. OF GLOUC. & BRISTOL, *April 14.*
 BP. OF CHICHESTER, *June 2.*
 BP. OF SALISBURY (for B. & W.) *June 2.*
 BP. OF ELY, *June 9.*

ORDINATIONS.

*By the LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH, at Norwich,
 on Sunday, Jan. 28.*

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—E. C. Adams, B.A. Magd. H.; T. J. Brereton, Ch. Ch.; W. S. Thorpe, B.A. Wad.
Of Cambridge.—R. H. Cobbold, B.A. St. Peter's; B. Girling, B.A. St. John's; C. W. Green, B.A. St. Peter's; F. Morse, B.A. St. Peter's; W. G. Royle, B.A. Queen's; H. Shuker, B.A. St. John's (i. d. Bp. of Worcester).
Of Durham.—R. W. B. Hornby, B.A. Univ. H. (i. d. Abp. of York.)
Of Lampeter.—D. Price, St. David's (i. d. Bp. of St. David's).
Of Dublin.—W. S. Sparling, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—S. F. Bignold, B.A. Ball.; J. F. Fagge, B.A. Univ.; C. D. Hamilton, B.A. St. Mary H.
Of Cambridge.—G. R. Bell, B.A. St. John's; A. F. Bellman, B.A. St. Peter's; S. L. Chase, B.A. Emm.; J. H. Clubbe, B.A. St. John's; J. Farr, B.A. St. John's; R. D. Fowell, B.A. Ch. Ch.; C. W. Francken, B.A. Cath. H.; E. Gillett, B.A. Emm.; J. B. Johnson, B.A. Corp. Chris.; R. W. Packer, B.A. Cath. H.; H. E. Rackham, B.A. Trin. H.; M. S. Sucknig, B.A. Trin.; J. W. Westhorpe, B.A. Clare H.; G. F. Williamson, B.A. Trin.; J. H. Wise, B.A. St. Peter's; M. Mackereth, M.A. Cath. H. (i. d. Abp. of York.)
Of St. Bees.—S. Pearson, J. M. Randall.

PREFERMENTS.

The Rev. EDWARD FEILD, M.A., Rector of English Bicknor, and late Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, to be Bishop of Newfoundland.

Name.	Preferment.	Diocese.	Patron.	Val.	Pop.
Amphlett, M.	Mavesyn Ridware, p.c.	Lichfield....	{ H. M. Chadwick, & J. N. Law, Esqs.... }	£438	531
Askew, J.	Ashchurch, p.c.	G. & B.	Rev. J. B. Skipper	270	743
Davies, D.	Llan-y-Blodwell, R.	St. Asaph....	Bp. of St. Asaph	271	961
Evans, E. C.	Ford, p.c.	Hereford....	R. Arkwright, Esq.	90	14
Goodwin, W.	{ St. Benedict, Nor- wich, p.c. }	Norwich....	Parishioners	95	1319
Formby, H.	Ruardean, p.c.	G. & B.	Precent. of Heref. Cath.	...	...
Hawkins, G. C.	Bampton, v. 3d Portion	Oxford....	D. & C. of Exeter	395	...
Hayes, J.	Wybunbury, v.	Chester....	Bp. of Lichfield	295	4674
Hobhouse, R.	St. Ives, R.	Exeter....	V. of Ewny-Lelant	150	5666
Hodge, C. V.	Clarborough, v.	Lincoln....	...	...	...
Hopwood, H.	Christ Church, Worthing	Chichester..	Rec. of Broadwater	150	...
Jones, T.	St. Constantine's, p.c.	Exeter....	D. & C. of Exeter	450	2042
Iliff, Dr.	St. Philip, Liverpool, p.c.	Chester....	J. Cragg, Esq.	...	...
Kinsey, W. M.	Rotherfield Grays, R.	Oxford....	Trin. Coll., Oxford	714	...
M'Cormick, J.	Creaton, R.	Peterboro'..	...	210	505
Mendham, J.	Clophill, R.	Ely....	Earl de Grey	522	1066
Morgan, J.	Pyecombe, R.	Chichester..	Lord Chancellor	315	564
Oakes, H. A. A.	Newton, R.	Ely....	Marquis of Bristol	314	171
Paddon, H.	High Wycombe, v.	Lincoln....	Marquis of Lansdowne	140	6180
Palmer, J.	Doverdale, R.	Worcester..	Mr. and Mrs. Curtler	202	54
Reed, J.	West Allen, p.c.	Durham....	...	...	...
Sayer, E. L.	Pulloxhill	Ely....	Earl de Grey	247	611
Simcox, T. G.	North Harborne, v.	Lichfield....	Trustees	...	...
Williamson, R. D. D.	Sutton Coldfield, R.	Worcester..	Rev. R. Bedford	...	4300
Wood, C. B. F.	Penmark, v.	Llandaff....	D. & C. of Gloucester	224	486

APPOINTMENTS.

Cook, F. C.	Government Insp. of Schools.	Jackson, T.	{ Principal of the National Soc.
Gore, W.	Chaplain at Harfleur.		{ Training School, Battersea.
Harding, H.	Preb. Stall in Lichfield Cath.	Moseley, H.	Government Insp. of Schools.
Huntley, R. W. {	Rural Dean of the Deanery of Hawkesbury.	Palmer, F. M.A. {	Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Blount, J. B., Kennington.
 Bray, J., of Heather, Leicestershire.
 Davies, D. P., Master of the Grammar School,
 Carmarthen.
 Davies, T., B.D., late Senior Fellow of Jesus
 College, Oxford.
 De Lacy, T., Archdeacon of Meath.
 Donne, J., D.D., Vicar of Llan-y-Blodwell, Os-
 westry.
 Gardner, A. D., Vicar of Holywell, Flintshire.
 Gilpin, J., at Sedbury Hall.
 Goddard, E., P. C. of Lingwood, Norfolk.
 Hall, J. C., B.C.L., Rector of Kirk Andreas and
 Archdeacon of Sodor and Man.
 Hobart, H. C., M.A., Canon Residentiary of
 Hereford Cathedral.
 Howard, C. B., M.A., Colonial Chaplain, and
 Surrogate to the Bishop of Australia.
 Jack, T., Rector of Forncett.
 Jones, J., Vicar of Mathew, Pembrokeshire.
 Jope, J., Vicar of St. Cleer and Rec. of St. Ive.
 Kingston, G., Rector of Sydersterne and North
 Barningham, Norfolk.

Leathes, E., Rector of Reedham, with Free-
 thorpe, Norfolk.
 Lupton, J., Rector of Ovingdean.
 Middleton, H., Vicar of Barton Stacey, Hants.
 Murray, H., at Gateshead.
 Norman, H., M.A., P. C. of Moreton Say.
 Onslow, G. W., at Ripley.
 Ray, J., at Islington.
 Saul, T., M.A., Incumbent of Witton, in Cleave-
 land, Yorkshire.
 St. Aubyn, J. M., Vicar of Crowan.
 Smith, H., Prebendary of Southwell.
 Stevenson, G., M.A., Rector of Redmarshall.
 Stevenson, T., Rector of St. Peter's, Cheesehill.
 Thompson, W. D., Vic. of Mitford, nr. Morpeth.
 Travis, W. J., M.A., Rec. of Lydgate, Suffolk.
 Ware, H., Rector of Ladock, Cornwall.
 Wilkinson, M., Rector of Redgrave-with-Botes-
 dale, and of Newton, Suffolk.
 Woodgate, S., Vicar of Pembury, Kent.
 Woollen, W., LL.D., Vicar of Bridgewater cum
 Chilton and Rector of Kilton.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT, BUILDING,
AND REPAIRING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

THE MONTHLY MEETING of this So-
 ciety was held at their chambers, in
 St. Martin's-place, the Lord Bishop of
 London in the chair. There were also
 present the Bishops of Bangor, Llandaff,
 Norwich, Hereford, and Lichfield; the
 Revs. the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Spry,
 Dr. Shepherd, J. Jennings, H. H. Norris,
 B. Harrison; Messrs. F. H. Dickinson,
 M.P., Edward Baddeley, William Davis,
 Newell Connop, J. S. Salt, William Cot-
 ton. The reports of the sub-committees
 having been read by the Rev. Mr. Bowd-
 ler, the secretary, the meeting proceeded
 to examine the cases referred to their
 consideration, and finally voted grants
 of money towards building additional
 churches or chapels at Mowbray, and
 Causeway-head, in the parish of Holme-
 cultram, Cumberland; Barnard's-green,
 in the parish of Great Malvern, Worces-
 tershire; Smallwood, in the parish of
 Astbury, Cheshire; Cookham-dean, in

the parish of Cookham, Berks; St.
 Giles's-in-the-fields, London; and Long-
 ham, in the parish of Hampreston,
 Dorset; towards enlarging by rebuilding
 the church at Bawdeswell, Norfolk; and
 towards enlarging, or otherwise increasing
 the accommodation in the churches at
 Paulerspury, Northamptonshire; Berrow,
 Somerset; Upton-cum-Chalvey, Bucks;
 Emmanuel church, Bolton-le-Moors,
 Lancashire; Monksilver, Somerset; St.
 Mary, Haverfordwest; and Kentish-
 town, parish of St. Pancras, London.
 The population of the parishes now
 assisted is 273,994 souls, and the accom-
 modation provided for them in forty
 churches and chapels is 40,824 sittings,
 of which 9,334 are free; by the erection
 of seven additional churches, the rebuild-
 ing of one existing church, and the en-
 largement, &c. of seven others, it is
 intended to add 4,333 seats to this in-
 sufficient provision of church-room, in-

cluding free sittings for 4,195 persons. It is worthy of remark, that in the present places of worship there has been hitherto accommodation for only one-seventh of the population, while the free seats have been in the proportion of one sitting for thirty persons; the latter will now be increased to the rate of one in twenty. Certificates of the completion of new churches, and the enlargement, &c., of existing churches in several parishes, were examined and approved, and orders were issued to the treasurer to pay the amount of the grant awarded in each case; the population of these parishes is 46,595 persons, for whom church accommodation to the extent of 4,684 sit-

tings only were provided previously to the execution of the works towards which the Society's grants were voted, and including only 1,374 free sittings; 2,537 seats are now added to that number, 2,157 of which are free. Since the last meeting forms of application for aid from this Society have been issued to eighteen applicants to enable them to submit their cases to the consideration of the board, and five of these applications are for assistance towards building additional churches in populous places. The treasurer reported, that a legacy of 300*L.*, free of duty, has been bequeathed to this Society by the late Mr. James Hurst, of Stamford-baron, Northamptonshire.

MISCELLANEOUS.

NEW PROTESTANT MANIFESTO.—[We have elsewhere (p. 302) called attention to the following melancholy document, and we have ventured, with all humility, to solicit the attention of our Bishops to it. If any of those who have signed, or may be disposed to sign it, should see these lines, we beg to remind such, that thus openly to avow the sentiments and doctrines contained in this manifesto, is in direct contravention to our formularies, and brings the offender not only under the liability of ecclesiastical and canonical censure, but within the penalties of the Acts of Uniformity, which are provided 1 Eliz. c. 2, against those who "preach or speak, or by other open words declare, anything in derogation of the Book of Common Prayer, or of any thing contained therein.—Ed. C. R.]

DECLARATION OF MINISTERS AND MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND RESPECTING SEVERAL CONTROVERTED TRUTHS.—Having witnessed with grief the endeavours of some persons to unprotestantize our Church,—for which end they reject the doctrine of justification by faith alone—deny that ungodly persons, if baptized, need to be regenerated—pervert the meaning of the sacraments—change the ministry of the Gospel into a priesthood—assert that those ministers who have not received episcopal ordination are not true Ministers of Christ, and that their congregations form no part of the Church of Christ—make what they term the Catholic Church the authoritative interpreter of the Word of God, and thus seek to prevent each Christian from fulfilling his indispen-

sable duty to weigh and judge for himself the meaning of its language,—We, the undersigned Ministers and Members of the Church of England, feel ourselves obliged, by our fidelity to the Lord Jesus Christ, by our regard to the Word of God, and by our wish to promote the welfare of our Church, publicly to profess our belief of the following truths, which we are resolved, in dependence on the grace of God, to maintain and to disseminate according to our ability; in which defence of the Gospel, always important, and now rendered more urgently necessary by the progress of "Anglo-Catholic" doctrines, we earnestly invite the co-operation of all who value evangelical truth:

I.—"Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith." (*Art. 6.*) "It is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it expound one place of Scripture so as to be repugnant to another." (*Art. 20.*) But general Councils and particular Churches, being liable to errors in matters of faith, as well as in the ceremonies which they establish (*Arts. 21 and 19*), they may be found to profess what cannot be proved by the Word of God, and to ordain what is contrary to it. Every Christian is therefore bound to examine and to ascertain the meaning of the Word of God for himself, in the use of all the aids within his reach, and to receive no doctrine as the doctrine of Scripture unless

he sees it to be declared therein : otherwise he may receive error as truth upon a fallible authority, against the plain testimony of the Word of God.

II.—Believers are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for their own works and deservings (*Art. 11*). They are justified by the righteousness of Christ imputed to them, not by any inherent righteousness imparted to them by the Spirit ; and they are, from first to last, justified by faith alone without works : but as "good works do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith" (*Art. 12*) : the faith which justifies is a faith which "worketh by love."

III.—"As the tree is known by its fruits, so is also the Holy Ghost. The fruits of the Holy Ghost . . . are these: love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance," &c. . . . "The Holy Ghost doth always declare himself by his fruitful and gracious gifts." . . . "Whosoever ye find the spirit of arrogance and pride, the spirit of envy, hatred, contention, &c. . . assure yourselves that there is the spirit of the Devil, and not of God" . . . "according to which rule, if any man live uprightly, of him it may be safely pronounced that he hath the Holy Ghost within him ; if not, then it is a plain token that he doth usurp the name of the Holy Ghost in vain." (*Homily for Whitsunday.*) Ungodly persons have neither been born again of the Spirit nor justified, although they were baptized in infancy, but remain in an unpardoned state, exposed to the wrath of God ; and unless they be born again of the Spirit, and obtain saving faith in Christ, they must perish.

IV.—"The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith." (*Art. 28.*) "For the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances . . . and the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here ; it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one." (*Declaration appended to the Communion Service.*) "The curate shall instruct him, [*the sick man,*] that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and stedfastly believe that Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed his blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he

hath thereby, and giving him hearty thanks therefore, he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth." (*Rubric to the Communion for the Sick.*) There is no scriptural authority for affirming that our Lord is present with his people at the Lord's Supper in any other manner than that in which he is present with them whenever they meet together in his name (*Mat. xviii. 20*) ; and his body and blood are verily and indeed taken and received by them at that ordinance by faith, just as they are verily and indeed taken and received by them whenever they exercise faith in his atoning sacrifice, so that the imagination of any bodily presence or of any other presence effected by the consecration of the elements is unscriptural and erroneous.

V.—"Christ commended to his Church a Sacrament of his body and blood : they [*the Church of Rome*] have changed it into a sacrifice for the quick and dead." (*Hom. for Whitsunday.*) "Our loving Saviour hath ordained and established the remembrance of his great mercy expressed in his passion in the institution of his heavenly Supper." . . . "We must then take heed lest of the memory it be made a sacrifice." (*Hom. of the Sacrament.*) The ministers of Christ are termed in Scripture, Presbyters, Bishops, Shepherds, Stewards, &c. but are never distinctly termed Priest (*lepis*), and the notion of any sacrifice offered in the Lord's Supper by the Minister as a Priest, distinct from the sacrifice of praise and of devotedness offered by every true worshipper, is unscriptural and erroneous.

VI.—"The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments are duly administered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." (*Art. 19.*) "Those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent [*into the ministry*] which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." (*Art. 23.*) There is no scriptural authority for asserting that those only are rightly ordained, or are to be esteemed true ministers of Christ, who have received episcopal ordination.

VII.—"The Bishops of Rome and their adherents are not the true Church

of Christ." "Where is now the Holy Ghost which they so stoutly do claim for themselves? . . . If it be possible to be there where the true Church is not, then is it at Rome; otherwise it is but a vain brag." "All the popes and prelates of Rome for the most part . . . are worthily accounted among the number of false

prophets and false Christs." (*Hom. for Whitsunday.*) False Christs and false prophets, cannot be esteemed true Ministers of Christ; the true Apostolical Succession is the succession of faithful Ministers in the Churches of Christ who have preached the doctrine of the Apostles and have ministered in their Spirit.

*George Abbot, B.A.
 *Edward Henry Abney, B.A.
 *John Acaster, M.A.
 *John Adeney, M.A.
 *Samuel Alford, M.A.
 *Walter Alford, M.A.
 *William Allan, M.A.
 *George Allan, M.A.
 *Hugh Allan, M.A.
 *William Annesley, M.A.
 *Edward B. Bagshawe, M.A.
 *Augustus A. Bagshawe, B.A.
 G. Baker, Lieut-Colonel.
 *J. R. Barber, M.A.
 *Stephen Barbut, M.A.
 *Henry Barfoot, M.A.
 *S. W. Barnett, M.A.
 *John Bartlett, M.A.
 *Josiah Bartlett, M.A.
 *John Baylie, M.A.
 Frederick Baynes.
 *Henry Ham Beamish, M.A.
 *Joseph Fawcett Beddy, M.A.
 Samuel Bell.
 *S. E. Bernard, M.A.
 *David Barclay Bevan, M.A.
 R. C. L. Bevan.
 Richard Bevan.
 J. R. Bevy.
 *Edward Birch, B.A.
 *Joseph Birch, M.A.
 *T. W. Birch, M.A.
 *John Birkett, M.A.
 *William W. Blanford, M.A.
 Thomas W. Blomfield, Bart.
 Thomas Borrow.
 Augustus Bosanquet.
 *H. J. Bowden, M.A.
 *Charles Bradley, M.A.
 *Wm. S. H. Braham, M.A.
 *R. L. Bridge, M.A.
 John Bridges.
 *John Bromilow, M.A.
 *Alexander Brownie, M.A.
 *George Browne, M.A.
 *Reginald Bryan, M.A.
 *William Buckler, M.A.
 *Edward Bull, M.A.
 *Arthur Buller, M.A.
 *Gilbert Beresford, M.A.
 *James W. Burrough, M.A.
 *William Bury, M.A.
 *Sparkes Byers, B.A.
 *Henry Caddell, M.A.
 *Joshua Cautley, M.A.
 *Charles R. Carroll, M.A.
 *George Grey Cashman, B.A.
 *John Casson, M.A.
 *E. W. Caufield, M.A.
 William Challice.
 *John Charlesworth, M.A.
 *William Chave, M.A.
 *Andrew Cheap, LL.B.
 Robert Hochley Chenies.
 *John M. Cholmeley, M.A.
 *W. Churchill, M.A.
 Matthew Clark.
 *Thomas Clarke, M.A.
 *R. Clayton, M.A.
 Alexander Clements, M.A.

*J. B. Clifford, M.A.
 *C. T. Fynes Clinton, M.A.
 *John Francis Cobb, M.A.
 *J. W. Cobb, M.A.
 Benjamin Cooper.
 Charles Cowan, M.D.
 *William Cowland, M.A.
 *Edward Cox, M.A.
 *George Crabbe, M.A.
 *Henry Robert Crew, M.A.
 *B. Lucas Cubitt, M.A.
 *J. Cumberlege, M.A.
 *S. F. Cumberlege, M.A.
 *Francis Cunningham, M.A.
 *Thomas Curme, M.A.
 Christopher Cutts.
 *James Edward Dalton, B.D.
 *Thomas Davies, M.A.
 *E. H. Dawson, M.A.
 *Robert Denny, M.A.
 *J. W. Devlin, B.A.
 *William Dewe, B.A.
 *Thomas F. Dibdin, D.D.
 *James W. K. Disney, B.A.
 *William Dodge, B.A.
 James Dorman.
 *T. R. Drake, B.A.
 *Thos. O. Drawbridge, M.A.
 *D. K. T. Drummond, M.A.
 *W. M. Du Pre, M.A.
 *Henry Du Puy, B.A.
 *John East, M.A.
 *John Edmonds, M.A.
 Samuel Edwards.
 *Samuel V. Edwards, B.A.
 *Henry T. Estridge, M.A.
 *Charles Evans, M.A.
 *Daniel W. Evans, B.A.
 *Frederick Evans, M.A.
 *Patrick Fenn, M.A.
 Joseph Fincher.
 *Edward W. Foley, M.A.
 Joseph French.
 *Samuel Garratt, B.A.
 *John Garwood, M.A.
 *Henry Gibson, M.A.
 *Thomas Glascott, B.A.
 *Carr John Glynn, M.A.
 George Golding.
 *Edward Goodwin, M.A.
 Samuel Goody.
 Alexander Gordon.
 Joseph Goss.
 Thomas Graham.
 Thomas Greenall.
 *R. G. Greene, M.A.
 *John Phillips Gurney, M.A.
 *Peter Hall, M.A.
 W. L. Hance.
 E. Hance.
 *Augustus Handley, M.A.
 F. Vernon Harcourt.
 *G. G. Harvey, B.A.
 E. Hawker, Rear-Admiral of the Blue.
 *John Herbert, M.A.
 *Augustus Hewitt, M.A.
 *William Henry Hill, M.A.
 *Charles Hodgson, M.A.
 *George Hodgson, M.A.

Edward Hollis.
 *J. T. Holloway, D.D.
 *James Hopkins, M.A.
 *H. D. C. S. Horlock, D.D.
 *George Hume, M.A.
 *Henry Hutton, M.A.
 *Josiah James, M.A.
 *P. B. Jeckell, B.A.
 *A. Jenour, M.A.
 *David Jones, M.A.
 *John Jones, M.A.
 *J. J. Jones, M.A.
 *J. Jordan, M.A.
 *Edward Jowett, B.A.
 *Thomas King, M.A.
 Henry Kingscote.
 Arthur F. Kinnaird.
 John Labouchere.
 *John Lakes, M.A.
 *Richard T. Lancaster, M.A.
 *Thomas J. Lingwood, M.A.
 John Linton.
 E. J. Longley.
 *Henry Lowe, M.A.
 *B. Lumley, M.A.
 *H. Lumsden, M.A.
 James Macfarlane.
 *Henry W. M'Grath, M.A.
 *W. Bell Mackenzie, M.A.
 *R. A. M. Macklin, M.A.
 *George Maclean, M.A.
 *Hugh M'Neill, M.A.
 *Samuel Maddock, M.A.
 *C. D. Maitland, M.A.
 *Henry Malpas, M.A.
 *Orlando Manley, M.A.
 *Joseph Mann, M.A.
 *Richards Marks, M.A.
 *W. Marsh, D.D.
 Marcus Martin.
 John Martin.
 W. Lewis Mason.
 William Maxwell.
 C. Maxtone, Major, Madras retired List.
 *Forster Maynard, M.A.
 *David Mead, M.A.
 *Joseph C. Mendham, M.A.
 *Thomas Methuen, M.A.
 *Capel Molyneux, B.A.
 *William Money, M.A.
 Wigram Money.
 *Bernard Moore, M.A.
 *Thomas Mortimer, B.D.
 *Henry Moule, M.A.
 *William Mudge, M.A.
 *Edward Nicholson, M.A.
 *Leland Noel, M.A.
 *Baptist W. Noel, M.A.
 Edward Scott Norton.
 James Orde, Lieut.-General.
 *Fielding Ould, M.A.
 *Joseph Parker, M.A.
 *A. D. Parkinson, B.A.
 Wm. Edward Parry, Bart.
 John Dean Paul.
 *James Pears, B.C.L.
 *James R. Pears, M.A.
 *John Pearson, M.A.
 Thomas Pearsons.

*John Peers, M.A.
 *J. W. Peers, M.A.
 *J. Pemberton, M.A.
 *Edward Pemberton, M.A.
 William Perfect.
 *Richard C. Phillips, M.A.
 *E. T. M. Philipps, M.A.
 *H. G. Phillips, M.A.
 *Benjamin Philpot, M.A.
 *Solomon Piggott, M.A.
 William Pittman.
 *S. B. Plummer, M.A.
 John P. Plumptre, M.P.
 *Chas. Thos. Plumptre, M.A.
 *H. W. Plumptre, M.A.
 *Edward Poole, M.A.
 J. Poynder.
 *H. E. Preston, M.A.
 Mark Pringle.
 *Chas. R. Pritchett, M.A.
 *David Protheroe, M.A.
 *William W. Pym, M.A.
 *Richard Quarrell, M.A.
 *Alexander Ramsay, M.A.
 *J. Raw, M.A.
 James S. Ray.
 John S. Reynolds.
 *Gregory Rhodes, B.C.L.
 *H. K. Richardson, M.A.
 *Gilbert W. Robinson, B.A.
 *Wm. W. Robinson, M.A.

*Arthur Roberts, M.A.
 *Henry Roberts, B.A.
 Joseph Robinson.
 *Charles Row, M.A.
 *David Ruell, M.A.
 *Edmund Russell, M.A.
 *Timothy Sandys, M.A.
 *William Seaton, M.A.
 *Walter Shirley, M.A.
 *Robert Shiltier, M.A.
 *Robert Simpson, M.A.
 *Robert Smith, B.A.
 *Hinton C. Smith, B.A.
 *William Snell, M.A.
 *F. W. Spilsbury, M.A.
 *J. W. Steele, M.A.
 Ernest A. Stephenson.
 *George Steward, M.A.
 *Francis Storr, M.A.
 *Hugh Stowell, M.A.
 *Edmund Stuart, M.A.
 *James H. Stuart, M.A.
 *Henry Sweetling, M.A.
 *Charles Tayler, M.A.
 *Stephen Thackwell, M.A.
 *Algernon S. Thelwall, M.A.
 *Evan Thomas, M.A.
 *Spencer Thornton, M.A.
 *J. Truman, M.A.
 *D. Tucker, M.A.
 *Thomas Tyndale, M.A.

*Francis Upjohn, M.A.
 *Owen Emeric Vidal, B.A.
 E. M. Wade, M.A.
 *Henry Walter, M.A.
 John C. Walter.
 *James Ware, M.A.
 *G. T. Warner, M.A.
 *John W. Watts, M.A.
 *Daniel Watkins, M.A.
 *J. G. Weddell, M.A.
 James Welsh, Major-General,
 Madras Engineers.
 *John West, M.A.
 John Wheddon, M.A.
 *David Wheeler, M.A.
 *Rd. Whittingham, M.A.
 *S. H. Widdrington, M.A.
 *G. Wightman, D.D.
 *Alfred Wilkinson, M.A.
 *J. R. Wilkinson, M.A.
 *Jocelyn Willey, M.A.
 *H. J. Williams, LL.B.
 *John Williams, M.A.
 J. D. Williams.
 *John Francis Witty, M.A.
 *Carrus W. Wilson, M.A.
 *John Wilson, M.A.
 *William Wright, M.A.
 William Holt Yates, M.D.
 *Chas. Isaac Yorke, M.A.

Extracts from "Anglo-Catholic Writers."

"It cannot be too often repeated, that if Protestantism be Christianity, Catholicism is Anti-Christianism, and of course *vice versa*. There never was, and there never will be, charity in softening down real distinctions; open hostilities are ever a shorter road to eventual peace than hollow and suspicious alliances."—*British Critic*, July, 1843, p. 64.

Protestantism and Romanism.—"It ought not to be for nothing, no nor for anything short of some very vital truth . . . that persons of name and influence should venture on the part of ecclesiastical agitators . . . an object thus momentous we believe to be the unprotestantising of the National Church."—*British Critic*, July, 1841, p. 44.

"As we go on, we must recede more and more from the principles, if any such there be, of the English Reformation."—*Ib.* p. 45.

"I utterly reject and anathematize the principle of Protestantism as a heresy, with all its forms, sects, or denominations."—*Rev. W. Palmer, Letter to Mr. Golightly*, p. 9.

"Protestantism in its essence, and in all its bearings is characteristically the religion of corrupt human nature."—*British Critic*, July, 1841, p. 27.

"The Protestant tone of doctrine and thought is essentially anti-christian."—*Ib.* p. 29.

"Antichrist, we know, is prophetically described as the Man of Sin, who opposeth and exalteth himself above . . . God. This, to be plain, is just our own notion, as we have never shrunk from

avowing, of Protestantism."—*British Critic*, July, 1843, p. 65.

"We trust, of course, that active and visible union with the see of Rome is not of the essence of a Church; at the same time, we are deeply conscious that in lacking it, far from asserting a right, we forego a great privilege. Rome has imperishable claims upon our gratitude, and, were it so ordered, upon our deference. . . . For her sins, and for our own, we are estranged from her in presence, not in heart; may we never be provoked to forget her, or cease to love her!"—*British Critic*, July, 1841, p. 3.

On the Scriptures.—"The true creed is the catholic interpretation of Scripture, or scripturally proved tradition . . . Scripture and tradition taken together, are the joint rule of faith."—*Tract* 78, p. 2.

"As to the nondescript system of religion now in fashion, that nothing is to be believed but what is clearly in Scripture . . . suffice that it has all the external extravagance of latitudinarianism, without its internal consistency . . . Both, however, are mere theories in theology, and ought to be discarded by serious men."—*Tract* 85, p. 25.

"The structure of Scripture is such . . . that either we must hold that the Gospel doctrine or message is not contained in Scripture, or, as the alternative, we must hold that it is but indirectly and covertly recorded there, under the surface."—*Ib.* p. 27.

"So then, we do not make Scripture the rule of our faith, but that other things in their kind are rules also; in

such sort that it is not safe, without respect had to them, to judge things by the Scripture alone."—*Field, in Tract 90, p. 11.*

"In the sense in which it is commonly understood, at this day, Scripture, it is plain, is not on Anglican principles, the rule of faith."—*Ib. p. 11.*

"The writers of the Tracts for the Times took the true ground of an appeal to the voice of the Church in all ages. It was not to supersede the use of the Scriptures; it was not even to establish tradition as the rule of faith separate from the written Word . . . that they had recourse to antiquity, but it was to settle the sense of the Scriptures."—*Plain Words, 2d edition, p. 17.*

Justification by Faith.—"When faith is called the sole instrument, this means the sole internal instrument, not the sole instrument of any kind. There is nothing inconsistent, then, in faith being the sole instrument of justification, and yet baptism also the sole instrument; nor does the sole instrumentality of faith interfere with the doctrine of works being a mean also . . . An assent to the doctrine that faith alone justifies, does not at all preclude the doctrine of works justifying also."—*Tract 90, p. 12.*

"Works done with Divine aid, and in faith before justification, do dispose men to receive the grace of justification."—*Ib. p. 16.*

"The Bishop, then, would say, that justified Christians are accounted righteous, in consideration of a righteousness not their own; Mr. Newman, that they are accounted righteous inasmuch as they have been made so through Christ's righteousness inwrought into them."—*British Critic, July, 1843, p. 74.*

"Evangelicals . . . cleave to the soul-destroying heresy of Luther on the subject of justification."—*Ib. p. 33.*

"The very first aggression of those who labour to revive some degree at least of vital Christianity. . . must be upon that strange congeries of notions and practices of which the Lutheran doctrine of justification is the origin and representative. Whether any heresy has ever infested the Church so hateful and unchristian as this doctrine, it is perhaps not necessary to determine: none certainly has ever prevailed so subtle and extensively poisonous."—*British Critic, Oct. 1842, p. 390.*

The Sacraments.—"This may even be set down as the essence of sectarian doctrine . . . to consider faith and not the sacraments as the instrument of jus-

tification."—*Tracts, vol. ii. p. 6. Preface.*

"The sacraments, not preaching, are the sources of Divine grace."—*Tracts, vol. i. p. 4. Preface.*

"This, then, is the characteristic mark of these two [*Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper*], separating them from all other whatever; and this is nothing but saying, in other words, that they are the only justifying rites or instruments of communicating the atonement."—*Tract 46, p. 46.*

"The two 'Sacraments of the Gospel,' are those which directly communicate Christ to the soul."—*British Critic, July, 1843, p. 51.*

Baptism.—"The doctrine of regeneration in Baptism, the very spirit and essence of the whole teaching of the Church."—*Plain Words, p. 21.*

"However frankly we may admit, and however gladly we may contemplate, that wonder of Divine Grace, whereby the man who has long wandered from his baptismal standing, is brought back to it; we must never permit ourselves to view such cases as according to the general rule. In their way, they are anomalies, wonderfully illustrative, indeed, of the long-suffering of God, but not the unthwarted growth of his own plan of salvation, which, in the first instance, contemplates Baptism as the beginning, and then the Christian character steadily growing out of that beginning."—*Christian Remembrancer, May, 1843, p. 670.*

"Baptism * * * confers on a child all things, and the true way of addressing such a child is not to speak to him of any new birth yet to be waited for; but to tell him to go forth against evil, fresh from the water, and strong in the blessings of his baptism."—*Ib. June, 1843, p. 816.*

"Surely the Church has not encouraged the modern habit of dating conversion, of taking cognizance of any marked revolutionary epoch in a man's life, besides his baptism.

"Justification, in Anglican theology, is ruled to be the first step in the Christian life. In the 13th Article, 'Works done before justification' are explained to be equivalent to 'works done before the Grace of Christ and Inspiration of His Spirit,' which, at the latest, takes place at Baptism."—*Ib. October, 1841, p. 273.*

The Lord's Supper.—"As material bodies approach by moving from place to place, so the approach and presence of a spiritual body may be in some other way . . . the body and blood of Christ

may be really literally present in the holy Eucharist, yet, not having become present by local passage, may still literally and really be at God's right hand . . . The true determination of all such questions may be this, that Christ's body and blood are locally at God's right hand, yet really present here—present here, but not here in place."—*Tract 90*, p. 56.

"This is what the Catholic Church seems to hold concerning our Lord's presence in the Sacrament, that He then personally and bodily is present with us in the way an object is which we call present."—*Ib.* p. 56.

"Receiving Him [Christ] into this very body, they who are his, receive life."—*Dr. Pusey's Sermon*, p. 9.

"His flesh and blood in the Sacrament shall give life . . . because they are the very flesh and blood which were given and shed for the life of the world, and are given to those for whom they had been given."—*Ib.* p. 20.

"If Balaam's ass instructed Balaam, what is there fairly to startle us in the Church's doctrine, that the water of baptism cleanses from sin; that eating the consecrated bread is eating his body; or that oil may be blessed for spiritual purposes?"—*Tract 85*, p. 90.

The Priesthood.—"The holy feast on our Saviour's sacrifice . . . was intended by him to be constantly conveyed through the hands of commissioned persons. Except, therefore, we can show such a warrant, we cannot be sure that our hands convey the sacrifice; we cannot be sure that souls worthily prepared, receiving the bread which we break, and the cup of blessing which we bless, are partakers of the body and blood of Christ."—*Tract 4*, p. 2.

"The sacerdotal office in the Church is the foundation of all the rest . . . if the Church have a sacerdotal office, she must necessarily have functionaries by whom to administer it . . . The priest is to be considered by his flock as standing to them in so many respects in the place of God . . . the type and representative to them of the invisible . . . Their primary office is to be the Church's functionaries, in dispensing to the people her varied blessings . . . and above all, in offering up that holy service whereby the fruits of our Lord's atonement are daily impetrated and diffused . . . throughout the Church . . . The priesthood may be called the organs of the Spirit."—*British Critic*, July, 1843, pp. 50, 53, 54, 58.

"A person not commissioned from the Bishop may use the words of Baptism, and sprinkle or bathe with the water on earth, but there is no promise from Christ that such a man shall admit souls to the kingdom of heaven. A person not commissioned . . . may pretend to give the Lord's Supper, but . . . there is no warrant from Christ to lead communicants to suppose that . . . they will be partakers in the Saviour's heavenly body and blood."—*Tract 35*, p. 3.

Apostolical Succession.—"I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built—our apostolical descent . . . The Lord Jesus Christ gave his Spirit to his Apostles: they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them, and these again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops, who have appointed us as their assistants . . . We must necessarily consider none to be really ordained who have not *thus* been ordained."—*Tract 1*, pp. 2, 3.

"Why should we talk so much of an Establishment, and so little of an apostolical succession? Why should we not seriously endeavour to impress our people with the plain truth, that by separating themselves from our communion, they separate themselves . . . from the only Church in this realm which has a right to be quite sure that she has the Lord's body to give to his people?"—*Tract 4*, p. 5.

"Do you then unchurch all the Presbyterians, all the Christians who have no Bishops?" . . . "We are not to shrink from our deliberate views of truth and duty because difficulties may be raised about the case of such persons, any more than we should fear to maintain the paramount necessity of Christian belief because similar difficulties may be raised about virtuous Heathens, Jews, or Mahometans."—*Ib.* p. 6.

"It is not merely because Episcopacy is a better or more Scriptural form than Presbyterianism . . . that Episcopalians are right and Presbyterians are wrong; but because the Presbyterian ministers have assumed a power which was never entrusted to them. They have presumed to exercise the powers of ordination, and to perpetuate a succession of ministers, without having received a commission to do so."—*Tract 7*, p. 2.

"It is *beautifully expressed* in the Acts of the Synod of Bethlehem, which the Eastern Church transmitted to the nonjuring Bishops:—'Therefore we de-

clare that this hath ever been the doctrine of the Eastern Church;—that the Episcopal dignity is so necessary in the Church, that without a Bishop there cannot exist any Church nor any Christian man;—*no, not so much as in name.*”—*British Critic, April, 1842, p. 498.*

“A person who denies the Apostolical Succession of the ministry, because it is not clearly taught in Scripture, ought, I conceive, if consistent, to deny the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, which is nowhere literally stated in Scripture.”—*Tract 85, p. 4.*

THE NEW DIVINITY STATUTE AT OXFORD.

[It has long been rumoured that the statute to be proposed to the Oxford convocation for the prevention of a recurrence of the recent disputes on proceeding to a degree in the theological faculty would require to be most narrowly watched. And such, indeed, turns out to be the case. The whole constitution of the University, as to the degrees in divinity and civil law, is to be changed; and for the worse. The two chief points of the proposed Divinity Statute, as we learn from the usual cloud of pamphlets, questions and leaves of argument, which precede one of the great Oxford contests, are,

1. That a private examination by the Regius Professor of Divinity, under an appeal to the Vice-Chancellor, is to take the place of an open one in the University schools.

2. That this change amounts to the imposition of a *new theological test*, regulated by the sole discretion and orthodoxy of the two above-named irresponsible functionaries; one of whom is Dr. Hampden, who is under the formal censure of the University, for inculcating Socinianizing doctrine; and the other *may be*, a layman!

We do not hesitate to say, although the subject has come before us at the very moment of going to press, that though the proprietors of this statute will revive the *odium theologicum* in its bitterest form, the Hampden case sinks into complete insignificance before it; and every member of convocation who has at heart the orthodoxy and independence of our great Theological School and Faculty must sift this statute most closely. We subjoin three of the more important papers which have already issued from Oxford. The initials sufficiently declare the respected author of the second.]—ED. C. R.

Oxford, Feb. 21, 1844.—The attention of Members of Convocation is respectfully requested to the following points in the proposed new Divinity Statute:

P. 4. Statutum est, quod is, qui ad Gradum Baccalaurei in S. Theologia promovetur cupit . . . duas dissertationes a

se conscriptas de quæstionibus quibuslibet Theologicis prius a S. Theologiæ Professore Regio approbandis, coram eo publice intra Scholarum præcinctus recitabit, eique, finitâ lectione, *dissertationis utriusque exemplar in manus tradet.*

P. 5. Statutum est, quod in singulis facultatibus si quid dubii forte occurrat in exercitiis præstandis de quo oritur contentio, . . . AD VICE-CANCELLARIUM DEFERRETUR CUJUS IN HAC RE SENTENTIA RATA ET DEFINITIVA HABEBITUR.

1. It appears from the first extract, that the Regius Professor has a right to demand copies of the Candidate's Dissertations, after the public reading in the Schools, for his own private perusal; by which perusal he will be enabled to examine more closely whether they contain any doctrine which he may consider erroneous.

2. It appears from the second, that the Regius Professor is only responsible for the exercise of these powers of scrutiny to the Vice-Chancellor for the time being; and that whenever, upon his view of the doctrinal character of the Dissertation, he refuses to present the Candidate for his Degree, the matter is referred immediately to the Vice-Chancellor, whose decision on the case is absolute and final.

3. It is evident, that the proposed Statute does not contemplate any other way of proceeding to a Divinity Degree in such a case, but by the process which it lays down: its object being to lay down the process by which the Divinity Degree is to be obtained.

4. It is inferred from all these points together, that, according to the proposed Statute, if the Regius Professor, upon doctrinal objections which he raises after the examination of the Dissertation, refuses to present the Candidate for his Degree, and the Vice-Chancellor supports him in that refusal, it is thus in the power of two functionaries of the University, by agreeing together, to stop a Member of the University from proceeding to his Divinity Degree.

5. It is suggested, that this arrangement is contrary to the whole spirit of the

Academical Constitution, which makes Congregation and the whole body of the University the judge of the fitness of the Candidate for his Degree: and that, though the Vice-Chancellor, in common with the two Proctors, has a power of veto in Congregation; this new power, which prevents the question from coming into Congregation at all, is quite a different thing from that veto.

A few words to the resident members of convocation, on the subject of the statute shortly to be proposed.—It is always somewhat invidious for a junior member of the University to raise his voice upon a grave question of legislation. Age, knowledge, and experience are quoted against him, and in many cases he can have little to say in answer, without going through an inquiry more laborious than his regular avocations permit. Still there are certain broad principles which can be discerned without minute information, and which may reasonably be a guide to the opinions and to the votes of all members of our legislative body, and it may be allowable to one of that number, even on a brief consideration, to suggest some points to the notice of others.

In the first place, then, it may be remarked, that the statute now to be proposed is still more inconsistent with that which was passed relating to the Regius Professor of Divinity in 1836 and confirmed in 1842, than was the late statute for Divinity Lectures. In this the Regius Professor is put forward *alone*, and invested with an authority entirely new. I say *entirely new*, because although one part of it has been claimed of late, and the proceedings at law against that claim have been withdrawn, still this withdrawal has been probably rather owing to the difficulty of remedy, than to the slightest appearance of legality in the claim. There are but two answers that can be made to this objection. One, that the authority conferred is altogether insignificant; the other, that it is either right, or expedient, or both, to remove the censure of 1836.

Secondly, it is worth while consider-

ing what is the nature of the power to be conferred on the Regius Professor, and whether it is a power that ought ever to be entrusted to an individual, especially to one appointed for life by the Crown. Now I will not impute to the heads of the University the absolute madness of proposing to constitute any individual so appointed a judge of orthodoxy. They cannot have thought of such a thing as thus laying the Faculty of Theology prostrate at the feet of the secular power. The very Statute for the trial of heterodoxy in Sermons, points out the gravity of the danger, by providing a Court of several members. It must, therefore, be imagined that the power is so indefinite in its results, that it will not, in fact, constitute either a lawful right of judicature, or an opportunity of usurpation.

Now it is perfectly true that the Regius Professor has his legitimate and limited power as a Member of Congregation, and that he can there withhold a Degree for a time, and then lay his objection before the House, and put it to the vote. This, of course, he may do on the ground of heterodoxy, appearing in any exercise performed in his presence, and no one would wish to prevent his having or using such a power.* But recent experience has shown, that it is possible for a Professor to make an indirect use of authority, such as it is here proposed to place in his hands, and that in such a manner as to constitute him not a judge, but an arbitrary and irresponsible authority in the Theological Faculty.† It would be well, if the Members of Convocation could be informed, before they vote upon this question, what degree of security the Vice-Chancellor's power in *doubtful* cases will give—whether, for instance, the Vice-Chancellor, even if willing, will be able to take cognizance of the Professor's *reasons* for refusing a Thesis; and again, whether he will have any summary means of compelling him to do his duty, if he should simply decline performing it; or again, of causing that duty to be performed by another.‡ Unless these points

* It is worth while to remark here, that the theses for certain Theological Disputations used to be approved by *Congregation*. See Tit. VIII. § 1. And this would still probably be the best security against offensive theses.

† It is not meant to state that there is no remedy, for the writer firmly believes that there is one in the power of the higher Officers of the University. It is enough that such abuse is allowed to be in fact without remedy.

‡ At best, the Vice-Chancellor would be entrusted by this Statute with a power which may be thought somewhat unconstitutional.

are settled, it will be but a leap in the dark to sanction the proposed measure. *

Again, with regard to the proposed form of exercise for the Doctor's Degree, it must be observed, that it alters the constitution of the University by placing the Bachelors of Divinity so far on the same footing as those on whom that Degree has not been conferred. This is a grave alteration, though implied but by a slight form.*

As to the delivery of the Exercises to the Professor, it is chiefly important as tending to give an opportunity for future usurpation. *What is it for*, unless he is to be a judge of orthodoxy?

And here the difference of the two cases of Law and Theology, which are tackled together, comes out clearly. In Law, the question is of knowledge or ignorance, and so it may be in Theology, but it may be also between true knowledge, and knowledge falsely so called. It is an evil to destroy the hope of recovering Lectures instead of mere Examination Exercises in Law, and the same evil appears in the case of Divinity; but the cases are distinct, and ought not to be treated as the same. In short, the proposed plan seems to be seriously deficient in the important article of *facing the question*, and likely to do nothing better than serve indifferently the wants of the present generation. The next is likely either to suffer from it, or to undo it. C. M.

Oriel, Ash-Wednesday, 1844.

Questions on the Proposed New Statute.

—1. Whether the Statute does not enable the Queen's Professor of Divinity to force each Candidate to adopt the Professor's own questions, by refusing

his approbation to those of the Candidate.

2. Whether in the case of the Professor's refusing to approve of the Candidate's questions, the Vice-Chancellor may then be appealed to.

3. Whether the Professor can be compelled to approve.

4. Whether the proceedings before the Vice-Chancellor are to be in the Court of the University, or in private:—if in private, are they to be conducted according to the Statutes?

5. Whether an appeal will lie from the sentence of the Vice-Chancellor to the superior Courts of the University.

6. Whether, if the Vice-Chancellor's decision be without appeal from, the authority of congregation in granting degrees be not irrecoverably lost.

7. Whether Sect. viii. by giving this power to the Vice-Chancellor, do not partially repeal the Statute that provides him the advice of six doctors in the case of erroneous doctrine.

8. Whether in the case of a dispute about doctrine between the Queen's Professor and the Candidate, the Vice-Chancellor, being a Layman, or not a Graduate in Theology, can decide it.

9. Whether in the case of a dispute between the Professor of Civil Law and the Candidate, on a legal question, the Vice-Chancellor, being a Graduate in Theology or Arts, and not learned in the Law, can decide it.

Finally, Whether it be fair by means of this Statute to make the *voluntary* provisions of the Statute, *de Disciplina Theologica*, compulsory on all Candidates for Degrees in Theology, who have been matriculated since Michaelmas, 1838.

* As the Statute at present stands, Bachelors of Divinity are to read Lectures from Holy Scripture before younger men, choosing the portion for themselves; by the proposed Statute they are to read an Exercise before the Regius Professor, of which he is to approve the subject beforehand, and which is to be delivered to him, when read.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We thank our correspondent who, with seeming knowledge of the subject, corrects our statement with respect to the *possibility*, in many cases, of celebrating the Daily Service in Scotland: still, as in Edinburgh, the fact remains undeniably the same; it is quite as easy to carry out the Prayer Book there as in London; and it is not done.

A correspondent, who is acquainted with Irvingism, informs us, that our statement contained in the foot-note, p. 177, of our last number, was not strictly correct. The formula of this body seems, according to themselves, to run, that in addition to believing in a second Pentecost, they hold concerning the whole Catholic Church, including themselves as a part of it, all that Catholics hold irrespective of them.

A press of matter has compelled us to displace from our Miscellaneous department the third collection of Authorities on Conventual Institutions, and a Letter on the Tendency of Mr. Maurice's Works.—Both are in type.

THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

APRIL, 1844.

Travels in New Zealand, with Contributions to the Geography, Geology, Botany, and Natural History of that Country. By ERNEST DIEFFENBACH, M.D., late Naturalist to the New Zealand Company. London: J. Murray. 1843.

Letters from Settlers and Labouring Emigrants in the New-Zealand Company's Settlements of Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth, from February, 1842, to January, 1843. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1843.

Letters from the Bishop of New Zealand to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, with other Information concerning his Diocese. London: Rivingtons. 1843.

Colonization of New Zealand. Translated from the German of Professor CHARLES RITTER, of Berlin. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1843.

Fisher's Colonial Magazine and Commercial Maritime Journal for December, 1843.

CONSIDERING that the five books which we have placed at the head of this our second article on colonial emigration are about one tithe of the works, from twenty-shilling octavos to shilling or six-penny pamphlets already published concerning New Zealand, we hardly require the excuse of late events for thus performing the promise we gave in our article on the resources of Australia. The late unfortunate occurrences at Nelson have tended to increase the interest gradually rising among us regarding our last of colonies, and every letter from that island has been the fruitful source of comment in our daily and periodical literature, and anxious conversation among those who are already connected with New Zealand through their relatives or friends, or are thinking of seeking their subsistence on the soil of that fertile colony. With every prospect, therefore, of

commanding more attention for our lucubrations than would otherwise, perhaps, have fallen to their lot, we proceed to draw out with some minuteness the biography of New Zealand—the life, fortunes, resources, and future prospects of the youngest of our colonial settlements.

Modern colonists act on two principles in the selection of their adopted country: one party make up their minds to contend with a climate uncongenial to their habits and constitution, for the sake of the commercial products to be raised under its influence when directed by their energies or their capital, becoming by degrees the masters of a numerous native race, unable to contend with them, and raising rather factories than colonies. The other class seek out a country as nearly like their own as nature offers, and where the physical and intellectual energies of themselves and their descendants may be matured, and where, from resources within the colony itself, there is a fair, if not a certain, prospect of a steady progress to ultimate prosperity, and of, at the same time, relieving their own wants, and benefiting, by increased demand, the mother-country. Such a country is New Zealand. The climate is not only analogous to that of England, but as mild as that of her southern counties, and yet healthy and invigorating. Here is no epidemic to wither health and strength; no drought to devastate the flocks and herds, and desiccate the pastures. The greater part of the country possesses a soil suitable to the production of grain, fruit, and vegetables, so necessary for European colonists; whilst its forests present materials for the ship-builder, and its freestone and marble are ready to the mason's hand. It wants not in coal to call into life the power of steam, or in harbours or inlets to facilitate intercourse and trade. Those who resort to our Australian colonies with the expectation of making fortunes easily and rapidly, had better not seek New Zealand. They will not there find the endless pasture-grounds of New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land, or sufficient available native labour to produce, in the shortest possible time, articles of export. Such colonists as these, who regard the new land merely as a temporary resting-place, will not progress in that island; but to all those who come to a colony as to a second home, content to form one item in an independent and affluent middle class, such as the old English yeoman was, and in some places still is; who are content to labour long and well, so that their labour do but meet with its reward at last; who come to a colony to seek and to find there, not instant wealth, but eventual independence, after years of successful labour, to them New Zealand presents more advantages than any other colony; *it is peculiarly the yeoman's colony.*

The name of New Zealand has been given to a group of islands, consisting of two large and several smaller ones, lying in a line, situated in the southern hemisphere, and the antipodes of our own island in longitude, the meridian of Falmouth passing through the

strait that divides the two great islands of New Zealand. It is not so in its latitude, as the most southern point of the New Zealand group is three degrees farther from the ant-arctic than the Lizard is from the arctic pole, whilst the most northern promontory of the great northern isle corresponds within thirty miles with the most southern cape of the island of Candia. To the most northern of the group, or, as it is now called, North Island or New Ulster, the natives have given the dreadful looking name of Eaheinomauwe; whilst to the great middle island, or New Munster of the colonists, the equally euphonious name of Tavai-Poenammoo has been attached by the aborigines. Stewart's Island, which is immediately to the south of the middle isle, and is of very trifling dimensions, is now called New Leinster, or the South Isle, Foveaux' Strait dividing it from Munster, as Cook's Strait separates that isle from the great northern one.

Our claim to the sovereignty of New Zealand, as against any other European nation, dates from the visit of the navigator, Cook, who spent nearly six months on its coasts, surveyed them with considerable care and accuracy, and proclaimed the rule of George III. over the islands in the years 1769 and 1770. Previous to that time, however, the islands had been seen, though not landed upon, or surveyed, by the Dutchman, Tasman, who entered Cook's Straits from the west, came into contact with the natives as soon as he anchored, and, after a severe loss, sailed away along the west coast of the northern island, fully persuaded, as every one was until Cook's survey, that he was coasting a portion of the Australian continent. Tasman's visit was nearly a century earlier (1642) than that of Cook; and it is supposed, and with some slight show of reason, that, in the previous century to his visit, the Spaniards had sighted, though not visited, the New Zealand group. Three years after Cook's visit, the French navigator, Marion, visited these islands, and fell in a quarrel between his men and the natives; and, in 1791, Vancouver came thither, and from that time may be dated a constant intercourse between New South Wales and the New Zealand isles. By degrees the whaling ships began to resort to the Bay of Islands, in the north-eastern corner of the northern island, for fresh provisions, commencing a most baneful connexion with the natives of the district, and by degrees forming a settlement of the most abandoned characters—the runaways from New South Wales—who lived in unfettered licence, and exercised a complete tyranny over the aborigines, until the former was partially repressed by the missionaries under Mr. Marsden, and the latter in a manner regulated by the appointment of magistrates for the district, by the Governor of New South Wales, in the year 1814.

The missionaries, backed by the powerful resources of the Church Missionary Society, and the influence exercised with the government by its leading members, very soon became the *de facto* governors of the island, and resisted every attempt at colonization

by our own or any other nation. Not content with all but absolute sway over the northern island, where their own settlements were situated, the missionaries seem to have collected together a few chiefs in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, and persuaded them to declare themselves lords of the Great Middle Island, on which they had never so much as landed, and with the natives of which they had never as yet come in contact. In return for the suggested claim, the missionaries received liberal grants of land, not only in the one, but both islands, so situated as to extend their own sway of the island, and effectually hinder any future colonization, except greatly to the profit of the recipients of the present enormous grants. The north shore of the Tamaki, to the extent of ninety square miles, is claimed by one of the missionaries as a native grant, and already eleven gifted individuals have put in their claims to nearly an hundred thousand acres of the most available land in the islands. In these claims the Church missionaries were fairly matched by their rivals of the Wesleyan connexion.

As far back as the end of the last century the whale-fishery of New Holland was successfully prosecuted off the shores of New Zealand, and, from the great success of the fishery, and the cheap supply of provisions, the Bay of Islands has for years been the favourite resort of those engaged in that trade. About the same time, too, the New Zealand flax began to be looked upon as a useful article, and vessels came to the islands to take in cargoes of that plant, from the western shores of the North Island, whence the principal supply was obtainable; and the rise of the flax-trade called into existence small settlements on the western shores, as that of whaling had on the eastern. Seal-fishing was, during the first twenty years of this century, successfully prosecuted on both coasts, and afterwards removed to Cook's Straits, as the supply began to decrease, thus giving rise to settlements on the southern shore of the North Island, where the whale was recklessly destroyed on its breeding-grounds.

Between the white colonists and the missionaries there was little congeniality of opinion, save in condemning and despising the fallacy of the native government, of which the lay secretary of the Church Missionary Society was the chief protector and guardian. Obedience to the missionaries the new settlers would not pay, whilst the native chiefs could not command either party; and the consul who was sent by the English government in 1833, was by no means able to manage the very queer people placed under his protection. In 1830 La Place, the distinguished French navigator, came to the Bay of Islands, and met with little civility from the missionaries. This conduct on their part was due doubtless as much to their unthinking hatred of every Romanist, as to their fears lest the French should assume that sovereignty over the islands which the English government still refused to exercise. It is sad to think that any ministers of Christianity should have so acted as to warrant La Place in publicly declaring, in his official report, that "the

English missionaries at the Bay of Islands exhibit neither the charity, which all the ministers of religion profess, nor the generosity for which their countrymen are remarkable towards strangers. My offers and my solicitations to obtain from them some refreshment for our sick were alike in vain ; and I am convinced myself that, suspecting me of political purposes, they endeavoured to disturb the harmony that existed between me and the natives, by insinuating to them that I meant to take possession of the bay, and revenge the massacre of Marrion.* Two years after La Place's visit, the declaration of Baron de Thierry, that he was about to assume the sovereignty of New Zealand, and establish an independent kingdom in that and the Marquesa's Islands, excited considerable anxiety among the European settlers, and a united petition was presented in the following year to William the Fourth, stating the incapacity of the native rulers, and soliciting the English crown to assume the sovereignty over the islands. So lawless was the state of society at that time, that the missionaries themselves united in soliciting such a government as would secure peace and tranquillity, even at the expense of their own power. Not so, however, the home societies ; the project suited neither Mr. Dandeson Coates nor his Wesleyan coadjutors. The one was determined to resist any interposition of British sovereignty, the others "steadily to maintain those principles by which they had been actuated in resisting the proposed scheme for the colonization of New Zealand." Three years after this petition, which was, thanks to manœuvring, ineffectual, the New Zealand Society arose, and commenced the first systematic colonization of the northern island, choosing Cook's Straits as the place of their operations, whither they sent their first ship load of emigrants in 1839. Things now got too bad to last long without a good government, and in 1840, Captain Hobson was sent out as the first governor of New Zealand, under the late assumed sovereignty of the isles ; and, after some bungling and delay, the government colony and seat of authority was fixed on the south shore of the Waitemata bay, at the bottom of the great inlet of Houraki in the northern island. Since then, many a good and sharp squabble has there been between the favourers of the government colony and the patrons of the New Zealand Company's lands, as to which are best suited for colonists.* With these disputes we have little to do ; let the pamphleteers on both sides fight it out : all we propose doing is giving the best description we can of the several settlements on the island, and letting those who read decide. Since then, a new governor, Captain Fitzroy, has gone out, and seems to find favour with all parties. Dr. Selwyn has become the first bishop, and with what effect our copious extracts from his most interesting letters to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel will best declare.

* While these pages are passing through the press, we learn from an advertisement in the daily papers, that the contest between the Colonial Office and the New Zealand Company has come to a crisis ; one apparently disastrous to the latter institution. It is on the eve of total disruption.

The bishop arrived in his diocese in May, 1842, and before the close of that year had completed his first visitation of every important settlement in the islands. Wherever there is a bank he has established a church fund for the erection of schools and clergymen's houses, to which he devotes surplice and other fees, and the proceeds of the offertory. In his letter, written at sea, immediately after the conclusion of his first visitation, he says,—

"From the nature of the country of New Zealand, the population is likely to be divided into a number of villages; a distribution likely to be favourable to morality, but adding to the difficulty of providing the people with adequate pastoral superintendence. At the same time, I find in all the settlements a very considerable willingness on the part of the inhabitants to bear their part in the maintenance of ministers, and hope, therefore, to be enabled, by the assistance of the Society, to go on from year to year endowing the church in perpetuity in the new settlements as fast as they arise. Of course, at first, the glebe lands will yield little or nothing; and I shall be obliged to divide the sum which the Society may be enabled to allow me for annual salaries of clergymen among the ministers, who may be expected to increase in number, and, therefore, must gradually become less and less dependent upon the allowance of the Society. This diminution of their dividend of the Society's grant, may be met by the increase of the Local Church Fund, arising from the rental of lands, and the contributions of the congregations."—P. 7.

The northern island has already been apportioned into four arch-deaconries, and a small college for candidates for orders established at the Waimate, conducted by the bishop himself and his chaplains. Another archdeaconry is designed for the district of Nelson and the northern part of the middle island. In compliance with the urgent request of the governor and people of Auckland, a school is about to be formed there in connexion with the collegiate institution already spoken of. Every town clergyman is required by the bishop to learn the native language, and to regard the aborigines as his flock quite as much as the European settlers; "and," adds Bp. Selwyn, "I find it will be necessary also to establish the converse rule, that every missionary to the natives shall also be ready to minister to the English settlers; for in this country English and natives will live side by side, unless some rupture (which God avert!) should take place between them." None can peruse Dr. Dieffenbach's journeys, not merely round the coast and the partially-civilized districts, but over every portion of the northern isle, and not feel assured that in every rupture the fault will be mainly on the side of the colonists. That traveller met not only with peace and an absence of annoyance, but each chief seemed to vie with the other in showing their kindness towards him and his small party. Every fresh account will show that the late fatal rupture at Nelson was due to the indiscretion of our own people.

The following extracts from the Bishop's letters must prove interesting to every one who cares aught for our new colony:—

"In every part of the country I find great occasion for thankfulness and hope. Of course little has been done as yet; but the comfort is, that very few hindrances have grown up to prevent the establishment of a sound and efficient

Church system. May God give us grace to use with earnestness and understanding the peculiar advantages which are placed within our reach. We have not to combat with a host of full-grown difficulties, such as usually stand in the way of the ministers of religion when they come late in the day into ground already pre-occupied. Thank God we are foremost in the field, and may prevent, I trust, much opposition, which otherwise would have been most injurious to the interests of religion hereafter.

"My friend Mr. Chief Justice Martin and myself, feel that in the line of our new duties, a door of great and effectual usefulness is open to us. We have been appointed joint Trustees, with the chief Protector of the Aborigines as our colleague, of the lands and funds reserved for the benefit of the native race; a trust of immense importance, both as regards the magnitude of the property, and still more the high moral and spiritual interests which it involves. The native Reserves amount in land to between thirty and forty thousand acres; and the money fund, to fifteen per cent. upon the produce of all land sales effected by the government. The moral and spiritual considerations involve the earnest endeavour to advance seventy or eighty thousand of the most intelligent people in the world in the knowledge of true religion, and in the scale of social existence.

"I speak of the natives first, because they are the great bulk of the population; and, I think, the hinge upon which the prosperity of the colony will turn. But add to the Native Trust the necessity of providing every one of the English settlements with every one of its Ecclesiastical Institutions; for there is not so much as a Church of England School in any one of them; that the whole system has to be framed by the gradual addition of that 'which every joint supplieth;' that upon the soundness of the principles upon which this system is framed, depends, under God, much of the future character of the people of the country; and I confess I should tremble at my own insufficiency if the work did not display so manifestly the finger of God in all its parts, that I can look upon myself only as one portion of the clay, over which he has power, and which he is moulding evidently according to his will.

"But I have not yet concluded the sources of comfort which may be drawn from the effectual working of God's grace in this country; the care of the Church Mission by itself is an employment to which I should have been thankful to be allowed to devote my whole life. Taken as a whole, the missionary body more than equals my expectations. The great majority, too, of the Catechists whom I have seen, are men who, with few advantages of education, have been both faithful and successful in their exertions. As for the people, I love them from my heart, and my desire to serve them grows day by day; there is something so cheering in the frank and cordial openness of their countenance and manner, and in the blameless and devout tenor of their lives."—Pp. 9, 10.

The natives, when they parted with many of their lands to former and present settlers, never intended to dispose of them in the way in which they were purchased by the settlers. The complete ownership of the land the native never intended to part with; he merely proposed selling the right to use it, when not required by the tribe, and believed that he reserved to himself the fee of his ancestral land, and gave no power to the white man to remove him from the lands against his will. It is impossible here to enter into the very complex subject of the old purchases of lands from the natives, and the late contracts between the Company and the chiefs. One thing may be noticed, at once curious, and adding considerably to the present difficulties in adjusting equitably the various grants and claims of land, for the strict letter of the contract would be paramount injustice to the native. Many a tribe may inhabit and cultivate a district,

to all appearances the sole possessors, and that for many generations, and yet have no right in the land. This results sometimes from the permission of the superior tribe by whom the present possessors have been conquered, and comparatively left to cultivate at least a portion of their own territory, though the right in the soil has passed by conquest to the victorious tribe. Sometimes, when a tribe, hard pressed by enemies, has migrated, all but a small remnant, the few left behind retire to remote parts of their old territory, and without the knowledge of the superior tribe to which they properly have passed, and which has long since meted out every portion of the land among their own warriors, if they do but choose to take possession of it. Thus the real and apparent right to land is often in very different and very distant nations; and many a tribe has outwitted the colonists in disposing of lands vested in other tribes, and not in that which has so long inhabited and cultivated the soil.

Auckland, the seat of the government of the colony, and chief residence of the Bishop, lies about midway on the western shore of the northern island, or, as it is now called, New Ulster, at the bottom of the last of a succession of deep and wide bays, formed by the estuary of the Thames, and approachable from both the east and west coasts of the island. The temperature of Auckland is all that can be desired by an emigrant. During the summer months,—that is, from their October to March—the mean temperature is about sixty-seven degrees, whilst during the winter it seldom falls to freezing-point, and averages little less than fifty-two degrees of Fahrenheit. Comparing this settlement with that which corresponds with it in our northern hemisphere, namely, Montpellier, we find that though to both has been assigned a mean temperature of nearly sixty degrees, the difference between the mean temperature of summer and that of winter is, in Montpellier, as much as sixty-eight degrees; whilst in its antipodes, Auckland, it hardly reaches twenty degrees. By the equalizing influence of the insular position of New Zealand, and the proximity of Auckland to the coast, we are assured by Dr. Dieffenbach, that while the hottest month at Auckland corresponds with that at Vienna, the coldest is but little below that of the coldest in the capital of Portugal.

Passing northward from the embouchure of the Thames, we gradually lose the high lands peculiar to that district as we approach the large island of Waiheke, that lies off the entrance to the Bay of Waitemata, on the southern shore of which the government settlement is located. The harbour of Waitemata is the most important of that range of bays, which form the Gulf of Hauraki, separating as they nearly do the northern island into two parts, from the harbour of Port Coromandel on the eastern, to that of Manukao on the western side of New Ulster.

"In passing from the outlet of the Thames towards Waitemate," says Dr. Dieffenbach, "the aspect of the shores is highly picturesque. A luxuriant vegetation covers them to the water's edge, or alternates with the clearings made by the natives. As we approached Auckland, several regular volcanic

cones rose over the table-land, which stretches across the island to the harbour of Manukao. We passed a number of islands, of which that of Waikele is overtopped with stately Kauri-pines; from every crevice of the rocks on these islands, even where washed by the salt water, the glossy green of various shrubs meets our eyes. The islands in the Gulf of Hauraki, luxuriantly wooded as they are, and divided from each other by deep straits, afford a succession of ever-changing scenery, and give the region a variety which is unrivalled by any other harbour in New Zealand, in most of which steep and uniform surrounding hills shut in the view, and confine it to a narrow space.

"The navigable entrance into the harbour is only three-quarters of a mile wide, as it is narrowed by a reef, the outermost point of which is marked by a beacon, and is distant three-quarters of a mile from a curious bastion-shaped rock of sandstone, which may be regarded as the southern head. Within the heads the channel widens to an average breadth of one mile; it has its greatest depth on the northern shore, and is shallow on the southern, on which the town of Auckland has been laid out, about two miles and a half from the southern head. The depth of the harbour is from six to nine fathoms in mid-channel; and three to three and a half at the sides. The inlet continues about ten miles to the westward, sending an arm to the northward, towards the river Kaipara, and another towards the southward, towards the harbour of Manukao. The northern arm has a deep but very narrow channel near the northern shore; but shoals and rocks obstruct the passage leading towards Manukao, except for large boats, which can go up for several miles in the river-like inlet, and between its upper part and the harbour of Manukao, there is a portage of one mile and a half."—Vol. i. pp. 276—8.

There is not much wood in the immediate neighbourhood of Auckland, so fatal was the general conflagration by which nearly all the woods round the bay were destroyed, save a small strip of Kauri and other trees on the northern shore, the store-house of fire-wood and timber for the new settlement. Close to the town the land is first-rate, and likewise towards the harbour of the west coast, and also to the eastward,—“it is fit for all kinds of horticultural and agricultural purposes.” The demand for fire-wood, and the necessity of clearing the land, will soon remove the most attractive garment that nature has given to the sandstone cliffs of Waitemata; and as one by one the pohutukana trees fall before the emigrant’s axe, the purple Christmas-flower garment of the bay becomes rent, and torn piece-meal. As in most places in New Zealand, Auckland is well supplied with water, both by the small water-runs in the valleys, and the springs that afford a ready supply on digging a few feet below the surface. Here, too, is solid material for building, hard scorïæ, at the base of the neighbouring volcanic cones, easily worked, and sandstone that hardens on exposure to the air. But a mile to the eastward lies the small bay of Oraki, so formed by nature as to present a natural dock, capable of application to every purpose connected with shipping, at a small expense. Again there is another passage to the western harbour of Manukao by the inlet of Taranaki, of six feet water at the entrance at low water, which deepens greatly withinside the bar, and vessels of two hundred tons can sail up some distance towards the head of the inlet, where a portage of a quarter of a mile divides it from the port of Manukao. The excellence of the land on both sides of the Tamaki has ere this attracted visitors;

and the north shore, besides other lands extending some ninety square miles, is claimed by a catechist of the Church Missionary Society, doubtless obtained for a very valuable consideration.

There is but one thing that will prevent Auckland from rising rapidly, that is the curse of new settlements,—land speculation. No place in New Zealand has such a combination of advantages. The agriculturist has land, good available land, close to the town; the merchant has everything he can require in the way of water-carriage, and situation for commercial purposes. If the emigrants will but cultivate their home resources, and apply themselves diligently to the coast trade which every day brings to them, and every day will continue to increase upon them, if they will but attend to it, no place in the northern island can be better situated for the site of the capital of the colony. The Bay of Waitemata is the natural harbour of the fertile districts of the valley of the Thames and the Piako; from thence, both northward and southward, communication is easy. When Dr. Dieffenbach was there, even then, with such insufficient communication as they had, an inland communication could be effected with the Bay of Islands in less than five days; whilst “with the western coast,” says the same writer, “and with the interior, over Manukao and the river Waikato, nothing interrupts the water-communication but two small portages; and even with Cook’s Straits, relations can be easily established, either by the river Thames, or the Waikato and Waipa, and the river Wanganui. In short, it appears to me that there can be no question but that the place has been very judiciously chosen for the site of a town, as commanding a great extent of available land in its neighbourhood, great facility of communication with the coast and the interior of the northern island, and as being a central point for the most powerful native tribes, the Nga-pui to the northward, the Waikato to the southward, and the Nga-te-hauwa to the eastward, separating them in a military point of view, but uniting them for the purposes of cultivation and commerce.” Such is the verdict of one in a high degree capable of judging accurately, and not likely to let his judgment be biassed in favour of the locality, from the fact of Auckland not being a settlement of the Company whose surveyor he was. Here the bishop first landed, and the following interesting extract from his first letter gives us his month’s experience of that portion of his new diocese:

Auckland, July 29, 1842.

“MY DEAR SIR,—You will have already heard, from other quarters, of my arrival in New Zealand; but I have hitherto delayed writing any official letters, that I might have time to verify my first impressions by more extended observation. I have now been two months in New Zealand, and from the first day of my landing until now, have seen, day after day, more and more reason to be thankful, on the part of the Church, for the establishment of the Bishopric of this colony, and for myself, that I am allowed to share in so great and hopeful a work. I find myself placed in a position such as was never granted to any English Bishop before, with a power to mould the institutions of the

Church from the beginning, according to true principles; and I earnestly desire the prayers of the Church at home, that I may be enabled clearly to discern that truth, and consistently to follow it.

"I landed first at Auckland on Monday, May 30, from the brig *Bristolian*, in which I had proceeded from Sydney, in consequence of an accident to the *Tomatin* at Sydney, which caused a delay of several weeks before the ship could be repaired. Auckland now contains a population of 1,900 persons, of which more than 1,100 are registered as members of the Church of England. The Rev. J. F. Churton, late chaplain at Wellington, has officiated here during the last year and a half. A brick church, in the early English style, which will contain about six hundred persons, is in progress; but from the great cost of materials and labour, the funds are at present inadequate for its completion. It is well placed on a commanding eminence in the centre of the town, and will form a striking object from the harbour. At present Divine Service is performed, by permission of the governor, in the court-house; where a very respectable congregation is assembled every Sunday. Mr. Churton also performs Divine Service at the barracks, and at the prison. He receives 200*l.* per annum from the government, to which I have added 100*l.* per annum from the annual grant voted me by the Society for stipends of clergymen. He has built a house for himself on an allotment which he purchased for that purpose.

"The governor, on my application, has vested in me as trustee two pieces of ground of eight acres each, 'for the burial of the dead, according to the usage of the Church of England,' allotting, at the same time, two similar plots to be divided among the other denominations of Christians. Our burial-grounds are about half a mile from the centre of the town, on the sides of two of the ridges which slope down gradually to the harbour, and conveniently situated at corresponding distances from the two churches. The first ground was consecrated on Sunday last, on which occasion I was assisted by the Rev. J. F. Churton, Rev. R. Cole (whom I propose to place at Wellington,) and Rev. R. Maunsell (one of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society). Divine Service was performed in the church-tent presented to me by Mr. Cotton, which is completely fitted with communion-table and desks, and will contain three hundred persons. This will be of great use to me at Nelson and Wellington, where there are at present no places appropriated to public worship. In the event of the population of Auckland rapidly increasing, this burial-ground will form a beautiful site for another church. In the meantime, I intend to avail myself of the natural beauties of the spot, to give it such a character as will accord with the reverential feelings with which it will be visited by the friends and relatives of the dead who are there interred.

"The church now in progress is called the church of St. Paul; on the central one of the three ridges on which the town will stand. I have obtained another excellent site on the western ridge, on which I intend, as soon as possible, to build a wooden chapel, and to lay the foundation of a church on a grand scale, to be proceeded with gradually as funds can be obtained. On the third, i. e. the eastern ridge, nearest to the mouth of the harbour, and on a high ground commanding a view of the whole frith of the Thames, I have given directions for the purchase of twenty or thirty acres of land for a site for the cathedral, and for a cathedral close. By this arrangement I may hope to secure a future provision for every possible increase of population, as sites will be prepared for three churches in the main parts of the town; and when the houses extend half a mile into the country, the two burial-grounds will meet the wants of the people, by additions to the chapels which I intend to build upon them for the funeral services.

"I have obtained permission to select and purchase sites for parsonage-houses, contiguous to the churches and burial-grounds, which I shall endeavour to let upon building-leases, reserving one central piece of ground sufficient for the residence of all the clergy of the town, who may find it more desirable for

some years to come to live upon a collegiate plan, than to incur the expense of so many separate establishments.

"Any money that I may be able to spare from Auckland itself, will be required for the establishment of the Church in some of the suburban settlements, where villages are beginning to be formed. From one of these, Windsor, distant four miles from Auckland, I have already received an address expressive of the desire of the inhabitants for a church and clergyman, and their willingness to contribute."—Pp. 3—5.

Truly such a letter is encouraging, and makes us dream that we have fallen on better times. Compare this account of the progress of religious superintendence and comfort in this colony, to that sad tale we were obliged to set forth of the early foundation of Australia. True it is, and equally sad as well as true, that the failing of resources, temporary only we trust, may for a time mar the noble plans of the bishop, and for a time prevent the Gospel and the Services of the Church being made known to those who have left our land for the far colony, and the dark sons of the soil, on whose lands we are trespassing. Truly this is a sad thing to contemplate. But was it not far worse with Australia? It is bad enough to want the means to do good,—it is far worse to want the wish. Fear not, my Lord, the Church will not dare to leave her daughter a cripple and maimed in the far-off island, for the want of a little of this world's wealth. However governments may hold back, however officials may look cold, God will support and defend His own; He will speak through His Church, and act through His Church, and there shall be those who will give their wealth, and those who will devote their persons to the good and glorious work so well begun by the Church's true son.

Among the many smaller settlements that have risen and are daily rising on the coasts of the northern island, northward of its division by the bays of Hauraki, the most flourishing is that of Waimate, about sixteen miles to the north of Auckland on the western shore, and in the direct passage from the Bay of Islands to Hokianga harbour. The neighbourhood is far from being suited to agricultural purposes, abounding as it does in thermal, and other medicinal springs, and exhibiting in every direction extinct craters, and other marks of its volcanic nature. Waimate has a very European appearance, was early chosen as a station for one of the Church Missionary Society's clergymen, and is now, for the present, the favourite residence of the bishop, who gives the following description of this, the Bath and Cheltenham of New Zealand:

"Next door to our house, which is the college, is the collegiate-school, which has not yet been opened, but will probably be set on foot after Easter. The premises have hitherto been used as the missionary school, and are very complete for the purpose. The cathedral library is established at Kerikeri, ten miles from this place, in a fine stone building, partly used as a store. I have just completed the arrangements of the library, so that the goodly presents of my numerous friends are all accessible; and a beautiful sight they are. It is enough to cheer the heart to see such a body of sound divinity collected in this most distant of the dioceses of the Church of England. Add to this the private

feeling of knowing that every one of the books is the gift of some friend, whose heart and whose prayers are with us.

"One of the chief advantages of the Waimate is, that we have a spacious church close to the house. It is built entirely of wood, painted white, and gives a very English look to the village. In the interior we have a stone font, an altar cloth and cushions, a pulpit—and beautiful large books, all the gifts of different friends in England.

"Here I held my first confirmation, at which three hundred and twenty-five natives were confirmed. A more orderly, and I hope impressive, ceremony could not have been conducted in any church in England; the natives coming up in parties to the communion table, and audibly repeating the answer—*E wakaoetia ana e ahau, 'I do (confess).'*' It was a most striking sight to see a church filled with native Christians, ready, at my first invitation, to obey the ordinances of their religion. On the following Sunday three hundred native communicants assembled at the Lord's table, though the rain was unceasing. Some of them came two days' journey for this purpose. My Windsor communion plate was used for the second time on this occasion. The natives were much pleased when they were told that it was a present from my congregation in England, and seemed to enter fully into the spirit of the gift."—Pp. 12, 13.

Many persons conclude, without consideration, that because some volcanic regions are peculiarly fertile, all must be so. They should consider that it all depends on the nature of the eruptions from the neighbouring craters. Forty or perhaps a less number of years, will render ejected mud or ashes ripe for vegetation, and fit for planting, as in the regions of *Etna* and *Vesuvius*: far different is the case when lava and scoriae are thrown out on the land, as in New Zealand. This has been the error in the selection of Waimate, as far as agriculture is concerned, however useful the settlement may become as a medicinal refuge, on account of the springs in its immediate vicinity. Dr. Dieffenbach, who visited them in December 1840, gives the following account of these springs:—

"A few miles to the southward of Waimate, are some curious thermal springs. In order to visit which, we leave Waimate and ascend a hill, from which three volcanic cones present themselves to our view, in an extensive depression of the table-land below. The plain is spread over with fragments, often more than fifteen feet in diameter, of a slate-coloured basaltic rock, the spaces between which are covered with fern and flax; while, here and there, are patches planted with Indian corn and potatoes. After passing a small native settlement, and crossing a ravine, we ascend a ridge of hills, very barren and steep, with a white clay on the surface, and evidently covered in former times with the *kauri-pine*. We now come to a lake, about one mile in circumference; on its shores are black and half-burnt stems of *kauri*, and the soil in the neighbourhood is covered with efflorations of pure sulphur. At a little distance is another lake, called *Ko-huta-kino*, smaller than the former; and near this are the mineral springs. There are several of them, all close to the lake. The first which I examined was strongly aluminous, and of a temperature of 62° Fahrenheit. A few feet from it was a tepid spring, of a milk-white colour and an alkaline taste; its temperature was 124°. A third was acidulous, with a temperature of 154°. In another, over which rose sulphuretted hydrogen gas, the thermometer stood at 133°, while the temperature of the surrounding air was 80°. A small creek discharged itself into the lake, through a narrow valley, the gaseous emanations of sulphuric acid have much altered the argillaceous rock, parts of which have become white and red, while in other portions it has changed into a species of clay, covered with sublimations of pure alum, sulphur, and different sulphates. There are several

other springs in the neighbourhood, which mix their waters with the creek, and impart to it an increased temperature."—Vol. i. pp. 245-6.

From the natives whom the doctor found living in temporary habitations round the springs, and the diseases with which they were afflicted, he was enabled to learn the traditional effects of the waters, in cutaneous and scrofulous affections. The uniform brown tint of the verdure in the vicinity, whilst it repels the healthful emigrant from wasting his labour or his money on the volcanic soil, assures him of an immediate and valuable remedy when attacked by many of the illnesses common in the islands.

No little controversy has been expended in discussing the relative merits of the Bay of Islands on the east, and Auckland on the west, shore, as situations for the capital of New Zealand. The number of vessels that for years resorted to the former, was always the standing argument of the Baymen; but, now that the increased arrivals of Europeans have gradually, but surely, raised the price of provisions at the Bay of Islands, the reason of their former resort becomes clear; and, as the latter locality is unable to offer the available land in its vicinity that Auckland possesses, or a bay out of its hundreds large enough to build a town in, except on the side of a steep hill, the contest seems ended in the victory of the Aucklanders.

Southward from Auckland, and almost in the centre of the northern island, is the great lake of Taupo, the lofty volcano of Tongariroo, and the boiling cascade of Rotu-Mahana—the three great curiosities of the island. The lake of Taupo will hereafter be of the utmost consequence, as the connecting link of water-communication between the settlements in Cook's Straits and those in the Bay of Hauraki. A glance at any tolerable map of the island shows the river Waikato that runs into the Thames, and thence into the Bay of Hauraki, springing from the northern side of the lake, whilst from the foot of Tongariroo, on the opposite shore, the Wanganui flows to Cook's Straits, and is navigated by the natives nearly from its source to its embouchure. Nor will the lake-storms, so much feared, and with reason, by the native in his light canoe, be any great hindrance to the more powerful and better-prepared boat of the European. Nothing can be expected in the way of agricultural settlements in this district, as it teems with boiling springs, and their concomitants, basaltic rocks and scoræ. The lake itself is about thirty-six miles long, by five-and-twenty broad, and forms the centre of the volcanic region, where, even now, volcanic action is going on, and which in days past had its principal point of activity in the crater of Tongariroo, the base of which is twelve miles from the shore of the lake. Without enumerating or attempting to describe all the warm ponds and springs of this remarkable region, we may extract the following striking description from Dr. Dieffenbach's work:—

"The most interesting hot-springs and fumeroles are in the delta which the Waikato has formed in entering the lake on its left shore, and on the sides of the hills which bound the delta to the south-west. The scenery on the western

shore of the lake is magnificent, vigorous trees overhanging the black nachitic or basaltic escarpments of the shore. Here and there are native houses and cleared places on the precipitous hills. Where this shore joins the delta of the Waikato, there is a narrow belt of flat land, on which stands the village of Te-rapa. Behind it the hills rise to about a hundred feet above the lake. In ascending, the ground is found to be of a high temperature; the surface is often bare, or is scantily covered with mosses and lichens; it is formed of a red or white clay, of a soft and alkaline nature, which the natives use instead of soap, and sometimes eat. Gaseous effluvia seem to have converted the rock of the hill, which is basalt, and sometimes amygdaloid, into this clay. When we approach the top of this amphitheatre of hills, the scene which presents itself is very striking. Vapours issue from hundreds of crevices, and in most of these places there are shallow springs, the bottom of which is a soft mud, into which a stick can be easily driven ten feet. The temperature of the water is from 200° to 212° Fahrenheit. In some springs it has an argillaceous, in others a sulphurous, taste. A subterranean noise is continually heard, resembling the working of a steam-engine, or the blast of an iron-foundry. By placing some fern over a crevice, and their food (potatoes, kumeras, or pork) upon it, the natives have a ready and convenient oven."—Pp. 339, 340.

Strange, indeed, are Nature's works in this warm-water region. Sometimes on the very edge of the lake are warm ponds of a tepid heat, natural warm baths, and used as such by the natives; in another place a hot spring is side-by-side with a very strong cold saline one; here a hot—boiling-hot—pond of water discharges itself into a cold river, whilst in other places the lake itself steams from the heat of the waters discharged into it. The ground all round sounds hollow and treacherous to the footstep. Sometimes the hot stream is quiet, in other places the clear transparent water is all ebullition, throwing itself up to the height of five or six feet from its bubbling bed, at intervals of but a few seconds. The whole area seems a thin warm crust, over caverns of boiling water, little more than a foot in thickness, with a hard thin white surface, then friable earth, to which succeeds earth impregnated with sulphate of iron or sulphur, and chalcedony, sometimes formed, sometimes in the process of formation. Below this crust is the hot black mud already mentioned, and "it often happens," says Dr. Dieffenbach, "that this crust breaks in, and dreadful scaldings frequently occur. Near one of the springs, beautiful saucer-shaped aggregations of silex shoot up, not unlike fungi on a moist surface."

The learned doctor was unfortunate in arriving at Tongariroo, when the great chief of the neighbourhood, previous to his departure on some expedition, had tabooed the mountain, and thus rendered it unapproachable by any human foot. The unauthorised ascent of a traveller of the name of Bedwill, whose account the doctor inserts in his book, was the cause of the taboo on the back-bone of the Tapuna, or great ancestor, as the natives designate this, their holy mountain. Tongariroo, though apparently the centre of the volcanic action of the island, has done little more, for as long as the native traditions extend, than cast up a few thin showers of ashes, and pour forth a warm stream of commingled mud and water from the bottom of its ashy crater; little snow is found on the mountain-peak, due, perhaps,

to the heat of the latent volcano, if the last traveller who ascended the "holy backbone" was not deceived in the height of the snow-covered mountains that surround Tongariroo. Here, too, in all probability, is the central cause of the slight earthquakes that are felt as far as Port Nicholson towards the south, and the valley of the Thames to the north-west; and even at Cloudy Bay, in the middle island. The old mythological traditions seem to point to this fact. The myth of the quarrel between Tongariroo and his two wives, now the mountains of Pailhanga and Hauhungatahi, once placed by his side, but now removed far from their mountain lord, as well as the story of the former union of Mount Egmont and the Holy Mountain, may, with good reason, be considered as pointing to some great convulsion of nature, in which a great mountain-ridge, from Cape Egmont to Tongariroo, was rent asunder, and portions of it, perhaps, engulfed, as the traditional fate of the native village on the site of the Maupere Lake. The bed of the deep and rapid Waikato, with its cliffs of pumice-stone, is another evidence of the violent action due at some early period to the volcanoes of this district.

Passing by Doctor Dieffenbach's interesting description of the continuous collection of boiling pools and smoking fissures, as well on the plain as on the swell of the base of Maunga-Tauhara, to the banks of the Waikato, let us give, with some abridgment, his account of the boiling lake and cascade of Rotu-Mahana, at which the Doctor's party, after losing their way, at last arrived, under the guidance of two natives, whom they fell in with, near a travelling potatoe-ground, as they are called, some little distance from the banks of the Waikato.

"On the first of June we passed a hill at a short distance to the northward of our route. It was of considerable elevation, and had its original composition almost entirely converted into red and white clay by the hot gases which issued from its whole surface. Towards evening we reached the hills which surround on all sides the Rotu-Mahana, or warm lake. When we arrived on the crest of these hills, the view which opened was one of the grandest I had ever beheld. Let the reader imagine a lake of a deep blue colour, surrounded by verdant hills; in the lake several islets, some showing the bare rock, others covered with shrubs, while on all of them steam issued from a hundred openings between the green foliage, without impairing its freshness: on the opposite side a flight of broad steps of the colour of white marble, with a rosy tint, and a cascade of boiling water falling over them into the lake. A part of the lake was separated from the rest by a ledge of rocks, forming a lagoon in a state of ebullition, which discharged its waters into the Rotu-Mahana. We descended to the lake, but a heavy rain came on, and night surprised us. Next morning some natives came in a canoe to fetch us over to their settlement. We were first conveyed to the cascade which we had seen the evening before, and which is called Wakatara; the steps proved to be the silicious deposits of the waters of the hot pond above them. We ascended the steps, which are about fifty in number, from one to two feet broad; many of them, however, being subdivisions resulting from the gradual deposition of the silex. The water which falls over them was moderately tepid. The steps are firm, like porcelain, and have a tinge of carmine. The concretions assume interesting forms of mammillary stalagmites of the colour of milk-white chalcedony; and, here and there, where the rounded steps overhung the former deposits, stalactites of various

sizes were depending. The boiling pond on the top, which was clear and blue, could not be approached, as the concretions at its margin were very thin and fragile. The pond was about ten yards round, and perhaps one hundred feet above the level of the Rotu-Mahana. The water which is discharged into the lake from this pond, and from other places, warms its waters to 55° Fahrenheit above the temperature of the air; that is to say, to 95°. There are also springs in the lake itself, as in many places bubbles are seen rising up. On the banks of the lake itself are a great many openings from which steam rises. We afterwards landed on a small rock in the lake, composed of a felspathic lava; the natives had some houses on it, and cooked our food over a steaming crevice, while I bathed in the warm lake. The Rotu-Mahana is not more than a mile in circumference."—Vol. i. pp. 381—383.

Having thus passed from the settlements on the east and west coasts of the northern end of the northern island, through the centre of the country to the volcanic region, we will descend the south-western side of Tongariroo, and gradually escaping from the brown-looking vegetation of this region, at last approach, from the land-side, the latest of the settlements of the New Zealand Company, which they have established on the west coast, at the bottom of a small bay formed by the promontory of Cape Egmont. The settlement still bears, among many persons, the Indian name of Taranaki, and musters already nearly a thousand emigrants; it is at present the most northern of the Company's settlements.

The settlement of Taranaki may be said to comprehend the shore-country from Cape Egmont; the land is elevated, consisting mostly of marl, and a stiff blue clay, or a yellow sandstone, covered with a thick layer of loam. Above these cliffs the country is undulating, and overgrown with ferns, interspersed with considerable groves of trees. The soil seems abundantly fertile, and the vegetation extends to the sea-shore. Further inland low hills begin to rise, with gentle declivities and rounded summits, in many parts, to all appearance, overgrown with trees. The fertility and suitableness of this settlement for agricultural operations, seem to be admitted on all hands; and though harbour there is none for vessels of any great burden, yet the heavy moorings laid down by the Company have rendered the roadstead of Taranaki safe in all weathers, and relieved the settler from the fear of not being able to export the surplus production he has every reason to expect in this settlement. The following is the account of the settlement by a labouring emigrant but a very short time after its foundation; there is an honest originality about the letter:—

"To Mr. SAMUEL CROCKER, *Revelstoke, from his Daughter-in-law.*

"New Plymouth, Feb. 10th, 1842.

"DEAR FATHER,—We have sent these letters home by Captain Liardet, the Governor of New Plymouth. Captain Liardet and mate, and one of the Caw-sand men, were clearing out one of the great guns, and the gun went off, and the sand and powder flew up in their faces and eyes. Captain Liardet has lost one eye, and is very likely to lose the other; he is going home to England; every one is sorry for him, he is such a good man. I should be very glad to hear that Captain Kingcombe had taken his place to come here to New

Zealand. The governor will give you the true account of the place. As to saying that there is no harbour here for ships to lie in a storm, they can make a very fine harbour, but they must send home to England first about it. There is a fine harbour down to the Waitera, fourteen miles from here. They have grown fine wheat and barley here; the finest that you ever saw, very fine; and new potatoes and turnips on Christmas-day for dinner. Dear father, when we get together Jane is sure to say, "now John, if poor father was but here, and Samuel, how happy we should be;" and John's answer is, "I wish he was, my dear, he would be quite happy here, to see our gardens and land, and to walk over them." Henry and Charles go to school. Henry is just learning to write; the schoolmaster is just newly set up; it is sixpence a week for Charles, and ninepence a week for Henry; he has been at writing some weeks. Dear father, please to bring me and Jane out a barrel of pilchards each; please to buy a gardening hook too. There are plenty of mackerel here, but no nets to catch them, and there are pilchards; please to bring one good pilchard net. I must beg of you once more to bring dear Samuel with you. I have sent him a letter; when I wrote yours I did not think I should have time to write him one, as there was a ship in sight, but it was not coming here. It is a great thoroughfare here for ships, they are often in sight. Dear father, on Christmas-day six of us went up to the Moturoa Chapel, to hear Mr. Creed, and the chapel was quite full of poor missionaries. When we came home we had cold fig pudding, and cold leg of pork, dressed the day before; ten of us sat down to dinner. In the afternoon we went to see the land, and in the evening we went to chapel. The sand has been tried, and it is more than half iron; and in the interior, about a mile from ours, there is stone with lead in it all over the place. I wish it had been in ours to have had a mine. It is a valuable country."

From the letter of Mr. Carrington to his brother, Major Carrington, we learn that coal has been found on the banks of the Mokau, and limestone and coal in abundance about five-and-twenty miles off, on the north-east coast. Iron ore has been picked up on the beach, and veins of it found in the vicinity of the town; add to this a bank of whiting, and three seams of coal, within five miles of the settlement, discovered by Mr. Perry, the Company's surveyor.* A Devonshire yeoman of the name of Bayly, a true specimen of the class especially suited for New Zealand colonization, gives the most useful description of the settlement we have met with; with a little money, much industry, and a competent share of knowledge, he shows what the advantages of the colony are to men of his class. He clearly sees who those are that grumble—the land speculators and the idlers—whilst all the real working-land purchasers are content. Whilst at Port Nicholson, on the way to his new home, this emigrant fell in with a Wesleyan missionary, who told him that the district of Taranaki was the garden of New Zealand. The missionary knew it from mere inspection; six months' experience quite bore out his eulogistic account.

"And now I have seen it, and upwards of six months' experience, and found it, by the mouth of another Wesleyan missionary—his name is Creed—all to be true. *Here are thousands and tens of thousands of acres as level as can be found in England; I would say, when the land is cleared, all that I have seen, that the plough shall go over nineteen acres out of twenty. The soil is very deep*

* Letter of John Perry, Esq. pp. 139, 140.—Letters from Emigrants.

in high land as well as low. I believe for climate and soil not better to be found in the known world. I know a man that has tilled the third crop of potatoes in the same piece of ground, and I am expecting a crop within twelve months. In front of my house there are many acres of potatoes, Indian corn, pumpkins, melons, cucumbers, peas, beans, cabbages, greens, turnips, radishes, and many things else; and you may till this in five hundred acres together, as well as here, and answer well. There is fern, bush, and timber land to clear; fern and bush extend about two miles back from the sea shore; then the timber. This fern and bush, supposed anciently to be timber-land, destroyed by the natives and tilled. This fern and bush-land, first you must cut it all down and dry it well, then set fire to it, and it will burn the very surface of the earth; you may pull up a great part of the moats with a trifle of mattock labour. Bush and fern land will pay the first crop for clearing, and a good crop will pay double; for the first crop must be potatoes; for many years past they averaged in Sydney 6*l.* a ton, and they are eight or ten this present, and have been more. Tons have been brought by vessels and sold at 1*½**d.* per lb. in this place. Natives have plenty, and they know how to sell as well as we know how to buy. I have now in the ear, in my house, wheat, barley, and oats, as fine a sample as ever I wish to see, grown in this place; but the second crop is much finer than the first; and our Rev. Mr. Creed says, since his experience, the more tilled the better the crop.

"Thomas and I have cleared one town section each, and tilled to many sorts; beans, peas, cabbage, greens, pumpkins, melons, radishes, turnips, do well; French beans and carrots do not answer.

"I have built two houses with wood on my town section, sixteen feet by sixteen and a half, with a wood floor under, and a sley on the back, seven feet by sixteen and a half, with a cob chimney; the wood is of one tree, it is of red pine."*

According to another emigrant,† the town of New Plymouth (we wish they had retained the old name of Taranaki) is situated between two small rivers, which he compares with two that flowed near his native place of Shaftesbury, abounding with trout and eels, "with water as good as ever tasted;" whilst another pair of emigrants laud the luxuriance of the crops, and the abundance of fish and pigeons in the vicinity of the settlement.‡ "No tract of land," writes a third emigrant, of a higher class, "has yet been discovered equal to it. Streams innumerable intersect it in every direction, which renders it admirably calculated for the labours of the agriculturist. The soil on the coast is light, and in many parts sandy, with an orange marl subsoil. Inland, a couple of miles or so, the soil becomes heavier, a mixture of loam and clay, better suited for wheat than the other. The former grows fine potatoes, cabbages, enormous carrots, turnips, and other vegetables."§

Much has been said of the badness of the roadstead at Taranaki, and, in consequence of the loss of the *Regina*, soon after the opening of the settlement, and the accident to another vessel, the *Oriental*, the port of New Plymouth has been widely condemned. In the worst of winds, according to Captain Liardet of the navy, the road-

* Letters from Emigrants, pp. 145, 146.

† Stephen Gillingham to his Father, p. 153.

‡ Simon and Jane Andrews, labouring emigrants, to their parents, p. 153.

§ Letter from H. R. A——, Esq., to Mr. T. C——, in Cornwall, p. 157.

stead is now perfectly safe, from the heavy moorings laid down by the Company; and if the weather-table, given by the Brothers Halse, from the middle of February, 1842, to the tenth of May, be a sure guide, little need be feared as to dangerous gales. In three autumnal months, about fifty days are registered as calm, about half-a-dozen have the word "breeze" written opposite, and about as many are "showery;" the remainder of the days being fairly divided between strong north and south-westerly winds.* Roads are being provided, both south-eastwards to Port Nicholson, and northwards to the rich agricultural district of the Waitera river. One thing seems much required—Emigrants—not a few and far between, but a steady and continuous supply; some ready to expend a little capital in bringing to the surface the metallic treasures of the district; some prepared to earn good wages, though not the wages at present given, in consequence of the great scarcity of labour; but far more those who will purchase a small sub-urban or rural property, and with their own hands, and the aid of their own families or imported labourers, farm their own section, and become the producers of the settlement. *Working farmers, with a few hundreds, are the emigrants for New Plymouth.* The visit of the Bishop to this young settlement seems to have been most timely and beneficial. Previous to his coming, the Wesleyans were the sole religious teachers of the people, and many a member of the Church had already aided them in building their chapel, and attended their worship, in default of that which the Church did not afford him in his new home. "The recent visit of the Bishop," says Mr. Wicksteed,† "has put Churchmen on the alert. In a few months, they subscribed 80*l.* a-year for the support of a clergyman, and no doubt the sum will be raised to a 100*l.* The Bishop, out of the fund at his disposal, adds 150*l.*, besides 100*l.* as a sort of outfit for the first year, so that a decent provision is made for a clergyman, expected to arrive in the course of two or three months." It was October when Bp. Selwyn left Wellington to walk across to this young settlement, accompanied by some native carriers. A slight accident detained him on the road, but at last he reached Taranaki, where he would have stayed some time, had not the Chief-Justice arrived in the Government brig, with whom he proceeded for the Straits. Short as was his stay, many of the settlers' letters prove how beneficial it was; and no few of the thousand settlers at Taranaki look forward to the coming of the promised clergyman and the rapid rising of a church in the new colony.‡

The following description of the scenery and situation of the New Plymouth district will form a good conclusion to our attempted account of the settlement:—

* Letter from William and Henry Halse to their father, J. Halse, Esq. Letters from Emigrants, pp. 170—172.

† Letter from T. T. Wicksteed, Esq. to the Editor of the Colonial Gazette. Letters from Emigrants, pp. 198.

‡ Bishop's Letters, pp. 11, 12. Letters from Emigrants, p. 208.

From the Note-book of a Tourist.—"For the first time in New Zealand we could see from our deck a wide green plain, edged by a line of glistening surf, and towered over, not by many ranges of mountains, but by one solitary mass, standing clear and alone—Mount Egmont. By-and-bye, the huge bare Singar-loaves stood clearly out, patches of green, scattered houses, and then the town or village of Taranaki. The township lies very prettily, being gathered into three small groups, villages, or, if you please, village-lets, each upon its stream. The streams are all beautiful brooks, galloping or gliding over stony beds to the sea. The whole of the scattered population is estimated at 900. Mount Egmont was cloudless for the first time for many days, and glorious beyond all conceptions of mine. I had never fully realised the majesty of one kingly, unapproachable giant peak, lifting itself alone toward heaven. The land (town, sub-urban, rural,) extends, with scarcely broken continuity, over a slightly undulating surface, extending twelve miles or more to the northward, and from four to five miles broad. It is, indeed, a land worthy of all we have heard of New Zealand; a land of deep rich mould—of luxuriant wood—of full streams, the sight of which gladdens you, as you see them leaping on from the great mountain to the sea. And then there are cottages after cottages, with tasty gardens (the native trees and tree-ferns left here and there to throw their shadows across the thatch), and neat gates and compact fences; and you meet with all the little civilities and kindly greetings of the west-country peasantry. There was one spot I could scarcely leave, commanding a view which I never expect to see equalled. We looked from a cliff over a huge hollow, filled with the richest wood of every shade of colour—a blue stream rushing and winding through the midst, and beyond, the clear dazzling cone whence it was flowing. Then came up, ever and anon, the piping, gushing, and trilling of birds, just as we heard them in the woods near the Porirua road. * * * *"—*Auckland Chronicle*.

Dr. Dieffenbach accompanied the agent of the New Zealand company when he sailed to Cook's Straits, and effected the purchase of the country where the towns of Wellington and Port Nicholson are situated. "Nearly three years," says the Doctor, "have passed since our first visit; and a spot scarcely known before that time, and rarely, if ever, visited by Europeans, has become the seat of a large settlement, with nearly 5000 inhabitants. Where a few hundred natives then lived in rude villages, fearful of their neighbours, but desirous of intercourse with Europeans, and just beginning to be initiated into the forms of Christian worship by a native missionary, there is now a town, with warehouses, wharfs, club-houses, horticultural and scientific societies, race-courses—in short, *all* the mechanism of a civilized and commercial community." "*Where,*" says the Bishop, "*everything will have to be done. There appears to be neither school nor chapel connected with the Church, nor provision for either.*" That the New Zealand Company have made a mistake in placing their chief settlement in this spot, will hardly be doubted when the position of the port is considered. Take the description by their own surveyor, Dr. Dieffenbach.

"Port Nicholson is situated in a foreland, which, in its longest extent, has a north-east to a south-west direction, and which is formed to the south-east by the deep inundation of Wairarapa or Palliser Bay, and to the north-west by the height of the coast in which Mana, or Table Island, is situated. This is the narrowest point of Cook's Straits; the distance to the nearest land in the middle island being only thirty miles. The winds prevailing on this part of

Cook's Straits the greater part of the year, are from the south and south-east, and often increase to heavy gales, augmenting the rush of water through the Straits, and making considerable inroads on the coast. Port Nicholson was doubtless thus formed, and the general aspect of the foreland in which the harbour is situated bears decided proof of the wear and tear of the coasts. The best harbour for ships is opposite the embouchure of the river Hutt, and is formed by the curved peninsula of the western headland. Here they obtain good holding ground, with great facility for discharging their cargoes, and are protected from the prevailing winds, which are north-west for two hundred days in the year, and south and south-east during the remainder. That the harbour is good and convenient, is proved by the fact, that more than two hundred vessels have entered and cleared it in safety, although the entrance, without the assistance of charts, is somewhat difficult, and no care has been taken to erect a light-house. The boundary hills, both to the east and west of Port Nicholson, rise abruptly from the water's edge: but in that peninsular part where the town of Wellington has been founded, there is a strip of flat land at their base, about one third of a mile broad, consisting of a soil composed of sand, shells, shingle, and vegetable earth, and extending to the western headland of the harbour, where the hills are low and undulating. At the town of Wellington there is consequently a long line of water frontage, with deep water at a few yards from the shore. The neck of land between the island of Mana and Port Nicholson consists of hills, with deep ravines, intersected by water-courses, where the natives have some plantations. Of similar configuration is the neck of land separating the Port from Palliser Bay. At high water the passage from Wellington to the head of the Bay was impassable; but since I left Port Nicholson a road has been made, connecting the valley of the Hutt immediately with the town."—Vol. i. pp. 70—72.

Now it is very evident, from this account, that Wellington has been placed on a narrow spot of flat land, far from extensive enough to accommodate the buildings requisite for a large town. A location one-third of a mile broad and two miles long will hardly contain a great mercantile town; and when the absence of flat land compels the inhabitants to resort to the hills that rise so abruptly on all sides, and are so steep that only spots here and there can be selected for building on, it exposes them to all the inconvenience of placing different parts of the town as much as four miles apart from one another. The harbour is safe, very safe, when you get into it, which, considering the heavy gales so prevalent in Cook's Straits, is a matter of congratulation to many a ship-master. But must you not have something more than deep water, good holding-ground, and hardly enough land whereon to erect habitations, to constitute even a purely commercial city? Are you to be dependent on importation for your supplies, or forced to draw them from districts far removed and separated from the town by the abruptly-rising mountains that close in the settlement on every side? Doubtless there is land, much and good, in the valley of the Hutt or Eritonga, or in that of the Manawatu—land that will amply repay the farmer his outlay of money and labour, if he can but afford to expend them. This is very well for persons of fair capital, but it is very disheartening, not to say ruinous, to the small farmer who has land allotted to him in the valleys of Eritonga, Manawatu, Waunganui, or Wypras, find that he must be at no slight expense in transporting himself

and his luggage to his own land; and that if he requires labourers, he must bribe them to undertake the journey into the bush. The consequence of this is, men totally unsuited to the occupation are driven by the fear of expense into trade, the real merchants are injured, and the rise of the colony is hindered. In time, all this will right itself; but it will be only by time, and by an outlay of great extent in opening up communications with the valleys in the interior, that the town of Wellington will be really prosperous. Till then, the colony will not support itself; and though the whaling-trade of the Straits will keep up a certain demand and supply, it is useless to deny, that to that alone the town can trust; and other trade it will not have to any extent so long as it is shut out from the interior. Every new road into the bush will add ten producing working farmers to the colony, and every increase of produce will create that trade on which, more than any other settlement in the island, Wellington must, in the main, depend. At present, this is not the settlement for the yeoman-farmer. The presence of a good harbour here will be as prejudicial, by creating a temporary trade, to the inward progress of the colony, as the absence of it at Taranaki will force the settlers there to trust to the riches of their country, and turn to profit the treasures the land there affords to the labour of man.

The lands in the various valleys near Wellington are subject to floods of considerable violence and extent from the rivers that run through them, and yet the grain crops seem rather to be benefited than injured by the waters. In the valley of the Hutt, Mr. Molesworth raised, on land flooded four several times, crops of grain of ninety bushels to the acre, and eighteen tons of potatoes from the same amount and quality of land. If we may judge from but a few examples, a flood in New Zealand seems to produce the same effects as a frost in our climate in the destruction of the grub, whilst, at the same time, it fertilizes the fields, and is not followed by the destructive frosts which usually succeed such visitations in England. The following is an emigrant's account of the valley of the Wanganui, about one hundred miles from Wellington, a valley better suited to the small farmer, as presenting a ready water-communication with Port Nicholson and New Plymouth; midway between which places it is situated. The letter, also, shows the disadvantages of Port Nicholson in an incidental, but remarkable, manner.

"The river itself constitutes part of the great highway between Port Nicholson, the seat of government, and the Bay of Islands, in the north. It is also opposite the Nelson settlement in Blind Bay, at about thirty miles distance, and from its position relatively to India, Sydney, and the Australian colonies, the passage through Cook's Straits is avoided in voyaging between it and those places. Within fifty miles of the entrance of the river, are the Islands of Kapiti and Mana, and it is the centre of the most prolific whaling-grounds.

"The Wanganui is a bar river, and in Wyld's Map, twelve feet at high water is erroneously marked on the bar, whereas, from actual sounding, I find that *there is sixteen feet*. When the *Clydeside* went in she drew ten feet; it

was then rather more than half tide, and twelve feet was sounded in the channel. From the size of the river, it is visited by foreign vessels, and is thus enabled to carry on an independent trade; whilst its facilities for the business of a ship-wright are so great, that it has already become celebrated as the place of building most of the vessels used in the coasting-trade of New Zealand. To give you some idea of the capabilities of this splendid river harbour, I may mention, that off my township of Knowsley, which is situate about seven miles from the mouth of the river, on its north bank, I have capital anchorage in five fathom water; indeed the Hutt, compared to it, is as a puddle to a mill-stream.

"We are not here subject to the tremendous gales, which I mentioned to you in my former letters as being particularly disadvantageous to Port Nicholson, as well from their violence as their duration (lasting two or three days), and rendering the cultivation of fruits, &c., precarious, except in its *well-sheltered valleys*; and having a comparatively level track of land, our communication with the adjoining country is perfectly easy, which is not the case at Wellington, owing to the height of the hills, which separate the beach from the bush. We have already become the principal, as we are the *nearest*, district, for the supply of fruits, corn, and general produce, to Port Nicholson. *The farms here rival those of the best cultivated soils of England: and such is the propitious nature of both soil and climate, that sheep and cattle fatten by grazing on the wild pasturage, as well as those fed by the hand of man at home.* Although New Zealand, generally, is a remarkably healthy climate, yet Wanganui and Taranaki are decidedly superior to the other settlements in healthfulness; and if invalids ever come to New Zealand from India, they must and will locate themselves in one or other of these two. The summer is very hot, but not as in England—sultry, there being a constant cool air floating about you everywhere; whilst that period which we call our winter is *with us* totally devoid (as I have before written) of violent gales of wind.

"Wanganui has got into notice in New Zealand, merely by the force of its natural capabilities; and, now that people are looking out for themselves, we have scarcely a week pass without adding to the list of our inhabitants, the more particularly since the *Clydeside* brought so many of that useful class of settlers, who combine the possession of some capital with much energy, and, amongst the rest, several Scotch agricultural families, who, together with the others in that ship, had been living some time in Port Nicholson, and having explored Wanganui and other places, gave the preference to this.

"The expense of living is here, indeed, almost too insignificant to mention. We get plenty, not only of the necessaries, but many of what are esteemed, in England, the luxuries of life. A cow, with a calf by her side, we get for 10*l.*; a good useful horse for 35*l.* (this price is coming down). We have an abundance of pigs, and our river abounds with white-bait, eels, baracouta, karwi, plaice, soles, oysters, &c. &c., and though last, not least, the harbouka, the finest fish ever tasted. At the heads of our river you can see fish, weighing one cwt. each, in such quantities, that it is impossible to count them. We have hanging in our smoking-room hams, German sausages, bacon, saveloys, fish, &c. In our salting-tubs pork, &c.; and we get pigeons, ducks, snipes, &c. &c. for the shooting; to these we add, from our own stock, poultry and eggs. I think you will not find fault with our "*carte*" of vegetables and fruits, when I tell you that in my own garden, I have growing, amongst other things, peaches, apricots, plums, melons, strawberries, *west ham*, cabbage, peas, beans, brocoli, carrots, cauliflowers, turnips, sweet herbs, &c. &c.; in short, I can truly say, '*Here one can live in ease, without care or trouble, in one of the most genial and healthy climates in the world, and where it only requires the hand of man to make a Paradise.*'"

The demand for labour in Wellington is at present considerable; being chiefly in public works, and not in agricultural operations,

there is less probability of the demand continuing than in such places as Auckland, New Plymouth, or Nelson, where commerce can not only be combined with, but effectually supported and protected by agricultural operations, almost within sight of the place of consumption and exportation. But let us now pass on to the third settlement of the New Zealand Company—the town and port of Nelson, the scene of the late unfortunate *rencontre*.

The settlement of Nelson is at present the only European colony on the great middle island, situated at the bottom of a deep gulph on the south shore, and within a few miles of the south-western headland of Cook's Straits, to which Cook gave the name of Blind Bay, when he endeavoured to find a passage through it to the other coast. In this settlement the Company seems to have sacrificed the position of the town to the position of the harbour: the temptation of a harbour, large, safe, and with a good depth of water, has led them to locate the town of Nelson at some distance from its rural lands. Sandspit makes a natural breakwater, and the formidable Arrow rock guards the entrance of the harbour. The town of Nelson lies in a flat plain, about a mile from the port, and connected with it, by a fair road over a high hill, and another by the beach; for here the rise of the hills is abrupt from the shore, though the town has plenty of room for growing, by being located at a distance from its harbour. "There is some very good land here," says Mr. Cullen,* "but it is very hilly, and the hills are so steep, that a person standing on the side of them would be afraid to look to the top, lest he should break his neck at the bottom. For our marsh land we must go a long way from Nelson." The valley of the Waimea is the chief agricultural district of this settlement, and, even allowing a fair discount on the following description, seems to promise well; one thing alone is not mentioned—it is easy of approach from Nelson and the harbour.†

"The whole valley of the Waimea may be equally valuable and interesting; but as my acquaintance with it is but limited, I must confine my description to that portion lying between the bottom of Blind Bay and a river which runs into the Waimea, about six miles south. The range of hills on the east, and the Waimea on the west, form the other boundaries of the district. The whole of this extent is level, unless a series of low hills which jut out from the foot of the grand range about a mile or two into the plain be included within it. The part next the sea is chiefly occupied by an immense bed of flax, which runs about a mile and a half in the direction of the length of the valley. The grass is very fine, and, together with sow-thistle which springs up amongst it, forms quite a thick carpet. Here is probably abundant pasturage for cattle. Next commences a thick bush, which extends to the river both on the south and west. The bush is accompanied by flax, fern, &c.; and the whole may readily be cleared off by fire. A large space, especially adjoining the hills, is covered with fern, some of which is of enormous growth.

"The soil, judging from the general abundance and freshness of vegetation, is very good. Its depth (from three or four trials) may be stated at about one

* Letter of Mr. W. O. Cullen to Mr. Turner.—Letters from Emigrants, p. 76.

† M. Barnicoat to Editor of Nelson Examiner.—Letters from Emigrants, p. 69.

foot on the hills, and in the plain itself about two. One or more of the different varieties of grass is almost everywhere to be met with. Sow-thistle is extremely abundant; the greater part of the plain is free from marsh, and bears no marks of being ever flooded. The large flax bed mentioned above is marshy: the rest is generally dry.

"The district is well watered. Besides the large rivers, which form two of its boundaries, several small streamlets issue from the lofty range of hills on the eastern side, and intersect the plain. Water may also, probably, be anywhere found, with but little trouble, by sinking a well, the digging of which occupied one man about two hours, and which has for three weeks past afforded a plentiful supply.

"This fertile plain presents no obstructions to being brought into immediate cultivation, with the exception of the marsh, which would require previous draining; unless, indeed, its natural produce (flax) should prove valuable. This marsh, which is only partially wet at present, adjoins the sea—is in one compact mass, and otherwise presents facilities for being drained. It might in a great measure be freed from water, by merely affording channels to one or two small streamlets, which, having no present outlet, expand themselves into the marsh in question. But the wet ground is very inconsiderable in extent, compared to the more available ground producing fern and grass. The former is at present apparently ready for the plough, particularly where it has been burnt; and the latter, even if left unimproved, must be valuable for pasturage.

"The scarcity of timber may be considered one of the drawbacks to the value of this district. Little or none of any size grows within its limits. However, an inexhaustible supply may be obtained on the other side of the Waimea. The small valleys, also, on the eastern side, are wooded, and fine timber may be procured from them.

"Its facilities for communication are remarkable. The sea skirts its northern end. The river Waimea is navigable at least along a considerable portion of its western side; and the river at the south end, where I have seen it, is sufficiently wide and deep; but I cannot say how far it may be available for purposes of transport. Besides these means of water-communication, a good road may be obtained by following up to its head the principal valley in which Nelson is situated. *A moderate slope separates this from another valley, which opens into a plain adjoining that of the Waimea.* When once on the plain itself, the formation of roads is comparatively easy, and good materials are almost everywhere at hand.

"The little branch valleys abound with pigeons, parrots, pheasants, and many other birds. The rivers are frequented in great numbers by ducks and other water-fowl."

Considering how lately the settlement has been founded, it is not to be wondered that the wages in this "great pic-nic party," as a settler not unaptly describes it, should be ruinously high, and that labourers are idle and dissolute. Such must always be the fate of every new settlement, for a time. But it is an evil that every fresh arrival tends to abate, and every new emigrant helps to lessen. The prospect of immense remuneration for little work has this bad effect on a new colony; it brings to it a class of persons who are far better away, and lays the foundation of a restless, and discontented population. It cannot be too often repeated, that such emigrants as are generally produced by such a demand as this will be the ruin of New Zealand. For a time they will work little and make much, but this cannot last long. "They look forward to a rising commerce. They must remember they have yet to raise the productions on

which to exist, and that some time and much hard labour must precede the exportation of surplus production. There is hardly any view more mistaken than that of sacrificing an agricultural to a commercial situation. To found a new settlement as a commercial one, is putting the cart before the horse, and beginning at the wrong end. This mistake has been fallen into to some extent by the New Zealand Company; good harbours have been sore temptations to them, and have led them to places where, doubtless, eventually commerce will rise, but not until, by a very great outlay, an easy communication is opened between the towns and their agricultural districts. Such emigrants as look to handicrafts, such as are in request in towns, will find a demand for their labour at Ports Nicholson and Nelson, and Auckland. Those who would work the ground to their own support, and with the hope of supplying their town consumers, or even exporting, will naturally seek such districts as those at Auckland, lying immediately round and close to the town and port, or the fruitful valley of the Wanganui and its navigable river, and the rich flats of Taranaki and its improved and improvable roadstead. The progress of all the settlements in New Zealand, and especially of those which look to a distant rural district for their support, will be slow; nor is this to be regretted, so far as it will affect the native population. A sudden incursion of many thousands of Europeans would have either driven back the native, as in America and Australia, or reduced him once more to his former barbarism. A slow, but gradual, influx of colonists will neither excite his fears, nor deprive him of his paternal fields, and both he and the colonists will more speedily recognise the advantage to both of mingling together and endeavouring to lay the foundation of a mixed population.

The native of New Zealand is a far more interesting character than his Australian brother, and far more adapted to civilization, and inclined to render himself useful. He is both ready to learn and by no means deficient in the powers of emulation and acquisition of knowledge, and, long before the white man came, had no contemptible knowledge, after his own fashion. Few races have stopped at such a low point in their own civilization who have evinced so ardent a desire to learn the white man's ways. The foundation of new colonies seems to stimulate their industry; and directly a settlement is formed, the natives in the vicinity increase their maize and potatoe-grounds, and eagerly profit by the new market. Two races, or, at least, castes of natives, are found on the island; one having a light, clear, brown complexion, the other much darker. In the former race the men are of good form and stature, straight features, and long black hair, generally lank or at the most slightly curled; the eyes dark, the teeth white, the limbs well proportioned. In the other race the head appears compressed, the figure short and ill proportioned, the hair woolly, the features full and large. The fact mentioned by Dieffenbach that he never yet found one of this latter race, though free, in any but a low grade among the tribes,

would almost warrant the theory of this being the aboriginal race, and assigning to the lighter race, with which they are now so closely intermingled, the character of an invading, conquering tribe.

"It is well known," says Dieffenbach, "that native girls before they are married can dispense their favours as they like—a permission which, as long as they lived in their primitive state, was, perhaps, not abused, as the *liaison* was binding, for the time being, even with Europeans. Afterwards girls became an article of trade with the chiefs in the shipping places, who regarded selling their women as the easiest method of getting commodities. But it must be admitted that parents, relations, and the females themselves are very anxious to unite in legal matrimonial ties with the whites, and that licentiousness is not an inherent part of their character. If these ties are in any way fixed, they are maintained on the part of the female with affection and faithfulness. Infanticide is there uncommon. I have known as many as six children of such mixed marriages; these results prove them one of the finest half-castes that exists, and, I would add, an improvement on the race, at least in its physical particulars, as far as can be judged from children. They retain, however, many of their mothers' peculiarities, especially in the colour and quality of their hair and eyes. They are generally attached to her race, and, of course, better acquainted with her language than with English."

From this mixed race, already numbering four hundred souls, we may look for considerable influence over both the native and the white races. Time and money cannot be better expended than in the education of these half-castes, as the connecting link between the native and the colonist, if not as the stock of a powerful race. The missionaries were unwise in viewing with contempt these marriages. They should rather have done their utmost to encourage them, and not have looked upon the natives as an inferior race of beings. The native chief to whose daughter an European is united, regards his son-in-law with the utmost respect, and permits him, or rather encourages him, to exercise a great influence over himself and his tribe. The ultimate blending of the races in New Zealand is to be looked forward to as one source of the strength and prosperity of the colony. When speaking of the domestic habits of the natives and of the able manner in which, without instruction, they can work from European drawings, proving no bad architects even of churches, Dr. Dieffenbach says:—

"The New Zealander has a fixed habitation, although he does not always reside in the same place. In his plantations, which are often at great distances from each other, or from the principal village, he possesses a house, which he inhabits when he goes there in the planting season. Part of his time he spends on visits to distant relations, or to European settlements on the coast, either for the purpose of trading or to see what the Pakea (stranger) is doing. I have scarcely ever been at a settlement where I did not meet visitors from distant parts of the country. These occasional visits are probably as useful to the natives, and tend as much to their real improvement, as a constant residence with white people would do. They have an insatiable curiosity to know and see everything that is going on, and an equal eagerness to communicate it to others. In this manner news and information of every description make their tour through the island, carried from tribe to tribe by oral communication. They are excellent observers; they soon discover the weak points of body or in others; and, although they regard us as vastly superior to themselves,

they soon become sensible to the evils our colonization carries with it. The points they find the most difficult in understanding are the different grades into which our society is divided, and the poverty and misery under which some of our classes labour, while others seem to lead a life of abundance and idleness."—Vol. ii. pp. 71, 72.

Twelve tribes, or great divisions of the natives, seem to include the little more than a hundred thousand savages still remaining in the New Zealand islands. The most powerful tribe, that of the Nga-te-kahuhunu, which inhabits the east coast and Hawriri, in Hawkes's Bay, contains in its eighteen subdivisions about five to six-and-thirty thousand persons. That of the Waikato, inhabiting the banks of that river, and the land from Manukao harbour to Makau, numbers twenty-four thousand. The next most numerous is the Nga-pui, of the Bay of Islands, the two divisions of the Nga-te-awa, on Cook's Straits and the east coast; and the Nga-te-wakana, of the interior of the northern island, each having some ten to thirteen thousand persons in their tribe. Three more tribes of the northern isle vary from three to five thousand, and two fall as low as six or eight hundred. On the middle isle only two tribes are enumerated, and stated to contain but twelve hundred persons between them both.

The earliest traditions of the New Zealanders attribute the creation of their present abode to the successful line-fishing of a demigod, called Mani-Mua, the eldest of a family of four brothers, whose names respectively mean that the eldest had pre-existence; the second, is within; the third, "who is without;" and the youngest, "that he came from heaven." Their parents are not known, nor is it known whither they came from, or on what they stood when the eldest, having baited his hook with the voluntarily-offered ear of his youngest brother, fished-up New Zealand from the depths of the sea. Mani and his brethren seem to have made no use of their new discovery, as tradition reports that, until the arrival of the present inhabitants in three canoes from the eastward, the islands were without people. The first of the canoes bore the ancestors of the three tribes that settled on the eastern coast of the islands, whilst in the two others were the founders of Waikato and Nga-te-awa tribes. They came from the eastward, from an island called the Hawaiki. The similarity between the native name of the Sandwich Islands and that of this fabled isle whence the canoes came, added to the great similarity of dialect between New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands, leads Dr. Dieffenbach, with some reason, to look to the latter group as, at the least, the latest source whence the present natives of New Zealand came: whilst old and vague traditions, and the presence in far distant islands of the same birds, utterly incapacitated from flying from one place to the other, seems to favour the by no means new theory of the great mass of the islands in those seas having once formed an extended continent, and been broken up into numberless islands by some great volcanic revolution. A certain

similarity of religious traditions, among which the origin of the islands by the fish-hook of the god is one, and also of domestic manners among the entire group of Polynesian Islands, seems to point to some far-off common origin to the inhabitants of these islands, whilst their traditions of long voyages, which they would now be unable to accomplish, or demi-gods, skilled in architecture, agriculture, and many an art now but partially known among them, seem to point to a higher state of civilization in the great parent nation from which they have all sprung, of which we see now only the remains. Like the traditional ancestors of the Mexican and his cognate tribes, they seem to have owned a purer worship than their descendants have retained, and to have attained to the dignity of demi-gods from the superiority of their civilization as compared to that of their present representatives.

No form of government can be more simple than that of a New Zealand tribe. Each tribe has its hereditary chief, the ariki; its freemen, rangatira; its tohunga, or priest; and its tanareka-reka, or slaves. The dignity of the ariki is hereditary, and may be held by a great warrior, a priest, or even a woman; if the representative of the chieftain's family, whether child or adult, he is equally revered by his people, and a sort of sacredness is attached to his person in war even by his enemies. The tribute and honours paid to him are voluntary, and his power is confined to the council, varying according to his abilities and reputation. The freemen rank from their power and prowess in war, and the actions and reputation of their ancestors. To each of them, equally with their ariki, the land of the tribe is meted out, and every rangatira has full powers over his own portion. The slaves are the result of successful war, the workers in the field, and the exclusive property of their master. The freemen live independently of each other; and each may assemble round him a tribe of his own, and build his own fortified village. The priest may come from the highest or lowest class; but the prayers, the witchcraft, and the dreams of an ariki are deemed more effective and true than those of a tohunga of inferior birth.

"There exists," says Dieffenbach, "a very distinct notion of the rights of landed property among the natives, and every inch of land in New Zealand has its proprietor. Sometimes land is given to a strange tribe, either as pay, or from other considerations; but the proprietor reserves certain rights, some of which are what we term manorial. It was formerly very common that the fat of the native rats killed on such lands should be given to the principal proprietor; and in many cases a title to land seems to have been derived from the fact of having killed rats on it. Thus a chief will often say, 'this or that piece of land is mine; I have killed rats upon it.' But generally the titles to land are derived from inheritance or conquest. The latter constitutes an acknowledged right; if, however, conquered land is again taken possession of by the original tribe, the right of the stronger prevails. In settling the complicated land question, as regards European buyers, many difficult cases of this kind will doubtless be brought forward, where the original tribe had returned, trusting for its security to the Europeans, and to the advance made in civilization, or to the weakened state of its enemies. The right certainly is on the side of the conqueror, although another tribe is in possession."—Vol. ii. pp. 114, 115.

We have been so long accustomed to read of the idolatry of the New Zealanders, and to see the pictures of the grotesque idols to whom we have believed that their worship was paid, that we can hardly credit the dicta of Dr. Dieffenbach on the religion of the natives. The idols, it seems, are the statues of their ancestors, or household ornaments and heir-looms they have derived from them. Definable system of religion they have not; and such mortals as Mani, the fisher, and E-pani, the introducer of the sweet potatoes, are regarded as the benefactors of their race; and having undergone some apotheosis, are endowed with supernatural powers. Their belief in spiritual agencies approaches nearest to religion. Atua and Wairua represent, the one the divinity under many forms, the other the spirits of the deceased, whom they regard as capable of assisting or injuring mortals. Many as are the forms which Atua can assume, in none of them is he worshipped, but every prayer is addressed to the spirit itself, unknown and unseen. Everything strange and new becomes an emanation of the divinity, and the compass and barometer are to them as much Atuas as the old recognised avatars of the cloud, the sun's ray, or the lizard. The Wairua can communicate with this world, but under no visible form; hardly, perhaps, that of the sun's ray or the passing shadow. In the low whistling of the wind, as it comes up from the ocean, or passes lightly over the tree tops, the tohunga hears the voice of the Wairua, to him speaking plain things, of which he is the interpreter to the people. Thus, with few ceremonies and no carefully-composed system of idolatry to contend with, the Christian missionaries found the natives ready listeners to the mysteries of the gospel. The priests had no great interest in resisting the teaching of the whites, and were far from intolerant of the new doctrine. The belief of the people was so vaguely monotheistic, and unsupported by the worship of visible representatives of the deity, that it presented few points of difficulty to the Christian teacher. Neither were the missionaries unaided by that innate curiosity that pervades the New Zealand character, that admiration for the white man's knowledge, that love of emulation of his actions, and that anxious desire to know and see what he is doing, though his motives may, to their limited capacities, be inscrutable. The tohungas rapidly gave up their own belief; and, being the depositories of the little learning of the nation, soon became the most powerful and energetic teachers of their brethren in the mysteries of the new faith.

So much space has already been devoted to our article, that we may not delay over the many interesting subjects commented upon by Dr. Dieffenbach, or draw further from his descriptions of the productions of the island and the life of its aboriginal inhabitants. Dieffenbach is one of the few travellers who does not indulge in the indiscriminate condemnation of savages, so common to missionaries and voyagers. His tone of mind, added to the intimate acquaintance he had with almost every tribe on the northern island,

and the care with which his opinion is evidently formed, after no hasty visit, renders his character of the natives doubly valuable. We can only regret that space forbids our extracting it at length.

"In their character the predominant feature is self-estimation; and to this source we may trace that heterogeneous mixture of pride, vanity, covetousness of new and strange things, that mildness and ferocity, fickleness, and good and kind disposition, which they exhibit. They are affectionate husbands and parents; and although the younger and more vigorous chiefs supersede the aged in their authority over the tribe, the latter are respected and their counsel listened to. The tribes more removed from European intercourse are hospitable; and this virtue was once common to all. In the interior a stranger, whether European or native, is always received with welcome; food and shelter are soon prepared for him. With their friends and relations they divide every thing they possess. A desire of instructing themselves, and a spirit of curiosity, pervade young and old. They are very attentive to tuition, learn quickly, and have a good memory. In attention to the objects which surround, in quickness of perception, they are superior in general to the white man. The spirit of curiosity leads them often to trust themselves to small coasting vessels, or they go with whalers to see more distant parts of the world. They adapt themselves readily to European navigation and boating, and at this moment a native of New Zealand is master of a whale-ship, and in Cook's Straits many boats are manned by them alone. On their first intercourse with Europeans, the natives always manifest a degree of politeness which would do honour to a more civilized people. They dislike to converse standing; and if we do so, they think we are not paying the necessary attention to themselves or to the subject. But their temper often changes very quickly; and a fickleness of character appears; a change from good to bad humour, often without any imaginable cause, which, especially when travelling, is very disagreeable. But if this irritability of temper is met with firmness, they suppress it; and, indeed, it is often put on to see how the European will bear it. *If they are treated with honesty, and with that respect which is due to them as men, I have always found them to reciprocate such treatment; and I have travelled amongst them with as much pleasure and security as I have in European countries.*"—Vol. ii. pp. 107—109.

That in their wars the natives are cruel and savage, and in their revenge treacherous and selfish, is not to be denied; but in peace they are far different, and their self-esteem may easily be turned to a means of their civilization. At present they have far from profited by their acquaintance with the white man. The missionary, earnest, enthusiastic, but generally weak and ignorant, or the mammon-loving speculator, or outcast from other settlements, have, until very lately, been the sole specimens of Europeans with whom they have been intermingled. The missionary has too often destroyed old social habits and qualities by his indiscriminating condemnation of savage life, whilst the other Europeans have been to the natives schoolmasters of covetousness, suspicion, and importunateness. We may look for better things now that both the Church and the State have competent leaders—men who will carefully consider the habits and character of the native before they attempt to legislate between him and the colonist: who will bear in mind the native's idea of the contract when he sold the land to the colonist, and remember the conflicting interests of tribes, the independence of the freemen, as

well as the recognised power of the chief. The savage is generally willing to admit the claim of any person who comes and buys the land and settles on it himself; but he cannot understand how one man can buy for another thousands of miles from him; and why, because he has sold to John Smith the right of tilling a certain portion of the land, he is to give it up to Andrew Fisk, because the said Andrew has paid so much to the said John, and both have signed a parchment in an unknown language. We are very fond of boasting of our superior civilization, and laying it down as an incontrovertible axiom that the savage cannot be incorporated with the white man, and that gradual driving back, and eventually extermination, is the lot of the aborigines on whose land we may intrude. Of a surety the fate of the savage in days past is a proof of the powers of civilization over savage life, the superiority of the musket and the "spirit-flask" over the club and the water of the savage; whilst the deficiency of our civilization, our moral government, is thus demonstrated as incapable of amalgamating savage simplicity and virtue with European civilization, but driven to root up the wheat with the tares.

The late letters from the Bishop show the interest taken by the natives in the progress of religion. When he administered the eucharist at Nelson for the first time, the attendance of the natives was most encouraging, and after the service, one of them came to the Bishop and said, that having seen the English give money, he also wished to give something; upon which he produced eighteen-pence as his contribution to the church shortly to be erected at the settlement. On the 7th of May, last year, the Bishop opened, previous to consecration, the new church of St. Paul, at Auckland, then in an unfinished state. Two native and two English services were performed on that day. "The services," says the Bishop, "began with a native congregation at nine, some of whom having only heard of the opening on Saturday evening, paddled a distance of twelve miles by sea, during the night, in order to be present. The greater number were in full European clothing, and took part in the Church service in a manner which contrasts most strikingly with that of the silent and unknocking congregations of the English settlers." We have already spoken of the manner in which the Bishop was received by the settlers at New Plymouth—a settlement, says the Bishop, in his last letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, "that pleased me much by its honest agricultural character, and the absence of any attempt to appear what it is not and cannot be." We do not fear but that the Devonshire emigrants will maintain the high character awarded them by their Bishop, and make the most of those privileges they so much desired, and he so readily extended to them. The following extract from the same letter, shows that the Bishop agrees with us in regarding New Zealand as the yeoman's colony:—

"The plan of the Society, in furnishing me with the means of educating young men for the ministry, has given me the greatest comfort and hope during

the many losses which we have sustained. If it can be carried on, I trust in God that we shall never want a supply of men to fill the numerous village stations into which the population of this country will soon be divided. The great towns, which a temporary expenditure of capital forced into existence, cannot, I think, be expected to increase; but I look forward to the cantonnement of a healthy, and I trust a godly population, in every beautiful little valley, and by the side of every running stream, of which there are hundreds in every part of the islands. To supply these country curacies, for they will be nothing more, we must have men bred on the spot—men of simple piety, and simple habits—accustomed to live at small expense, and acquainted with all the little difficulties—for privations there are none—of a colonial life in New Zealand."

Let us now conclude with thanks to those friends who have given us so much assistance in this work, to those publishers who have freely lent their latest books, and to the Society, by whose kindness we are enabled to prefix to our article a map of the Diocese of New Zealand, at once explaining and enhancing the value of our lucubrations. And whilst we express our pleasure at the increased contributions which the late appeal of the heads of our Church has brought to the funds of the Propagation Society, let us warn Churchmen that they must not stop as yet; that all over our colonies the Church is daily crying out to this Society for help, and that the faith of the Society is not only pledged to those missionaries who have gone forth to distant lands in dependence on its promises, to those colonists who receive from it the boon of Church ministrations, but is pledged to go forward with the spread of our colonial empire, and to follow at the heel of the back-woodsman.

The New Examination for Divinity Degrees. Some Hints as to the Character of the Statute now proposed to Convocation. Oxford: Baxter. London: Rivingtons; Burns. 8vo.

AFTER many turnings and shiftings, and fluctuations of counsel, the new Divinity Statute has at length been fairly re-issued and launched forth by the Hebdomadal Board at Oxford. We have now the *ultimatum* of that Board. They do not, from this time, recede one step; and, in the shape in which the Statute now stands, it will be brought into convocation on the 2d of May next.

This re-issued Statute is, in all but one or two points, exactly the same with the first-issued one. The only alteration to speak of is, the omission of the clause respecting the delivery into the Professor's hands, of the copies of the exercises. This has been given up, as the marked retention of all the rest of the Statute shows, not out of any good-will to convocation, or any intention of really modifying the purport of the Statute; but from the sheer necessity of conceding something or other to the loud and general opposition which was raised. A mistake had

been made in sending out the Statute in the form they did ; and they must cover that mistake as well as they can. The Regius Professor is accordingly clipped of the power of demanding copies of the exercises. This may be annoying to Dr. Hampden personally, inasmuch as he actually made the claim in the case of Mr. Macmullen, and is therefore clearly put in the wrong, as far as that act is concerned, by this Statute. The denial of this claim is a decided reflection upon him for having made it. But the *animus* of the Statute itself is not altered in consequence. The Regius Professor is now told that he must manage without the *litera scripta*, and make the sharper use of his ears instead. The latter is not so convenient an organ for the purpose: still, if he does hear anything stated in the course of the dissertation which he chooses to consider erroneous, and reports it to the Vice-Chancellor, the re-issued Statute retains the whole of the rest of the machinery for squashing the Candidate's degree, in as full force as the first-issued one did. "Si quid dubii occurrat," says the re-issued Statute, "*de formâ aut modo exercitiorum præstandorum*;" instead of—as it stood in the first one—"in exercitiis præstandis." This is all the difference it makes; and the difference really amounts to nothing at all. The one phrase is just as ambiguous and comprehensive as the other. If the "*aut*" here is copulative, and the "*modo*" is to be understood as additional to the "*formâ*," anything may be brought under the head of the *mode* "*exercitiorum præstandorum*," doctrinal points, as well as others; *i. e.* anything may be so brought by a Vice-Chancellor, who chooses so to interpret the phrase; which is the main thing practically to consider. If such points do occur, if the Professor hears anything he dislikes, he has only to say that he is not satisfied with the *mode* "*exercitiorum præstandorum*," and immediately—for here even verbal difference ends—"dubium illud statim ad Vice-Cancellarium deferetur cujus in hac re sententia rata et definitiva habebitur." In such case still, as a pamphlet asserted of the first Statute, "the Candidate can only appeal from one individual functionary of the University to another; from the Regius Professor to the Vice-Chancellor. In all such cases of dispute, between the Candidate and the Professor,—for the clause "*si quid dubii forte occurrat de—modo exercitiorum præstandorum*" [we put it in the altered form] may be taken to include such cases—the Candidate is referred to the Vice-Chancellor. There is nothing said about the Vice-Chancellor's court; he is referred to the individual Vice-Chancellor, and the latter's sentence is to be complete, decisive, and final; *rata et definitiva*. Take the case, then, of a difference between the Regius Professor and the Candidate on a doctrinal statement in the latter's dissertation, which he conscientiously

adheres to. It is referred to the Vice-Chancellor. If the Vice-Chancellor agrees with the Regius Professor, upon the theological decision of these two, without farther appeal, the candidate is precluded from taking his degree.

The fact of this objection having been made so expressly as it was to this part of the statute, makes the vagueness and the ambiguity of the alteration here the more suspicious. It was said expressly and distinctly—your phrase “in exercitiis præstandis” is a most formidably inclusive one. We do not object to the appeal being to the Vice-Chancellor in the mere matter of *subjects* for exercises; to his interfering between the Regius Professor and the Candidate, simply to see that the former takes and approves of fair unobjectionable subjects when they are proposed to him. But this phrase “in exercitiis præstandis” means a great deal more than this. Alter this: show that you do not mean anything doctrinal to come in here. Prevent that doctrinal ground from coming in. Preclude the Regius Professor and the Vice-Chancellor from doctrinal decisions. This objection was distinctly made in this way, and now the Hebdomadal Board, fully understanding what alteration was wanted, can yet only alter their “exercitiis præstandis” to the “*de modo exercitiorum præstandorum.*” Things certainly may be said where they are wished to be said. There are words in the Latin language which could easily have expressed, and accurately enough, the alteration desired. Nothing could have been easier than to have said, in so many words, that doctrine was *not* to be decided on by the Vice-Chancellor. This is not said, and the marked way in which the alteration which is made evades the whole design of an alteration, and alters nothing but the words, only stamps its obnoxious meaning upon that part of the Statute more significantly and forcibly.

Thus, though with some mortification to Dr. Hampden personally, the power of the Vice-Chancellor and the Regius Professor, acting together, to stop a divinity degree, is ultimately retained in this re-issued Statute. Also, the whole of that most vast and formidable machinery involved in the compulsory examination before the Professorial Board, is retained without even a verbal alteration. In short, to speak summarily, the re-issued Statute is the same as the first one.

So much for this part of the Statute. To proceed now to the latter-mentioned, and far by the most important, part—the subject of the examination before the Professorial Board.

This whole new Statute, we must observe, professed to be introduced into convocation for a particular definite purpose. It was not brought on *apropos* to nothing at all. It did not call for a general Statute for the alteration of all theological arrangements in the University, or profess to put forward any general principle of reform in this department. Cir-

cumstances imperatively called for some statute or other, to settle the respective claims of the Professor of divinity and the Candidate of divinity, with respect to the latter's exercises in the schools. An instance had occurred, which had riveted the attention of the University upon this particular point. The Regius Professor had made a claim upon a Candidate for a divinity degree, which was resisted: the consequence of which was, that the Regius Professor would not present him. The University Court was appealed to, and not a step was gained towards deciding the dispute; though it was perfectly clear that the Candidate had the unrepealed Statutes of the University on his side all along. Here then was a particular definite point, that of the B. D. exercises in the divinity schools, which was to be settled. There could not be a clearer and more definite object for any Statute that was ever made in the world. A particular matter in dispute called for it; and it had that particular matter to settle, and nothing else. It professed to be, and everybody expected it to be, a simple Statute to arrange the management of the B.D. exercises in the divinity schools.

The Statute, when it came out, certainly did settle this point, among others: that is not to be denied. It settled it pretty summarily, in the way in which we have mentioned. But what did persons find, when they looked into it, but, tacked to this subject of the Exercises in the Schools, a huge, immense alteration in the whole theological department in the University, which had nothing at all to do with these Exercises, and was not, in the slightest degree, called for by any connexion with the recent dispute? Members of Convocation found that, besides the subject in hand, they had another and a totally different subject, suddenly thrown upon their consideration, for which they were wholly unprepared. The Hebdomadal Board had abstained from giving a hint about this the most important half of the Statute. It came before the University, stuck and pasted on to the natural and expected part of the Statute, about the B.D. exercises, just in the way in which any one subject may be fastened on to any other, if persons so choose. Each was fully entitled to a separate consideration; and why the Board should have put them together, and made Siamese twins of them, it is difficult to conceive any valid, straightforward reason.

This other part of the Statute institutes a regular new examination, and a new degree in theology, previous to that of B.D. It makes it absolutely necessary for a person to pass through this examination, and to take this degree, before he advances to that of B.D. This new degree is called that of "Candidate in Theology." Both the examination and the title it confers are borrowed from the Professorial Statute of 1842. But mark the difference. There they were *voluntary*; now

they are made *compulsory*. This examination was allowed, two years ago, to pass through Convocation, on the understanding that it was, and was to be, a purely voluntary one. No active opposition at all was made to it at the time, purely on this account. It passed in the quiet way it did, simply in consequence of its being left voluntary. The Hebdomadal Board must know very well that, had they made it a compulsory one then, it would have excited the strongest opposition. However, under this form it passed; and now, the very first occasion that brings the Board across the Divinity department is made use of to convert the voluntary examination into a compulsory one. This point, however, is sufficiently explained, in the following paper:—

“THE NEW DEGREE OF CANDIDATE IN THEOLOGY.

“..... *Titulo CANDIDATORUM IN SACRA THEOLOGIA insigniti.....*
Professorial Statute of 1842.

“Statutum est, quod is, qui ad Gradum Baccalaurei in S. Theologia promoveri cupit, priusquam pro gratia sua supplicet, in *Schedulam Candidatorum* ab Examinatoribus in Sacra Theologia redigetur.”—*Proposed New Statute.*

“In addition to that part of the New Divinity Statute which is immediately concerned with the process of taking the Divinity Degree, and with the Recitation in the Schools, a prior and more fundamental part should be considered. This is the institution of the new Degree of Candidate in Theology, which is imposed henceforth on all who look forward to taking their B.D., and which new degree is to be obtained by a regular formal examination enforced for that purpose.

“We may call it the New *Degree* of Candidate in Theology, because, although it is not called a degree in the Statute, and although it has no fresh gown appropriated to it, it contains all the essentials of a degree. The distinguishing mark of a degree in such a case is the necessity of taking it. If, for example, the Degree of B.A. was not called a degree, and retained the commoner's gown, still the academical necessity under which the undergraduate lay with respect to taking it, would constitute it a degree.

“The particular selection of the term ‘Candidate’ as the name of this degree, so far indeed from expressing this fact, seems to imply the reverse. For a person is ordinarily called a candidate, not when he has got any privilege or honour, but when he is trying for it; and the term dates prior, and not posterior, to success. In this case, however, the order is reversed, and the person, after he has undergone his examination, and had his name put on the schedule as having passed, is called for the first time a ‘Candidate.’ It is only necessary here to remember, that, whatever be the primary signification of the word ‘Candidate,’ it signifies here one who has passed the examination in hand, and so is the name truly and essentially of a new degree. And whereas a Master of Arts now proceeds straight to his B.D. without any intermediate step, he would, according to this Statute, have to pass, or have passed through, the Degree of Candidate in Theology, in addition.

“This new obligatory arrangement was the more unlooked for, because in the Professorial Statute of 1842, this examination was expressly made a voluntary one:—‘*quicumque se examinandos sistere velint*’—a person could either enter it or not, as he pleased. It was not brought into the *system*; it was introduced as a mere side offer to any who chose from time to time to take advantage of it, as a stimulus or help to their own private reading. It stood a

simple *πυρεργόν* on the part of such as submitted themselves to it, and was in this respect no more than any private examination that a person might ask his own friends to give him.

"It is plain that the whole nature of such an examination, and its whole bearing upon our University system, is changed the instant it is thus made compulsory. The difference between its being voluntary and compulsory makes not only a difference, but all the difference. For though it may be said that when such an examination has been instituted, its institution in the first instance at all, even in its voluntary shape, was the change, and that the difference between making it voluntary and compulsory is only one of degree—such an argument is absurd. A voluntary examination is one thing; a compulsory examination is another thing. The former, from the very fact of its being voluntary, is no regular part of our system; the latter becomes a regular formal part of the University system. The distinction which a voluntary examination confers is a mere honour; the distinction which a compulsory one confers is a *degree*. Not two persons out of a hundred might attend the voluntary examination: every one of those hundred will have to attend the compulsory one.

"Suppose any examination whatever instituted, that undergraduates might attend if they pleased merely for the advantage of trying their own powers. It is obvious such an examination might go on without committing the University system. But make this compulsory before the regular Examination for B.A., and we make, in fact, another degree antecedent to that of B.A. The undergraduate who passed, we might call a 'CANDIDATE IN ARTS,' or we might give him no name at all. It would not signify; the degree so conferred would be to all intents and purposes an Academical Degree.

"It is plain, then, by making the examination before the Theological Board compulsory instead of voluntary, that we introduce an entirely new degree into the University. Now consider some of the practical effects of such a change.

"A person who wants to take his B.D. is compelled by this Statute to reside a whole year in the University, after his B.A., attending the Divinity Lectures. This is not mentioned in the new Statute, and might escape observation. The new Statute, however, makes the insertion of the name in the Theological Schedule necessary for the B.D.: the Professorial Statute of 1842 makes the year's residence and attendance on the Lectures necessary* for the insertion in the Schedule. Put these two together.

"Now this compulsory year's residence, in addition to the present academical period, may not be inconvenient to some persons; but to others, who will have quite the same right to take their B.D., it may be, and to a certainty will be, extremely inconvenient. The mere expenditure of so much time is a great demand to make. A person down in the country may be partially supporting himself and reading theology at the same time; here he will be reading theology simply; he cannot depend on getting pupils unless he happens to have taken a high class. So one year (for three Terms sufficiently cut up a year) is fairly taken out of his resources. Add to this, the great expenses of an academical residence, and the unwillingness on the part of parents, after they have been going on three years or more, answering all pecuniary calls, to continue the domestic drain for another year.

"The result will probably be, that only those to whom this residence may happen to be quite convenient, will ever reside the year, and that others will be obliged not to think of taking their B.D. at all. And this seems to be unfair. The University ought to make a distinction here. It is one thing to offer those future B.D.s, who are able to reside, certain benefits in the way of Divinity Lectures and an examination; and another thing to disqualify those for the B.D. who are not able to reside, or avail themselves of such advantages. It is possible to benefit one party, without injuring another; to

* Nullus Scholaris se Examinandum sistet nisi—sex ad minimum lectionum Theologicarum seriebus attentum se auditorem præstiterit.—Cauto semper ne quis plures quam duas series in quovis termino pro formâ audiat.

bestow a distinction, without inflicting a penalty; to make the Professorial Lectures so much clear gain to those who attend them, and attach no academical forfeiture to those who do not. The Professorial Statute very properly made or implied this distinction, the new Statute undoes it again.

"This is one practical effect, then, of making an arrangement compulsory which *was* voluntary. The voluntary one could of course inconvenience nobody; persons would make use of it according as it suited their situations, and not otherwise. It adapts itself to their circumstances. When made compulsory, on the other hand, persons must square their circumstances to it; and inconvenience and awkwardness begin to be felt.

"Another practical effect of this change has reference to the Theological test, which such an examination cannot fail to apply to those who undergo it. A regular Paper Examination before a formal Board of Theological Examiners, in which doctrine of all kinds comes in, can hardly fail to test the doctrinal opinions of those who undergo it, and so far must operate as a doctrinal test. It is not easy to conceive how it can do otherwise.

"Now the difference between a compulsory and voluntary examination, is on this head a most exceedingly important difference. A doctrinal test may be of most forcible and searching application to those who come under it, but it is of none at all to those who do not. And so, where it is left optional to come under it or not, it is obviously not chargeable with any exclusive or narrowing tendencies. A voluntary doctrinal test is, indeed, a most mild and unobjectionable one. But make it compulsory, and we immediately make a totally different thing of it. A test is no test which people may submit to or not as they please: it is its compulsoriness which constitutes it a test.

"This, then, is what the New Statute does. The Professorial Statute of 1842 certainly instituted a new theological examination; but left it perfectly 'voluntary,' and outside of the regular academical system. This, if it was not intended to be carried further, was a moderate and judicious plan. It gave advantages to some, and caused inconveniences to nobody. The New Statute now proposed, however, far outruns that of 1842, and goes even directly counter to the spirit of the latter, if that spirit is to be judged of from its letter and surface. There cannot be a greater change than to alter an examination from being a purely voluntary, into a compulsory one. The principle of compulsion, when introduced, becomes immediately the prominent and all-important principle in the matter. And though, in the present case, the examination itself, and the Examining Board, may be only continued from the Statute of 1842, the fact of its being compulsory makes it a wholly different affair. The simple change of making it compulsory converts it into a very great practical inconvenience, and into a searching doctrinal test, whereas, in its voluntary state, it could have been neither the one nor the other."

But this new examination, and this new degree, only betray their real meaning and character when seen in connexion with the Board which controls them. The Board at whose absolute disposal this new degree is placed, and before whom this examination is passed, are chosen from the Divinity Professors, with the exception of one, who is appointed by the Vice-Chancellor. All these Divinity Professors, except the Lady Margaret's, are appointed by Government. Thus the first theological degree—the necessary stepping-stone to the other two, the key which opens the whole department of Divinity to the University-student—is put in the hands of a small body of Government nominees; and ministerial influence occupies the very entrance into the most sacred precincts of the University. A letter, signed S.,

which appeared some time back in *The Times*, most ably exposes this part of the statute:—

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

“SIR,—I am aware that I ask a favour in begging insertion at this busy time of the year for a letter on so dull a subject as the proposed Oxford statute. I am induced to do so because, warmly concurring in the tenor of a late able article of yours upon that subject, I cannot but think it omitted a very material feature in the question.

“In 1842 a University statute was passed, creating two new Theological Professors, and constituting them, with the two who already existed and the Regius Professor of Hebrew, a board for lecturing and examining theological students. One other professor, to be nominated under Dr. Ireland's will by the heads of houses, was subsequently added with similar powers.

“‘Scholars’ in theology, subsequently to their Bachelor of Arts degree, were to attend six courses of lectures, to be delivered by one or other of these gentlemen, and a year's residence at the University; and at the end of the year they were to pass an examination which was to entitle them to the style of ‘candidates in sacred theology.’

“Two of the examiners were to be appointed by the professors out of their own number—one by the Vice-Chancellor from the graduates in theology.

“The effect of this was to constitute a fresh kind of theological degree, given, not by the University, or by any person or persons directly or indirectly appointed by the University, but virtually by the six professors, four of whom are to be nominated by the Crown, and five, if I am not very much indeed mistaken, are to be canons of Christ Church.

“Some long-sighted persons felt an objection to this statute at the time, but it was not pressed. It was probably thought that this Crown degree in theology, conferable by the canons of Christ Church, being perfectly voluntary, the old University degrees of B.D. and D.D. being still open, and the hands of the bishops unfettered, the title of ‘candidate’ would derive its value from the character and proceedings of the board who conferred it—would find its own level—would rise or fall in the estimation of the bishops and clergy in proportion to the orthodoxy and learning for which it was found to be a guarantee, and so that it would be factious to press an objection against the creation of an honourable title, which no one need trouble himself to acquire unless he chose, and which would confer no credit unless it deserved to do so.

“The very title of ‘candidates’ should perhaps have warned the University that the heads of houses intended more than met the eye. It had not, however, that effect; and its meaning is now first disclosed by a very little clause in the new statute. It is here proposed, that every one before he aspires to the academical degree of B.D. ‘*in schedulam candidatorum* ab examinatore in sacra theologia redigetur.’ This Crown or Christ Church title of honour, and a year's attendance upon the theological lectures of the professors, are made a *sine quâ non* of the regular university degree. The power of conferring degrees in theology, and by implication of fixing authoritatively and *compulsorily* the religious creed of the University, is virtually vested in these canons of Christ Church.

“I can scarcely doubt that this is but a *specimen* of the purposes to which this convenient machinery is to be turned. But, taking it merely upon its own merits, can the members of the University submit to it?

“In the first place, it excludes for ever from the degree of Bachelor or Doctor in Divinity (at least in the regular course) all who, from poverty or any other cause, have been unable, as young men, to afford an additional year's residence in the University. Men cannot, in maturer life, break off their fixed occupations to spend this period at Oxford, and pass an examination like boys before the board of professors. It must be done immediately on taking their degree or never; and a young man whose family is needy, or whose time is valuable, cannot then afford it.

"Again, though I should be very sorry to revive college jealousies, now happily dormant, and am quite aware that a large proportion (perhaps, as now, the majority) of future professors will not have been originally Christ Church-men, yet I do think that this power, given to the foundation of a single college over a matter which is wholly of academical jurisdiction, is most mischievous and unjust. The Christ-Church canons, in the nature of things, will probably form more or less of a clique, from whatever college they may have been originally selected; and to the mercies of a clique university degrees should never be committed.

"These are two important objections, but they are far inferior in weight (at least to my own apprehension) to this more broad and real one—that the statute furnishes a machinery for destroying the independence of the University in its most precious point.

"Whatever may be thought of the disputations before the Regius Professor, it is obvious that the proposed examination will be *a test of religious opinion as well as proficiency*. It ought to be so—it must be so—and of course it will be so. And what are the hands into which it is proposed to commit for ever the power of excluding what they choose to call erroneous opinions from theological degrees?

"The majority of the examiners (two to one) are appointed by the professors; the majority of the professors (also two to one) are appointed by the Prime Minister; the Prime Minister is forced on the Crown by the majority of the House of Commons, and the House of Commons is elected by the constituency as created by the Reform Bill. The connexion between the extremities of this chain is not very immediate, but it is not the less certain. The one will surely and eventually, though not suddenly, colour the other. I will not quite say, in Sir Robert Peel's famous words, that the theological faculty of Oxford will have 'to fight the battle of orthodoxy in the registration courts,' though even this would be no very inexcusable hyperbole. But I will say that the proposed statute, joined with that of 1842, bears every appearance of a deliberate, if not clandestine, design to invest the Prime Minister of England with the greatest practicable power over the religious faith of the University.

"The attempt, if successful, might be—though I do not at all think it would be—harmless for the present. But the great question regards the future. And if the gentlemen who propose it will but carry their memories back to the time, not twelve years past, when the spirit which they now call heresy had not yet roused the Church into that energy by which they and the whole Conservative party are now profiting, but the spirit and heart of which they are suicidally attempting to eradicate—if they will but remember the days when parsons were pelted, and the Premier told bishops to set their houses in order, and will reflect that what has been may be—nay, may very easily indeed, become the permanent state of England (especially if they trouble themselves to silence all counteracting influences), they will surely feel that it is not the wisest thing in the world for the University to tie itself down in the same boat as the House of Commons, and to condemn its theological faculty to a progress in liberalism proportionate, however remotely, to that made by the 10^l. householders.

"Surely the University which rose as one man to resist Parliamentary interference, when proposed by a Whig Cabinet, will not allow its life and power to be stolen away from it by the legislation of the Hebdomadal Board, and the powers inherent in the whole body of Convocation to be practically transferred to a single foundation (it is no offence to add) of Ministerial nominees.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant, S."

We certainly cannot conceive anything more unfortunate happening to an English University, than that it should slide, in this way, into the grasp of the Government of the day. We see enough of this centralizing tendency on all sides and in all departments now; do not let it be carried on into our Uni-

versity system; let the theological atmosphere of our universities be at any rate free from it. If this last stronghold of old, genuine religious thought and feeling gives way, we see not what is to check the nation in its latitudinarian progress. Hitherto, amid the general looseness of opinion that has spread, and the break-up of old systems, and the wide waste and the sea, the nation has instinctively felt the moorings that have been left her. She has heard within her a warning voice, and a note which did not follow the leading of the age. The Universities have been her inland theological forts, where the good elements in her religious character have taken refuge, and concentrated their strength, and been enabled to hold out against the general disaffection around them. Talk to any Liberal of the day of our national state of feeling now, and what its tendencies are, and what prevents the march of mind from advancing at that rate at which it has done in some continental countries, and he will point to the Universities. They are the check, and the clog, in the wheel of Liberalism. They pertinaciously decline uniting with the general movement of the mass. They are talked at, and attempted to be talked down; the parliamentary sneer is levelled at them; and the politician looks envious, and commissions are threatened. In the meantime, Oxford stands indubitably a Mordecai in the gate: she does not bow to the Liberal as he passes. She stands stiff, bolt upright; to Whig and Conservative she is the same, when Whig or Conservative interfere with her. Sir Robert Peel made his choice fifteen years ago, and took upon the Emancipation question the Liberal line. Oxford had no objection to Sir Robert Peel,—she liked him; but, when he took this line she discarded him.

This is what our Universities differ in so much from the German Universities,—and most advantageously. The German Universities are under the immediate eye of the administration; they receive their professors from thence, and are kept under the same kind of *surveillance* to which the civil departments are subject. This intimate connexion with the Central Government connects them with the ruling genius and party in the nation for the time being. They become the receptacles of prevalent theories, and take their colour and tone from the state of the national mind, whatever that may be, and follow all its sinuosities and caprices and transitions. They represent the nation, rather than teach it. The English Universities, with not half of the spirit of deep inquiry and research that distinguishes the foreign Universities, take a much higher position than the latter do. They teach with the voice of authority, and tell men what is true, and what is not. While the German bodies are losing themselves in the depth and perplexity of their own speculations, the English ones lay down the law. The German

Universities are perpetually creating truth; the English are content with receiving it, as it has been handed down to them. They are in possession of a system which goes back to times of far sterner mould and fixed principle than the present: and they remain in the nation as the obdurate and still-living exemplars of the solid rock and foundation. They do so, because they stand by themselves,—because they are disconnected with the political system, and the State centre. Dependence upon Government forthwith brings on a dependence upon the general movements in society, and upon the caprices and changes of the national mind. Government is the centre and head-quarters of the national mind. The connexion with the centre involves the connexion with the whole system which comes to a head there. The Universities, when taken into the hands of Government, are sucked into the general mass; they are carried straight down the huge central absorbing throat, and immediately mingle with the popular mind, and are lost in the vague and indefinite national progress. Liberalism could gain no greater triumph than the admission of Government control into the Universities.

Look only at the bare surface and aspect which the interior of one of our Universities presents. How quietly, yet deeply anomalous, and antiquated, do the old collegiate institutions, with their respective foundations—presidents and wardens, fellows and scholars, chaplains and clerks, show! Every College retaining the identical old Statute Book and Constitution that the founder gave it; every College electing its own head and fellows, managing its own manors and lands, and possessing within itself a monarchy and little state of its own. A picturesque scene most undoubtedly, most soothing and rural indeed! We should like to know how long it would continue if the power of the central government ever fairly got a-head in the University. Alas! the sheltered spot attracts now too many a scowl to doubt what would very soon become of it, if the common-place political world was allowed an ingress. Sad will be that day, if it ever comes, for our picturesque monumental scene. What cutting and squaring! What a level will be made of the collegiate mounds and slopes! How will the different fraternities very soon find themselves transferred from the irregular poetical group in which they now stand, into regimental or warehouse order! How will the old system loosen at one fell stroke of the centralizer's pen, and the old fabrics find themselves re-arranged in *dépôt*-fashion, with central apartments of the "resident governor," and office of superintending committee of education! We may be exaggerating. Certainly, however, some very great change of the levelling kind will follow, and some more modern basis will be given to the Universities as soon as ever parliament comes in.

And it is the first step to bringing in parliament, to bring in the government. What keeps parliament out is the old atmosphere of these places, and the peculiar respect which is felt in the country at large for them on that account. When government control comes in, this *prestige* goes. The Universities lose their old character, and fall a natural prey to political systematizers, and a tempting food for commissions. When the Universities become government departments, parliament will deal with them as such.

It is at any rate the part of prudence to oppose the first inroad of such a power, and stop up all avenues to such a change. And the inroad conceded in this statute to the Political power, is by no means so slight even in its present working. It is not a change merely prospectively and in tendencies: it is a great and very decided change now. The thin end of the wedge is far from imperceptible: whether or not the thick end is to come after, the thin end is thick enough in all conscience. It is a good big slice, for a first one, which is cut out of our University system, and handed over to the State. The State, as represented by its nominees, commands the entrance into the whole department of theology in the University.

We must say that, looking upon this movement of the Hebdomadal Board in all its bearings, it is one of the most serious and vital blows which has ever been aimed at the character and constitution of the University. And it comes most suitably and in character from that board from which the proposition for the admission of Dissenters, and so many other attempts in that line, have proceeded. This movement has all the appearance of proceeding from a full and strong determination to relax the old theological tone of the University by some means or other. Here is a whole political machinery, a whole government court of theology introduced, and introduced with all that look of plan and design which gradual and cautious introduction shows. In the progress of this statute we have, plainly, intentional veil and concealment at first, and a withdrawal of the veil afterwards, when the University is thought to have got so far accustomed to an idea in its elementary shape, as to bear it in the developed! The Examination was obviously introduced first in its voluntary shape, in order that it might escape suspicion, and pass. Two years afterwards, when the University is supposed to have forgotten that circumstance, and only to know in a vague way the fact that there is such a thing as a theological examination of some sort for those who go to be examined; then the proposal is made to make it a compulsory examination instead of a voluntary one: as if, forsooth, this were no alteration at all, and as if there were no difference to speak of between a thing being voluntary and compulsory.

We say here is design shown: one statute is made on purpose that another prospective statute, of the approach of which not a word is said, may be fitted on to it afterwards. This, now before us, is the statute which fits on to and gives the completion intended all along to the Professorial Statute of 1842. Schemes and plans are formidable things, and should be met. People should be, at any rate, aware that such schemes are in progress. We may leave the practical inference to be drawn by those members of Convocation who retain their interest in and love for their University, and are now able to assist her.

Most earnestly do we hope that the result of the Convocation, on the 2d of May, may show the world, that Oxford is not yet disposed to part with her old constitution and liberties. All who wish to see Oxford continue to be the Oxford she has been in times past,—all who wish there should continue, amid the general looseness, some spot or other of solid earth, on which a Churchman may stand,—should wish this statute to be thrown out. All who wish the Church of England *prestige* of two centuries, which as yet separates Oxford from the floating views of the day, to remain, should exert themselves against this undermining statute. Let Convocation maintain their academical *natale solum*. We have not too much of such soil in our nation; we cannot afford to give up what we have of it; we cannot afford to let Oxford slip under a government or parliamentary control. Members of the University are bound by their simple *esprit de corps*, if for no other reason, to guard against such an act of surrender. No call of late years exceeds in importance, if it equals, the call made by Oxford at the present crisis.

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1. *The Book of Common Prayer, with Plain-tune. Part Second, containing the Psalter, Burial Service, and Appendix.* London: Burns. 1844.
 2. *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland, &c. By the Rev. JOHN JEBB, A.M. &c.* London: Parker. 1843.
 3. *The Order of Daily Service, &c., as arranged by THOMAS TALLIS. Edited by JOHN BISHOP.* London: R. Cox and Co. 1843.
 4. *Laudes Diurnæ. The Psalter, &c ; with the Gregorian Tones.* London: Toovey. 1843.

A FRIEND of ours, when on a visit, not long since, to an ancient archiepiscopal city of the north, was highly entertained by the counts he received of the discordant state of feeling among

the dignitaries of the cathedral respecting a certain ceremonial observance. Not, indeed, that the subject in dispute was matter of ridicule, but the manner of the disputants, and the fact that, in the very strong-hold of laxity—the place in which, beyond all others, the ordinances of the Church are lightly esteemed, and her rubrical directions disobeyed—they should have fixed upon a point about which, to say the least, a certain degree of doubt is admitted to exist. It seemed as if, in punishment of their laxity in other respects, they had been suffered to bring themselves into contempt by their contentions about the “tithe of mint,” while the very contentions served to open people’s eyes to the “weightier matters of the law,” which they neglected.

The case was this:—it appears that part of the church furniture consists of a pair of large altar candlesticks, with *tin candles, painted white*. These it had been customary to place on the altar on Communion-days; and, till very recently, nobody dreamt of objecting to the custom. The salvers and patens, chalices and flagons, and the candlesticks, were, on great festivals, displayed, and were esteemed to be highly ornamental. One paten, chalice, and flagon, to be sure, were for use, but the rest were ornamental; and why not? Large salvers and candlesticks are handsome things; private gentlemen are wont to exhibit their stores of plate on festal occasions, why should not capitular bodies do the same? There seemed to be no reason why they should not. But, alas! for the candlesticks and tin candles! Some high-Churchman hinted that their right to be placed upon the altar arose, not from their ornamental qualifications, but from their mystical significancy of the “true light of the world.” Here was a coil; the hitherto innocent candlesticks, and still more guiltless tin candles, became criminals and apostates: they ceased to be Protestant candlesticks! Hitherto, they were dumb images, that said nothing—meant nothing; “story they had none to tell;” but now the breath of life was breathed into them, and they vented flat popery. The tin candles now burnt with an invisible blue flame of popery. This was not to be borne: the candlesticks must be removed at all hazards; but here the strife began. Some of the dignitaries pulled one way, some another; some contended for the customary display of candlesticks as a custom; some contended for the custom as significant; some objected to the custom altogether, whether it were old or new—significant or non-significant. “It is a foolish old relic of popery, which ought to be swept away,” cries one; “it is scarcely harmless, if you deprive it of its original meaning—positively pernicious, if you attempt to revive the meaning.” “Nay,” replies another, “the custom is not popish, but Anglican, and the meaning is Catholic, and ought never to have been forgotten. I vote for real candles, instead of the

sham ones." "What my friend says about Catholic meaning, and all that, is quite true," rejoins a third, the *safe man* of the party—"quite true that we have forgotten many things that ought to have been remembered; but we must not alarm people. I think, therefore, the candlesticks ought just to remain where they are, and as they are. In truth, if I were to sanction their removal, I should offend my friend here, with whom I quite agree as to Catholic practice, and so forth; but as the candles, being made of tin, are not very directly significant, we ought to be satisfied that nothing popish is meant. However, I see no objection to each of you following out, so far as may be, his own wishes." The result was, that the appearance of the candlesticks on the altar came to be contingent on residence and non-residence. Sometimes they are supposed to be innocent ornaments, having no meaning whatever; sometimes they signify as much as tin and white paint will allow them; and sometimes they remain secreted in the Sacristy. The absolute objectors gain their point by having liberty to lock them up at such times as it falls to their lot to officiate. The advocates of the custom, as a custom, have it in their power to say, "My good people, don't imagine that there is here the least suspicion of popery; for though these look like popish candles, a nearer inspection will convince you that they are thoroughly Protestant; they are only sham ones." And the high-Churchman, satisfied that, whether real or sham, they are intended to appear real, contents himself, as he best may, with an apparent adherence to Catholic usage, accompanied, though it be, with a protest against popery, in the shape of tin and white paint.

It may be thought that too many words have been wasted on such a subject; but is not this a story in little—an epitome—a caricature of the actual conflict of parties now proceeding on all matters that relate to the service and ordinances of the Church? The parallel, we fear, is so exact, that it is difficult to avoid recognizing in the termination of this petty dispute, a too sure prognostic of the *practical* settlement of questions of far greater moment. In truth, wherever we turn, whatever be the matter controverted, the same threefold division of party manifests itself; the same conflict takes place, and, for all that now appears, there is too much ground for anticipating in every case the same abortive conclusion. Between two sections of the contending parties, there is an earnest and (on one side, at least) an honest warfare. Of the two, one contends for the development of the Church system, such as the Church herself designed it to be; the other, for its development according to their own views; but a third section starts up, proclaims that the disputants are representatives of extreme opinions, and takes upon itself the plausible office of mediation. This we fear is the class who will carry

the day. They have the unenquiring world with them; because they possess, in appearance, the qualities which are esteemed in the conduct of human affairs—prudence, caution, considerateness, deliberation. Talk to a man of this class of the grievous practical defects of the Church, he will join with you in lamenting them; show him to how great an extent the Catholic elements of the Church system have been swamped by a flood of Protestantism and irreligion, he will concede with regret that it is too true; nay, he will descant with you on the theoretical beauty of the Anglican ritual system,—on the admirable manner in which apparently jarring materials have been so amalgamated as to constitute, if not a real, at least a practicable, *via media* between Popery and Protestantism: in short, he will go as far as you will in theory; but attempt to speak of reducing theory to practice, and he is gone. Urge upon him a reformation of present practice, and he straightway anchors himself on an infinity of exceptions arising out of the supposed exigency of the times; or he esconces himself under a shield on which he paints in such vivid colours the dangers of innovation, the dread of giving offence to tender consciences, and a thousand other considerations of a like nature, all addressed to the world's good opinion, by which he contrives to protect and justify himself in his immovable and impenetrable position.

It is, we confess, with much misgiving, that we recognise symptoms of the prevalence and increase of this tone of mind among those of the Clergy, especially, whose chances of preferment may be reckoned the most probable. What reasonable hope of reformation can remain to us, if the price of preferment be to stand tolerably well with all parties by means of a shuffling and trimming, the sole purpose of which is to avoid committal to the views of any? Is there the most remote prospect of straightforward and energetic conduct, such as the pressing necessity of the time requires, from men, the strength of whose position is maintained by theoretical agreement with Anglo-Catholic doctrine on the one side, and practical sufferance, and therefore sanction, of its denial on the other?

We have no wish, of course, to assert that prudence or considerateness are not qualities highly necessary and desirable in the Clergy, and more particularly in the prelates of the Church, or that there is not a real *via media*, which it is their bounden duty to pursue. Ever since the Reformation, there have been opposing elements in the Church of England, between which a middle course is to be steered; but the Church herself has pointed out the road. The Anglican system, undoubtedly, contains in it elements both of Catholicity and Protestantism, each of which is *abated* by the other. It presupposes the existence of two antagonist states of feeling; and not only so, but its right working was

probably designed to be secured by this very antagonism of individual bias, in the one direction and in the other. If, for example, in her Ordination services, the Church appears to uphold the absolute and independent character of sacerdotal power, she provides elsewhere for a very different view of the priestly office. She first makes it absolute, and then practically limits its exercise in a manner not dissimilar to that by which the monarchy of the Sovereign, though in theory absolute, is restricted in matters of temporal governance. And so in the case of the Sacraments: it requires no very acute discernment to recognise in one place an acknowledgment of the *opus operatum*; but the abridgment of the old doctrine is equally apparent in another. We can have no quarrel, therefore, with the Protestantism of one party, or the Catholicism of another, so long as their proceedings tend to develop the Church system as a whole; because it was intended as a whole to give scope to, while it amalgamated and restrained from excess, the very tendencies or tones of mind in which the antagonistic parties originate. It was for this very end that the Church herself chalked out a *via media* for us; for this, that her system is of the very nature of a middle course. It has in it throughout, an admixture of religious republicanism, *i. e.* of Protestantism; but the balance of interests, the adjustment of parties, has been struck by the Church herself. When your *safe* men, therefore, in the present state of things—*i. e.* the Church system,—the true *via media*, is not being carried out,—assume that the desires and views of those who are anxious to travel in the path made plain for them by the Church, are extreme views, which are to be kept in check by the sufferance of Protestant nonconformity; when they take up their position midway between the advocates of the Church system and its opponents; when they proclaim that by doing this they show themselves to be the wise men—the men to be trusted, fit to steer the bark of St. Peter; we admit that, in the present state of things, they have adopted a course which commends itself to the good opinion of the world; but it must be persisted in at the expense of honesty. In their endeavour to avoid committing themselves in one way, they have done so most fatally in another. They have committed themselves to a practical falsehood, by assuming that what is termed Anglo-Catholicism is an extreme, because in doing so they cannot avoid placing the Church system in the same category.

That there may be an extreme party on the Catholic side, we readily admit; that there is an ultra-Protestant one, nobody doubts; but neither the one nor the other can manifest itself otherwise than at the expense of the Church system. The middle men of the present time, therefore, if they obstruct the full operation of that system, must obstruct it either on the

one side or the other; if they hinder the development of its Catholic characteristics, their pretended *via media* is not in the middle, but on one side. However much they may approve of, and profess to admire, the Catholic theory of the Church, they are in practice anti-Catholic; and the result of their government, if to such they are called, must inevitably be obstructiveness, and the mere conservation of things as they are.

We say that, looking to the future with every hope for the best, it costs us many sad thoughts to watch the gradual widening and consolidation of this false and misnamed *via media*, and its acceptableness to the world. That it should be acceptable to the world is not to be wondered at; for it costs nothing: it is an easy way of holding high doctrines. But a lamentable prospect surely opens to us if people in general come to think that the doctrines of the Oxford school ought, somehow, to form part and parcel of the Anglican system, but only in theory; that the Clergy are, somehow or other, to believe them, but that an honest endeavour on their part to breathe life into them, would be so great evidence of imprudence, as to preclude all who have been accessory to such an attempt, from the hope of rising in the Church. If, in short, to acknowledge the Catholic theory of the Anglican system, and yet to hinder its practical development, be the course required of such as would retain the most remote chance of arriving at the prelacy, we have too much ground to dread that Providence has revived the nearly extinguished torch of truth only for our condemnation as a Church—too much ground to dread that a reformation on the whole is hopeless, and that the light afforded is intended to be a witness against us—a guide, indeed, to the individuals who are able to receive it, but, with respect to the whole Church, a witness whose testimony shall be overborne by the oily tongue of the prudence and wisdom of this world.

These observations, although suggested generally by the present posture of Church affairs, are not without considerable bearing on the subject now under our consideration. Church music, like every other ritual matter that is admitted to stand in need of reform, runs no little risk of being placed, after a deal of discussion, on a *safe footing*; i. e. of remaining as it was. Here, as in other cases, we have an illustration of the dispute about the candlesticks. Right-minded persons of taste become painfully alive to the degraded state of our choral service: they object to it; write against it; urge reformation on the parties concerned. By and by, as knowledge advances, their objections assume a more practical character. They point out the ancient and approved models to which the service ought to be conformed. They resolve the service into its elements, and for each of its component parts they prepare exemplars, manuals,

guide-books. At length, nothing seems wanting: every means have been adopted towards practical reform; and symptoms of amendment are just beginning to promise some reward to their labours, when up start the safe men with their extinguishers. They commence with their customary professions of agreement, not only with all that can be said in favour of reform, but with the means proposed to effect it; and having made their usual flourish of Catholicity and so forth, they conclude by showing us that, in present circumstances, nothing whatever should be done.

Two of the works placed at the head of this article afford a curious illustration of this course of events: the one, Mr. Dyce's edition of the Common Prayer, with plain-tune; the other, Mr. Jebb's Choral Service, or, rather, that part of it which relates to Gregorian music. The one professes to be the authorized manual, or Choral Book of the English Church, and, as such, to be the standard by which the plain-song of the service ought to be regulated, or, if need be, reformed. The other is a dissertation on the Choral Service, imbued almost throughout, but more particularly in those portions that treat of music, with every characteristic of the *safe* mode of viewing things. The one accordingly is a standard which the other admits in theory, but contrives to reject in practice. Of course, in thus speaking of Mr. Jebb's work, we must be understood to refer only to his remarks on music; for, with respect to the general structure of the service, the arrangement and due regulation of choirs and decorum in the performance of the divine offices, there is much valuable matter to be gleaned from his pages; for which we heartily thank him.

No sooner, however, does he touch on the more technical subject of music, than the clearness and straightforward accuracy by which his strictures on the general defects of cathedral arrangements are characterised, vanish, and, in their place, an indistinct, dissatisfied, querulous tone is assumed. He becomes discontented with everybody and everything; finds fault with modern usage, yet cannot suffer it to be amended; approves of ancient usage, yet will not allow it to be restored; blames the ancient because it is not modern, and the modern because it is not ancient. He is not very willing to have it imagined that any one preceded him in the discovery that plain-song had certain determinate rules,* yet when the discovery is made, he will neither apply the rules himself, nor permit any

* Mr. Jebb states that he had not seen Mr. Dyce's preface to the Musical Prayer-Book (in which these rules are for the first time within the last two centuries laid down) when the part of his work relating to the subject was written. But our readers will recollect a notice which appeared in this Review in 1841 (and which was copied into the Irish Ecclesiastical Journal), in which a description of these very rules was given from materials which we requested Mr. Dyce to furnish.

one else to do so. Though he informs us that in these days "decent order in the particular of sacred music is so deranged as to make the finding of any settled rule difficult, *nay, impossible*, were reference made to the present practice of the Church alone;" yet, on the rule being discovered in the matter of plain-song (and, as we have said, he is anxious to claim the merit of the discovery), he runs a tilt against Mr. Dyce, because he, guided by the rule, and fortified by the example of Tallis, had corrected a misprint or two in Marbeck. He affords us innumerable instances of variation in the plain-song of the service as it is now sung in cathedrals; and, although he only can affirm that they *are variations*, by having first ascertained *what they vary from* (and, indeed, he positively states that one of the choirs sets the "usual rules" at defiance), yet he allows no force whatever to the rules as correctives. On the contrary, he "suspects that there may be a good principle in this:" *i. e.* in disregard of the rules; "not," he continues, "that I would by any means recommend the disuse of the ancient responses: quite the contrary." Then, perhaps, he would recommend their use where they have been forgotten? Oh no, quite the contrary. His inference is, that "the uses of the different cathedrals (*i. e.* ancient responses, disregard of rules, &c., all included) ought to be religiously retained and preserved from any alteration, *which a deference to the ancient principles may suggest*, as it is very possible that their supposed irregularities may, in fact, be the assumption of some new and sound principle."

It certainly is a pity that Mr. Jebb was not present at our candlestick dispute in the north. *Mutatis mutandis*, his reasoning would have been an effectual preservative of the tin and white paint. "Judging," he might have said, "judging, my friends, by appearances, judging by what people generally consider to be wax candles, these may appear to be irregular; perhaps they are, perhaps not; I am not prepared to say. I admit that they ought to be made of wax; at least, they used to be so. The Catholic symbol seems to imply that they ought somehow to be candles; and if any other cathedrals have real wax candles, I would by no means recommend their disuse: quite the contrary; but as I think it just possible that our tin candles may conceal in the inside some new and sound principle, they ought to be religiously retained and preserved from any alteration which a deference to the ancient principles may suggest."

But to return. Shortly after the passage quoted above, Mr. Jebb proceeds: "Before concluding this section, it may be observed, that the setting of the clause, 'Favourably with mercy hear our prayers,' contains a curious evidence of the changes which have taken place in the pronunciation of the concluding word. In the ancient books, it has the *cadence proper to a dissyllable*, as it was formerly pronounced; while in the uses of

Winchester, Durham, and Westminster, that *proper to a monosyllable*, as it is now sounded, is observed." Whether it be true that the word "prayer" was ever pronounced as a dissyllable, though it may have been sung as one, we do not profess to know; but if it was, the proof Mr. Jebb adduces of its having been so was rather an unfortunate sequel to the remarks he had just made. We suppose he specifies the choral practice of Winchester, Durham, and Westminster as an exception to that of other choirs; and, accordingly, that while these three adhere to ancient rules (though the doing so oblige them to apply the rules in a new way, owing to a change in the syllabic value of the word,) the other cathedrals violate the rules by an apparent adherence to ancient practice:—that is to say, a "deference to ancient principles" in the one case led them to correct a mistake which must have occurred, had they continued the old intonation after the word had ceased to be regarded as a dissyllable; while in the other, they have respected the custom without caring about the principle,—they continue to chant the word as a dissyllable, though, in process of time, according to Mr. Jebb, it has become a monosyllable, and therefore has, as he says, another cadence "proper" to it. Now, we are very desirous of knowing in which of these two practices we are to reckon it "very possible that there may be, in fact, the assumption of some new and sound principle?" Not we imagine in the case of Winchester, Durham, and Westminster; for, by Mr. Jebb's own showing, they have assumed an *old and sound* principle; the "irregularity," then, in which the "sound principle" is latent, must be sought for in the other cathedrals. But their irregularity in this instance, simply consists in the use of the wrong ecclesiastical accent; and where the mysterious principle may be concealing itself is more than we can divine. To our simple apprehension, this little fact, adduced by Mr. Jebb, proves, beyond a doubt, two things:—first, that in times past there was somewhere, though not everywhere, that very deference to the ancient principles, which Mr. Jebb deprecates. The choirs of Winchester, Durham, and Westminster, happening to be acquainted with the ancient laws of ecclesiastical accent, altered the customary (for at one time it must have been the customary) manner of intoning the word "prayer," to suit a change in the syllabic value of the word; and if so, in the second place, the other choirs which adhered to the old intonation, after it had ceased to be correct, either did it in ignorance, or through perversity.* This seems to us as clear as the light of day. If the three choirs did right in making the change, the others must have

* We have recently been informed, that one of the three choirs mentioned above, namely, Westminster, still continues, in some measure, to prefer a deference to ancient principles to the chance, by setting them at defiance, of discovering new and

done wrong in not making it; or we must conclude that both were right, and so give up the old rules altogether. Had Mr. Jebb taken the latter ground, his position would have been intelligible; but as it is, we do not very well know what he would be at.

It may be a very ingenious way of viewing matters, to suppose that cathedral choirs have been for some time past, and are at present making experiments (without knowing it) on plain-tune, with the view of evolving "new and sound principles;" and, therefore, that each ought to be left to its own devices; but such a supposition sounds very like sheer nonsense. Yet, what else is the conclusion to be drawn from Mr. Jebb's discussion of the subject? He explains to us the rules of plain-tune, and speaks, with the most religious horror, of any attempt to tamper with the ancient originals of our musical service; he shows us that cathedrals have, to a great extent, practically forgotten that such rules and "ancient originals" ever existed,—admits this to be an irregularity, and yet finishes, by strenuously contending for its remaining uncorrected, because it may, by some possibility, involve an *ignotum quid* of novelty or soundness in principle.

We very much regret if we have misapprehended Mr. Jebb's meaning; but, with every wish to do him justice, we have been unable to draw any positive conclusion from that part of his work which relates to plain-song, other than this:—that we are to regard both ancient rules and ancient models as beautiful archæological illustrations of past choral history; but which, now-a-days, are of no practical use, because the world has not only been making great progress in the arts, but we are, in fact, at the present time, engaged in evolving what possibly may turn out to be new and sound principles; and, consequently, that the question of reformation must not be mooted, since it may in the end appear that the practices, which simple people now suppose to be mere mistakes of ignorance, carelessness, or indolence, are, in fact, a sort of disguise for beauties, which are yet to be revealed to the world.

It must be admitted, that this is a most dexterous way of getting rid of difficulties. According to this view, canons, rubrics, constitutions, catholic practice, everything ancient, in short, are beautiful arrangements of old time; but they have no particular bearing on things modern; or, if they have, it is of no consequence, for we are just at this moment in the crucible, and

sound ones. One of the "uses" peculiar to Westminster, in which these new principles were supposed by Mr. Jebb to lie concealed, has altogether vanished within the last six months. It has "died and made no sign." Ancient principle stepped in, and, on a sudden, the chrysalis of the new and sound one disappeared. The fact was that one of the canons, on discovering from Mr. Dyce's work that the said "use" was neither more nor less than a mistake, lost no time in correcting it.

therefore must not be disturbed by any reference to them. By and by we shall see something turned out,—something quite new and sound. Let us wait, therefore, and allow matters to take their own course. We are all just now in the ecclesiastical nest, hatching new and sound principles; so you must give us time. Some of us are apparently sitting upon bits of stone, lumps of wood, bundles of hay: no matter; let us not be in a hurry; this apparent irregularity may, by possibility, tend to the best results in the long-run.

In this view of things, it is quite unnecessary to prove that such and such is the law of the Church,—that the “apparent irregularities” of cathedrals are real mistakes. This will be at once conceded; but the concession implies no admission that the mistakes ought to be corrected. Though real mistakes considered in one aspect, according to Mr. Jebb, they become valuable experiments in another; valuable at least in possibility, if not in fact; and, therefore, to be let alone. It is of no avail to talk of a reformation; for, in his estimate, there is no need of it; or, rather, since we have yet to make up our minds whether practices which, estimated by ancient standards, seem to be glaring defects and corruptions, are really such as they appear to unsophisticated minds.

But now it may be said that this is a matter of art, not of morals; and that we have no infallible standard to judge by in the one case as we have in the other. The arts are, or are supposed to be, always on the advance; new and sound principles of art may arise out of practices which, when referred to the usage of former times, appear to be erroneous. There may be so many “more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy,” that it is next to impossible that one age should discover and apply (or rather discover by applying) the rules of art to such an extent as to leave nothing for succeeding times to accomplish. Allowing, therefore, it may be said, that the subject of plain-tune was pretty well understood in the Middle Ages, and at the time of our Reformation, that is no reason why we should not understand it better. A long interval has, doubtless, elapsed during which the subject has been banished from our thoughts, formed no part of our studies; but still plain-song has been in use without interruption. We may have used it carelessly and ignorantly; still this very carelessness and ignorance may have tended to a further development of its beauties; and, now that we have begun again to study the practice of our forefathers, may we not take advantage of the very mistakes of the last century towards a more complete elucidation of the principles of plain-song, than the ancients were able to reach?

Again, the art of music is said, by approved modern writers, to have been in a state of great imperfection in early times and

in the middle ages; are we to proscribe improvement? Are we to deal with matters of art as with doctrines; to hold by ancient, and *possibly* Catholic, practice in art, as we do by ancient, and *undoubtedly* Catholic, belief?

This is a process of thought which evidently carries with it great force in Mr. Jebb's mind; and in truth it affords the only means of accounting for the preposterous inconsistencies to which we have been referring. Let us, therefore, look for a little while into the grounds on which the supposed force of such reasoning rests. The question is simply this:—Are the ancient melodies of the Church susceptible of improvement in the *modern sense*, or not? Were the defects attributed to them by those who advocate, what is termed, the perfect scale of modern music, the result of ignorance? Mr. Jebb affirms this: we deny it. He affirms that the ancient system of plain-song, being based on an imperfect scale, was, on that account, the result of ignorance, and therefore that it may be, and ought to be, altered and improved in accordance with modern discovery. Again, that as the invention of counterpoint brought with it the “varied and expressive resources of a more scientific music,” by which he conceives the ancient melodies may be greatly improved, we are acting “on narrow and partial reasonings,” and have a “pertinacious scrupulosity for the defects rather than the excellences of antiquity,” when we require that the Gregorian melodies, particularly the Tones for the Psalms, should be sung in unison.

Whether the ancient system of plain-song was based on the scale, or the scale arose out of the system, as a part of it, is a question by itself; but neither the one nor the other was, in the first instance, the result of ignorance. If there be evidence that the early Church musicians expressly made choice of that which is termed an imperfect system, having it in their power to employ a more perfect one, it is quite clear that we must either adopt the system as it is, or reject it altogether; since an attempt to improve it, by the addition of that which was designedly omitted, would be fatal to the very characteristics which the omission was intended to impart. Now, there is proof of the most conclusive kind to be gleaned from the fathers of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, that they were perfectly aware of the existence, and acquainted with the musical character and effect of the ancient Greek scales, which (as may be proved out of Aristides Quintilian,* Ptolemy, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Boethius, indeed all the later ancient writers on music) were not only in use among the Romans, but continued to be so after the period when the music of the Church

* Aristides Quintilian wrote his treatise in Greek, but he is believed to have lived in Rome some time after the Augustan age.

had assumed a definite character. These scales were six in number; and their use implied a perception of the beauties of melody to an extent which we not only can hardly boast of, but are unable to comprehend in the present day. One of these scales was identical with our diatonic; another was not very dissimilar to our chromatic scale. What then becomes of Mr. Jebb's bold assertion, that "the natural scale alone was then (*i.e.* in the fourth century) known?" If the fathers, who commend the gravity of the diatonic scale, and those whom they addressed had been ignorant of any other, their commendation must have been out of place; they would surely have confined themselves to simple praise of the use of music, if only one sort was known to them, or to their auditors. But, in truth, conjecture in this matter is quite unnecessary; for it so happens, that nearly every early notice we possess on the subject of Ecclesiastical music, involves a contrast between the then music of the theatre and that of the Church—the former of which was uniformly characterised by the use of chromatic and enharmonic modulations, which were strictly forbidden in chanting the divine offices.* And why was this prohibition so strict? It clearly was not through ignorance; for it is quite certain that at the time the prohibition was made, there were at the command of the Church (to use Mr. Jebb's words, in another sense) "the expressive and varied resources of a more scientific music;" and yet she refused to avail herself of the advantage. In this she, perhaps, acted on "the narrow and partial reasonings of many in the present day," when she "discouraged improvements in the arts;" we cannot help it. There is the fact staring us in the face, that the early fathers did *not* "dedicate to God's service" the "most expressive and varied resources" of the music of their time; nay, they objected most strongly to doing so. They intentionally made choice of the least expressive scale of music, then in use; and even that, in practice, they made less expressive, by excluding from it the semitones. With their eyes open, in short, they converted a complete scale into what is currently reckoned to be an incomplete one.

Whatever might be their reasons for this, Mr. Jebb, we suppose, will allow that they must have perceived some "excellency" in the kind of music produced by this imperfect scale. That which he terms the "defects of antiquity," may have been, nay, must have been, in the eyes of antiquity itself, not defects, but excellences; for the qualities of their music, pronounced by Mr. Jebb to be defects, were adopted intentionally. The rejection of the B flat, and the absence of accidental sharps, cannot have been so frightful to them as it is to Mr. Jebb; since, if they had liked, they might have thoroughly beaten us in the

* See some notes on this subject, in the *Christian Remembrancer* for 1841.

matter of sharps and B flats. They had only to borrow from the next theatre the "expressive and varied resources of a more scientific music." There they might have had quarter-tones, and thirds of tones, and semitones, and three-fourths of tones, and two-thirds of tones;—resources so varied and expressive, that modern musicians, for want of ability to sing divisions so minute, have doubted whether the ear can appreciate them. Nevertheless, they were sung in the Roman theatres; and it was precisely because they were so expressive, that the early guardians of Christian worship proscribed their use in church.

If there be any, then, among us, who, as Mr. Jebb says, have "a scrupulous regard to the defects, rather than the excellences, of antiquity," it is plain that they may turn round, and tell him that, even admitting their regard to be scrupulous, it is directed on qualities of music reckoned by antiquity itself to be excellences, not defects; and, besides, that these "supposed irregularities" of antiquity may have been, "in fact, the assumption of some new and sound principle."

But it is also possible that the regard to antiquity, in this matter, may not be so merely scrupulous and pertinacious as Mr. Jebb imagines. What if many have come to appreciate, as a matter of religious taste, the excellency of the primitive Church melodies, and to prefer them to the expressive and varied resources of modern music? What if they are able, not to conjecture merely, but to affirm that, in the intentionally limited resources and seemingly rugged character of early Church music, there *was* the assumption of a new and sound principle? What if that principle should be, that it is not perfection or imperfection of the scale, not the command of artistic resources, not mere refinements of art as art, that constitute excellence in works of Christian art, but the true and sincere expression of Christian sentiment, whatever be the means employed to effect it? What if we have come, not by "narrow and partial reasonings," but by sound philosophy, to recognise, in the character of early Church music, the unadulterated result of that revolution which Christianity brought about in the world of taste? May not a more just estimate of the use of art in divine things, have given us a new standard of excellence, which, while it sets at defiance, to a great extent, the mode of judgment which has been current for the last century and a half, leads us at the same time to appreciate the merit of early works? May we not, besides being able to prove that the defects currently attributed to the ancient melodies of the Church were intentional, be convinced that the musical effect which we feel to be so sublime in them,—so unapproachable by modern composers, is due to the very restraints imposed by the Church on early musicians? Nor need we, on this account, affirm that the early Church music is perfect, or even that it perfectly

accomplishes its purpose ; but we may be convinced that the relation between its means and its end is so intimate, that any attempt at alteration, with the view of improvement, must be on the part of those who are too obtuse to perceive the character of the works with which they are impertinent enough to meddle. For example, without affirming the treatise of Thomas à Kempis to be perfect, or its Latinity faultless,—without in the least proscribing any new attempt of the same kind, we may, with perfect justice, think that the so-called classical version of the first three books by Sebastian Castalio, is a piece of ignorant presumption. Or, to take a higher instance, it will not follow, because we may be able to show that St. Paul wrote in bad Greek, that his works, considered in their essential purpose, may be amended by emendation of his language. His language, such as it is, is perfectly adapted to the purpose he had in view, and so say we of the early music. We may dislike its purpose, or have little sympathy with its sentiment : that is a matter of taste ; but those who admire both, must not be charged with “narrow and partial reasonings,” “scrupulous regard,” and “pertinacious scrupulosity for the defects of antiquity,” when they require, that if we are to use the melodies of the ancient Church at all, we should have them as they are, not altered to suit modern theories about the imperfection of the scale in which they are composed.

In truth, it is utterly ridiculous to judge of the merit of any work of art by the extent to which the artist may have employed the resources at his command. The question is, not what means he employed, but what effect he produced ? If it were demonstrated a hundred fold more clearly than it is, that the Gregorian music is constructed on an imperfect scale, it would not follow that the music itself is imperfect, considered *æsthetically*. No musician is obliged to employ *all* the notes of the scale in *every* melody, simply because the musical effect of his composition may demand the omission of certain notes. If this were otherwise, Rossini, Bellini, all our modern composers might be charged with having used, at times, an imperfect scale ; and it would be just as absurd a proceeding to alter particular modern melodies, because it might be impossible to show from them that the composers had a complete scale at their command, as it is to insert notes in the Gregorian melodies, which, as in the other case, were designedly omitted. If certain notes never occur in the Church melodies, the reason was that the use of such notes produced a musical sentiment to which the early musicians objected. That objection, no doubt, took the form of a permanent condition of Ecclesiastical song, which, in its turn, tended to adapt the scale to the use that was made of it ; but if this adaptation rendered the scale a defective one, the deficiency was intended to secure, as much as possible, at all times, a

corresponding deficiency in the music constructed upon it; that is to say,—to secure the permanence of a certain musical character which the melodies of the Church were thought to require.

The early Ecclesiastical musicians, in short, acted as all musicians, all artists, have done and still do:—they adapted their means to their end; but they differed in this,—that whereas the latter ordinarily make rules for special cases, the former made a rule to meet all cases; having decided that Church music ought always to preserve a certain sentiment, they, in order to secure it, bound down their composers to the observance of specific limits in the use of their materials.

The Gregorian music, then, *such as it is*, ought, we conceive, simply to be received or rejected. If we do not like it, let us honestly say so; but let us not draw reasons for our dislike from mere theories which have little or nothing to do with the question of its merits as a particular species of sacred art. As a style of music it is as easily distinguishable from all others with which we are acquainted, as the Romanesque or the Pointed styles of architecture are from the Greek or Egyptian; and although, as a matter of history, we may be able to trace its derivation from one kind of music, and its gradual merging into another, just as we do in the case of architecture, its own characteristics are not the less obvious and peculiar. In this view, even were our Church silent on the point, we conceive that, in respect to present use, plain-song ought to be treated like any other species of ancient ecclesiastical art, *i.e.* to be employed or not in modern worship; but if employed at all, to be so in a pure and unadulterated form.

The readers of the CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER are aware that we have been the advocates of other styles of Ecclesiastical architecture than the pointed, at least, so far as to justify their adoption by modern builders; but it is one thing to allow a certain latitude in the choice of a style, and quite another to sanction an ignorant jumbling of styles. Indeed, we fancy there are not many persons in these days who would fail to conclude, that an architect who adorned a Romanesque church with ornaments belonging to the later styles of Pointed architecture, was utterly deficient in perception of the characteristic merits of either the one or the other. And the case of ancient Church music is very analogous. It has two distinct styles, each of which has belonging to it an incommunicable something—a charm peculiar to it. Gregorian melody is one of these; figured vocal music another; which of them is best, we need not undertake to decide; but one thing is perfectly certain, that, by harmonizing the former, we at once transfer it into the region of the latter; we deprive it of its identity. Good Church music may, no doubt, be produced by the adaptation of harmo-

nies to plain-song; but the plain-song, *as such*, cannot be said to be thereby improved, since it has ceased to be plain-song at all. Another species of art has been the result of this "super-addition of the resources of a more scientific music to the melodies of ancient tunes;" just as the superaddition of the pointed arch, with its more perfect science of construction, on the old Romanesque, produced not an improvement on the latter *as Romanesque*, but converted it into a new style altogether.

We say that sound principles of æsthetic criticism would lead us, if we employ Gregorian melody at all in modern service, to employ it with intelligence and discrimination, as a thing *sui generis*; and if, as has been observed, the Church had left us at liberty, we might have dealt with it as we do with any one of the species of ecclesiastical architecture, and so have considered its employment, or otherwise, a matter of choice. But the Church has not left us at liberty; she has expressed her wishes on the point. It is clearly proved, both by Mr. Jebb and Mr. Dyce, particularly by the latter, that plain-song ought to be the ordinary, as it is the only, distinctly authorized music of our service; and such being the case, we are doubly bound to use it in a pure and unaltered form.

These observations, which, we trust, will have cleared away the misapprehensions that may have been occasioned by the confused statements and inconsistencies of Mr. Jebb, will also serve to obviate an objection which (it has occurred to us, and will doubtless occur to others) may be brought against Mr. Dyce's edition of the "Plain-Song" of our Ritual, especially that part of it most likely to be referred to in ordinary cases for practical guidance. We allude to his arrangement of the Gregorian tones for the Psalms, which differs considerably from most of those published within the last few years. That it is the most accurate, if not the only true one, as adapted to our service, which has yet appeared, no one, who takes the trouble of perusing his observations on the subject, appended to the second part of the work, can have any reasonable doubt. Mr. Dyce has evidently gone into the matter deeply and carefully; and we have to thank him for much information, which we confess is as new to us as we believe it will be found to be by the majority of inquirers into the subject of which he treats.

His investigations, however, have led him to a result which, in present circumstances, is likely, as we have said, to assume the form of an objection to the common use of his arrangement of the Tones. He proves distinctly that the Gregorian chants, as they were formerly sung, and, as a reference to ancient examples shows that they ought to be sung, cannot be brought under the conditions imposed by the modern manner of uniformly dividing the chant into a certain number of bars; and hence, that the correct use of them implies the necessity of

adopting a new method of chanting. This is the difficulty ; a difficulty which we think it must have required some courage on Mr. Dyce's part to disregard. It would have been natural in such a case to have endeavoured to effect some compromise between ancient authority and modern practice ; and to have proposed an arrangement which would have applied the old melodies to the modern method of chanting in such a manner as to preserve their true character as *nearly only as was practicable*. Mr. Dyce, however, has, we think, acted wisely in avoiding this snare ; in the first place, because he has thereby preserved for his work the lofty tone of a formulary, or rule of practice ; and, secondly, because, in accordance with the views which we have advocated in the foregoing remarks, we believe that if the Gregorian tones are to be employed by us at all, they ought to be sung correctly. Our observations, indeed, furnish at once a justification of Mr. Dyce's work, and an answer to the practical objection that may be brought against it. If Gregorian music is to be looked upon as a specific kind, or style, of Church music, in the same sense as the Romanesque, or the Pointed, are reckoned styles of Church architecture, which we may use or not, but which if used, are to be used *as specific styles of art*, and of which the peculiar characteristics ought to be carefully preserved, it is evident that, on the one hand, a *jumble* of ancient and modern practice is as much to be avoided in music as it is in architecture ; and that, on the other, Mr. Dyce's correct formulary of ancient practice is the greatest boon that could have been bestowed on us.

We are persuaded, indeed, that as the study of Church music advances, people will come to look upon that which is now called Gregorian chanting, much in the same light as they regard the mongrel Gothic of Sir Christopher Wren in the towers of Westminster Abbey and elsewhere. One of the most prominent features of our age is the facility with which it appreciates the character and works of ages by-gone ; and that not in a general way, or by the cold and dispassionate estimate of antiquaries, but heartily, and as a matter of religious and poetic sentiment. We become denizens of the past, make its thoughts our own, are inspired by its feelings, with an ease, readiness, and pleasure, which is, to say the least, remarkable. One effect of this transformation is a keen perception of excellence in works of ancient Ecclesiastical art ; and having such an origin, it is easy to understand why this perception should be accompanied with the desire *either to reproduce or to employ ancient art exactly as we find it*. Our admiration of it has been gained by throwing ourselves, in imagination at least, into the circumstances, the habits, the turn of mind and sentiment in which it arose, and, having done this, our sense of its complete adaptation and fitness to its purpose, becomes so keen, that we at once detect and dislike the incon-

gruities, the unmeaningness, and the insincerity of art, such as that of Wren was, when he imitated the Pointed style of architecture without the most remote acquaintance with its spirit.

This method of learning the excellence of old art by entering heartily into its spirit, is beginning to be applied to music; and, in proportion as it is, a taste for ancient music, not in the antiquarian sense, but as the means of giving expression to a certain habit of mind and religious sentiment, must inevitably follow; and, in its turn, this will ensure the preservation of the ancient styles in all their purity. The groundwork for this result is already undoubtedly laid; and we may, without much fear of being reckoned false prophets, predict that, by and by, we shall have as great a distaste for the so-called Gregorian chants, embellished with organ accompaniments, and Mr. Jebb's accidental sharps and B flats, as we now have for Sir Christopher Wren's jumble of pointed arches with the gigantic cherubs and festoons of turnips and cabbages of the architecture of the end of the seventeenth century.

The objection, then, which for the present may be made to Mr. Dyce's version of the Gregorian Tones will not, we think, prove a very lasting one. If he has given them in a correct form, the time cannot be very far distant when the very accuracy of such a formulary will be the best guarantee for its being generally adopted. And, after all, the objection is merely a practical one, depending on habits already formed, and which, as a matter of fact, are not altogether comfortable. Indeed, there are many symptoms that, in respect to Psalmody, our habits are now actually in a state of transition. Mr. Jebb considers the manner of enunciating the Psalms in chanting to be entirely wrong in many of our Cathedrals and minor churches; and within the last few years some half-dozen publications have appeared, each of which proposes some scheme for the settlement of the question, and all of which proceed on the supposition that we are not quite perfect in this particular.

One of these publications, though not intrinsically valuable, deserves notice on one account; we mean Mr. Oakeley's *Psalter with Gregorian Tones*. This is, at least, an attempt at something better than we have been accustomed to; and if it has not been successful in that respect, it certainly proposes a method of arrangement so new, and so different from any of those at present in use, that if it has been possible to introduce it in practice, we need hardly despair of effecting any change in the performance of Psalmody, however radical it may be. Now Mr. Oakeley, we believe, has found no difficulty in the introduction of his method; and, although it would not require many words to show that it is inaccurate both as respects the copy of the tones used and the manner of their adaptation to the English Psalms, yet he cannot be denied the peculiar credit of

having made the first practical effort towards a restoration of the ancient mode of intonation, and of having thereby clearly evinced that the change of habit in such matters, which many people are apt to regard as a bugbear, and to consider an insurmountable obstacle, may be effected by a very gentle effort. Not that any proof of this was in reality wanting, so far at least as the mass of the people is concerned, among whom it can hardly be affirmed that any great prejudice exists with respect to Church music. A total want of interest in it, rather than prepossession in any one direction, has for a long time characterised the state of popular feeling; and although this indifference is rapidly passing away, owing to many causes, not the least being an advancement of general intelligence in the arts; still we have not got much further as yet, than a mere disposition to think well of, without being very critical on the efforts made by the Clergy toward the amelioration of this accessory of Divine service. There is evidently a desire for something better in the shape of music than our parish churches have for a long time afforded; and if we may judge by the crowded state of the metropolitan cathedral and collegiate choirs on Sundays, an improvement in the service of the minor churches would be heartily and sincerely welcomed, whatever form the improvement might assume. Certainly, when we consider the wretched condition of the service in the majority of parish churches in the metropolis, it need not be matter of surprise, if the merely uninformed instincts of the people led them to perceive that all was not as it should be. But in truth, their instincts are not altogether uninformed; the ordinary process of general education in the arts, consists in nothing more than a gradual acquaintance with works of art; and this process, as it respects music, has been going on rapidly in the metropolis for some years past, by means of street music. The character of this may generally be assumed as a test of the state of popular taste in music; and when we find ragged urchins so far advanced as to be able to sing or whistle, and therefore to admire, airs from popular Italian operas, it is not too much to say, that to ears so far cultivated, the music of parish churches on Sundays must have a sound greatly to the disadvantage of religion. The music of the streets is so superior, in its kind, to that of the parish church, that even if a comparison between them does not assume any form of recognised thought, in the minds of those who are familiar with both, acquaintance with the former must insensibly give rise to the desire of improvement in the latter, and make improvement welcome when it becomes apparent.

So far from there being, in the present habits of the people, any obstacle to amendment, we should conceive that the very reverse was true. With respect to the past, their habits are certainly as indefinite as can be desired; and their passive state

has been just so far unsettled and stirred up, by a rising taste for music, as to prepare the way for the guidance of the Church. They are sufficiently informed to desire something better than is now generally to be had, but too little so to have a definite feeling for or against any specific form of improvement that might be attempted. The obstacles, we fear, lie quite in another quarter; and sorry we are to think that obstacles and hindrances should arise, where least of all they ought to be found, namely, among those on whom, in present circumstances, the practical direction of nearly all that relates to the music of the Church devolves. It is a serious thing to make so sweeping a charge against any class of men, as to say that they are the enemies of improvement; but really, in sober truth, there is much ground for complaint, and much need of remonstrance, when we consider the offensively obtrusive manner in which our organists employ the overgrown instruments (the "music mills," as Mr. Jebb happily terms them) at their command, and not only this, but their uniform preference of music which, though confessedly not of the best sort, gives them the most ample opportunity of display, and the pertinacity with which they insist on the use of the organ in cases where not only good taste and their credit as intelligent musicians, but even common sense, ought to teach them to dispense with it.

These, it may be said, are only accidental defects; and so they are; but they have become habits—habits which involve the love of personal distinction, and therefore are of a kind which, in artists, nothing but the love of something far higher will ever be able to overcome. There is not to be found, we really believe, any more elevated and more difficult form of self-sacrifice, at the present time, than that of an organist, who, having the means of display at his command, forgets himself in the common purpose of Divine worship; and on this account, although we do not justify, on any ground whatever, the undue place which they almost universally now-a-days assume in choral performance, we are very sensible how great the difficulty of restraint on their part is.

If there be any organists who feel this difficulty, they have our warmest sympathy; but we fear there are very few, if any, who take such a view of the matter; at the least, an immense majority seem to consider it their right and their privilege to use the organ when they please and as they please—to overwhelm the voices of the choir, or to leave them to themselves, according as the fancy of the moment may strike them. If, in short, one is to judge by appearances (and in this matter there is no other way), organists of the present time are thoroughly of opinion that the use of the organ is an improvement on the want of it at all times and under all circumstances; and this, we affirm, not simply as it is a mistake, but as it is a mistake embodied in

a habit, constitutes the greatest obstacle in the way of a reformation of Church music.

There are two things to be accomplished towards such a reformation; the one, to determine what the music of the service ought to be; the other, to secure its right performance. Now, supposing it were to be agreed upon that in its best form, the music of the Church dispenses almost entirely with the use of the organ; it is easy to perceive how great a wound on the *amour propre* of organists such a determination must inflict. It is obvious that an organist who is persuaded (and what organist is not?) that the organ is the all-important element in choral performance, must consider it extremely mortifying to be told to moderate the use of his instrument, and little less than an affront to be required to silence it altogether. We say it is but natural that such men should, on the one hand, regard with dislike, and affect to treat with contempt, the views of those who go the length of wishing that our organs were entirely shut up, or, on the other hand, that they should give a preference to that kind of music which accords to the organ the most ample means of display.

We are not, however, going to enter on any general question about the music of the Church, or the advantages or disadvantages of organ accompaniment; for it will be perceived, that in accordance with the principles advanced in the foregoing observations respecting Gregorian music, the inquiry is here also a specific one. It is not whether the use of organs be in general an improvement in divine service, but whether their being used is *right or wrong in particular instances?* The question whether the organ be admissible in the *best kind* of Church music, or rather, whether that be the best kind of sacred music which dispenses with the use of the organ, is one by itself—on that we do not now enter. We take the music now performed in our churches, which, as a matter of fact, includes all sorts, from Plain-song, down to the productions of the theatrical school of Purcell and his contemporaries and successors, and inquire whether the use of the organ to all of it, indiscriminately, is not a practice on the part of organists which lays them open to a charge of gross ignorance, bad taste, or egregious vanity—ignorance, if they do not know better—bad taste or vanity, if, knowing better, they still continue to employ the organ, and give it an offensive predominance where it either ought not to be played at all, or used only for the convenience of sustaining the pitch of the voices.

This charge, as we have said, and be it carefully remarked, is not made on any general grounds respecting the use of the organ. Whether better music be produced with the organ, or without it, we need not now inquire; but it is perfectly obvious and certain, that those specific compositions by authors of cele-

brity, which are complete without accompaniment, and which were never intended to have any accompaniment, are, and must be, spoiled as works of art by such unwarranted additions as are made to them by organists. If, for example, it can be shown that Tallis wrote an organ accompaniment for his well-known service, then let us have it, by all means, performed as he intended it should be; but if the particular musical effect designed by him was to be produced by voices alone, it is neither more nor less than a piece of vulgar impertinence in an organist to overlay the composition with organ effects which Tallis never contemplated.

What would people think, or say, if the keeper of the Cartoons at Hampton Court, under a notion that the colours were not bright enough, were to daub them over with fresh tints; or supposing that the pictures were deficient in light or shade, to change entirely the degree of prominence given by Raffaele to particular portions of his designs. Yet there is no difference between such a proceeding and that of organists, who assume that they know better than Tallis what effect his compositions ought to have, and what means should be employed to produce it.

Or, in the case of Rossini's operas, in portions of which the music is performed by voices alone, what would be thought of the leader of an orchestra who, in defiance of the composer's intentions, should insist upon accompanying the voices all through with trumpets, and drums, and trombones, with any orchestral effect, in short, which he might choose for the time? Would not people say he was mad, or that he was an ignorant blockhead, or a vain fool, who forgot his place? Yet this is exactly the conduct of our organists in the case of music such as that of Tallis, Bird, Farrant, and other writers of their epoch, whose compositions are purely vocal, and as such, so complete, that there is no place for accompaniment, except by a mere repetition of the notes sung by the voice; and this is altogether superfluous, if the choir be adequate to their performance.*

* That we are not exaggerating the absurd conduct of those who are reckoned the best of our organists, shall be shown by an instance. During the course of last month, Farrant's anthem, "Lord, for thy tender mercies' sake," was sung in the Sunday Evening Service at Westminster Abbey. Here was a case in point. Everybody, who knows anything of the matter, is aware, that Farrant's anthem is a purely vocal one, and, like all compositions of the kind, has vocal effects, which cannot be heard on the organ, and which the organ annihilates; as, for example, when a high note is sung by a man's voice, and a low one by the voice of a boy, the different quality of the voices produces a peculiarly beautiful effect, which the organ, having notes only of the same quality throughout, cannot imitate. Now, one would have thought the organist might have, in this instance, left the choir (a very ample one by the way) to itself. But, no; the organ began with the commencement of the anthem, rather gently. After the first musical phrase had been sung, then followed an *imitation of thunder!!!* i. e. the organist put his feet on several of the large pedal-pipe keys at once. Could anything be more preposterously out of place, more intensely dis-

In short, what we have said of Gregorian music, in respect to the addition of harmonies, we now say analogically of music by composers of the purely vocal school, in respect to the use of the organ;—if the latter, considered as a specific kind of Church art, requires the aid of the organ as an element towards its completeness, let us have the organ by all means; but if it requires no such aid,—in the name of good taste and good sense, let us not convert what is admitted to be one of the most perfect forms of sacred music into an inferior description of the music of a later age. In the music of the post-restoration school, the organ is an essential element; it is necessary to complete the intention of the composer; it would be just as preposterous to require in this case that the organ part should be omitted, as it is in the former case to insist upon its being used. As we have said, we are not disputing which kind of music is best on the whole; all we demand is, that whatever sort we agree to use shall be performed correctly and with intelligence,—not spoiled by the influence of theories about the general advantage of organ accompaniment, or the progress of musical science, which have nothing to do with the matter. If we are to have the play of Hamlet, we must neither omit the part of Hamlet, nor add characters which its author intentionally left out. And this, because of the recognised principle in the arts, that every work of genius, and the class to which it belongs, must be received or rejected with its beauties and its faults.

If we reckon the Gregorian Chants, or the music of the sixteenth century, worthy of being used in Divine service, either as classes of art, or as specimens of those classes, let them be used as such. If we are not satisfied with either, let us make better if we can; but this can only be done, as it always has been, by individual men of genius; and when we have got this new and better music, we shall not have arrived a step nearer the kind of abstract perfection which people dream of; we shall only have substituted one class of individual works for another. But there will be this difference, that modern composers will protect themselves against the unwarrantable and impertinent liberties which organists take with the works of ancient masters.

There seems to us to be a sort of *fatuity* which comes over organists of the present time, the moment they enter the organ-loft; for the very same men, in other circumstances, would admit the justice of the views just now expressed, and not only admit their justice, but act upon them. Who more strenuous oppo-

gusting to good taste, or more shocking to devout feeling? He continued the accompaniment throughout the anthem, during the first time it was sung; but left off for a little during its repetition, thereby, in fact, showing that he was aware how ought to be performed; but we suppose his fingers were itching all the time, & before the conclusion, we had another unmerciful crash of thunder.

nents than they to the use of accompaniment of any sort in *Madrigal singing*? If you ask them why they object to it, their answer would be precisely that which we give in the case of Church music of the age of Madrigal writing; viz. because the music requires no accompaniment, was not intended to have any; and therefore is, as *Madrigal music*, spoiled by it. Yet once set these very men on the organ-stool, let their fingers touch the keys, or their feet the pedals, and all their judgment, discrimination, and knowledge seem to vanish. We suppose the pleasure of organ-playing must be irresistible. There must be some fascination in it which gets the better of common sense and prudence. This we can easily believe. The immense size and power of an organ, the facility with which its magniloquent music is drawn out, must have an intoxicating and self-exaltatory tendency on the comparative pigmy who wields, by a slight touch, its majestic thunder. He must come to feel himself a sort of deity presiding over a world of harmonious noise. All this, we can well imagine, may happen and does happen. What then? It is nothing, after all, but a temptation, which it is the duty of organists to resist; not only as the giving way to it is a foolish vanity on their part, but as its effects are in so many cases an infringement on the prerogatives of the choir, and in every case inconsistent with the moderation which ought always to characterise the worship of God where his fear prevails.

Would the Queen of England be highly gratified by the conduct of any of her subjects, who, by way of doing her honour, should appear before her with a successful mimicry of some of her incommunicable attributes as sovereign? If they came to ask her queenly mercy and pardon for deadly offences committed against her government, dressed as kings and queens, what could she think but that they were deranged, or the most extravagantly impudent people that ever existed? Did the pagan Greeks fancy that their Jove was highly honoured by the success with which an individual once among them, produced an imitation of thunder? Did they not mark their horror of the profanity, by feigning that the person guilty of it was struck dead by a thunderbolt? Yet, if we enter our metropolitan collegiate church, the chances are, that some prayer for mercy by those who call themselves miserable offenders will be accompanied by a grotesque and preposterous imitation of thunder.

This, we hope, is an extreme case (indeed it is difficult to conceive that musical profanation can go much further); but if we may judge of the mean by the extreme, matters are in so deplorable a condition, that no language can be too strong, no means too violent, to get rid of abuses every way so detestable. We repeat our assertion, then, that the greatest obstacle to a reformation of Church music generally lies at present in the

habits of organists, and that, specially with respect to the introduction of Gregorian chanting, in its proper form, *i.e.* without accompaniment and unisonous, there is little hope of success until they are willing to consider themselves as the mere servants and helps of the choir; or, to put the matter in the form of a rule for Church music generally, until organists shall have come to regard their instrument and its music as one element only towards the completeness of choral effect, and *which is only, in fact, admissible when it constitutes, by the express provision of the composer, an essential ingredient in his work.**

Before we conclude, a few words must be said respecting another of the works cited at the head of this article: viz. Mr. Bishop's Edition of Tallis's Harmonies to the Versicles and Responses, &c.

This little work, (which, so far as its professed purpose goes, is very creditable to Mr. Bishop, and contains some new information on the authorship of certain harmonies and chants hitherto erroneously, as it appears, attributed to Tallis,) would scarcely have come within the scope of our present observations had it been nothing more than it purports to be on the title-page. But he has been trying his hand at Plain-tune for the office of the Holy Communion in a second part of the book, (to which its title makes no reference,) and on this we have a remark or two to offer.

Mr. Bishop, like many others in these days, is sensible that the music of our Church service is rather out of joint; and lends his willing hand to mend the matter if he can. He makes a beginning, accordingly, by furnishing us with a true copy of Tallis's Responses and Litany; so far well. But, proceeding onwards, he gets into deep water. He has to deal with the Communion Office, and being rather puzzled to find a something that shall look like the manual which, by the aid of Tallis, he has prepared for the Matins and Evensong, he resorts to Mr. Jebb's book for a solution of the difficulty. There he finds that the whole of the Eucharistic service must have been sung at one time; that it ought to be so now; that the work of Marbeck contains the music that was sung; but that this work being, generally speaking, obsolete, we have to hunt for new and sound principles in the present practice of Cathedrals, or, if they are not forthcoming, we may resort for guidance to books which give some account of this former practice, *i.e.* at some period

* Of course we do not mean to affirm that the organ is not to be used as a help to an inefficient choir; but we believe that most choirs are really more capable than they themselves believe, and would be more efficient if they were not always in the leading strings of the organ. All we desire, however, is, that it should be always distinctly understood when the organ is performing an integral part of the composition, and when it is acting as a mere convenience,—when it is necessary and may not be dispensed with, and when it is unnecessary and would be dispensed with if it could.

after Marbeck's work had become obsolete. The "ancient choral books," accordingly, being laid on the shelf, Mr. Bishop's chances of success rest on discovering the present or the past recorded usage of Cathedrals: and what is, what can be, the only result of his inquiry? Simply this: First, that Cathedrals have never, within the memory of man, chanted in plain-tune the office of the Holy Communion, properly so called, *i.e.* from the Offertory to the Gloria in Excelsis; and, secondly, that the only accounts we have of their former practice apply to the "second service," as it used to be termed, *i.e.* the commencement of the Communion Office as far as the Offertory—the *Missa sicca*, in short. Mr. Bishop accordingly concludes that nobody can tell how the rest ought to be chanted, and this being so, he sets to work and *invents a new use for himself*. "So little information," he says, "can be gathered as to the manner in which the office of the Holy Communion should be performed, that the editor has been compelled to draw up this portion of the work more from analogy than from positive directions. He therefore offers it simply in the spirit of suggestion, and in the hope that, should any defects be found, they will lead to the compilation of a service more perfect in its form. . . ."

Our readers need hardly be informed, that in setting aside Marbeck's work, and with it, ancient and Catholic usage, Mr. Bishop cut himself off from the possibility of success in his attempt. The very assumption, that we know nothing of the manner in which the Communion service *ought* to be performed, is one which, of itself, no person competent to suggest the proper manner could ever have been guilty of making. And in truth, Mr. Bishop has shown that he is utterly ignorant of the subject. What, we would ask, is the analogy by which he has been guided? Where are the "positive directions," as applied to the Matins and Even-song, which he was unable to find for the intonation of the Communion-office? Is there any difference between the two, so far as rubrical directions are concerned? Not a jot. The proper manner of chanting the Communion-office is to be learned by reference to the same rules, the same directions, the same ancient exemplars, by which the true intonation of the daily office is ascertained. And if the work of Marbeck is the model in the one case, so it is in the other. That much more of the ancient music of the daily office has been in practice retained than of the Communion-service, is quite true; and the fact affords miserable evidence of the extent to which we have forgotten that the Eucharist ought to be the centre-point of interest in the ritual; but this does not alter the case. Whether we have chanted it as of old, or not, it ought to have been chanted; and had it been so without interruption, the music must now have borne traces of its Catholic origin to the same extent as that of Matins, Even-song, or the Litany does.

Considering, therefore, that the ancient intonations and music of the Communion, have been entirely disused, and, accordingly, that there is not even a shadow of the pretence on which Mr. Jebb deprecates the restoration of ancient usage, where it has only been corrupted, not laid aside, we conceive that Mr. Bishop's attempt is a most pernicious one; since it endeavours to carry the present errors and abuses of the plain-song of the Daily Service into a part of the Ritual which, hitherto, it may be said, has been devoid of music altogether. Even according to Mr. Jebb's principles, the mere disuse of the ancient plain-song does not constitute a reason for its not being still regarded as a pattern for guidance. All he contends for, is, that where the plain-song has undergone alterations in practice, we may, possibly, find that the alterations have been the result of some hitherto unrecognised principle; and, on that account, that it may be a question whether we ought to disturb present established usage. But here there was no established usage whatever. There was no vestige of a modern use, to stand in the way of the Catholic and ancient one. The ancient model on which the music of matins, even-song, and the Litany, is admitted to have been derived, provides, also, for the case of the Communion Office; but in the latter there has been no modern corruption of the plain-song; for it has never been used at all. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that, however much or little of the ancient music of the Communion Office we may care to use, that much or little ought to be taken from the Exemplar, whose authority in the matter is proved by the fact that the music of matins and even-song is derived from it.

We repeat, then, that we consider Mr. Bishop's attempt to make plain-song for the Office of the Holy Communion, not only an evidence of great ignorance—proceeding, as it does, on the assumption that we have no authority or direction to guide us in the matter,—but that the work itself is a most pernicious one, because it recommends and facilitates the introduction of un-Catholic practice, in a case where our practice was in abeyance. The sentiments with which we regard this work, are precisely those we should have, if some clerical tailor, understanding that copes, chasubles, and dalmatics, ought to be worn by the clergy, and, being unable to discover what these vestments ought to be, were to set to work, and invent a set of modern dresses, and call them by the old names. We should, no doubt, honour his zeal, and take his attempt as pleasing evidence that the decorum of the Ritual was becoming matter of general interest; but, if the dresses were neither copes, chasubles, nor dalmatics, we should, of course, object to their being used, and choose rather that the present mode should be retained, than that any change should be made in the wrong direction. If our clergy had been in the habit of wearing chasubles of the bass

fiddle sort of shape used by the Roman-catholics, we should have felt much indebted to Mr. Pugin, or any one else, who pointed out, by a reference to antiquity, the proper form of the dress, just as we are indebted to Mr. Dyce for showing us, by the same reference to ancient principle and practice, the correct mode of intoning and chanting the service in plain-tune. But chasubles have not been worn at all; and if any one, like our tailor, thinking they ought to be, were either to tell us that it was impossible to discover what was their shape, or that such being the case, he had been compelled to invent a new dress, the answer must be, that he had as well make himself better acquainted with the subject before he meddled with it.

The plain-tune of the Communion-office is in the predicament of the chasubles: it has not been used at all; and we fear that Mr. Bishop is in the predicament of the tailor. He was unable to discover what the music of the office ought to be; and as he felt there ought to be music, he invented some, and called it plain-tune.

If any of our readers refer to the book, they may, perhaps, think that we have made too much of this mistake of Mr. Bishop; for, after all, his music is of the most innocent kind; so much so, that, like the lion's part in "*Midsummer Night's Dream*," it may be done *extempore*, for it is nothing but a monotone throughout. This, however, does not affect our argument.

A History of the Convocation of the Church of England; being an Account of the Proceedings of Anglican Ecclesiastical Councils, from the Earliest Period. By the Rev. THOMAS LATHBURY, M.A. London: J. W. Parker. 1842.

ONCE upon a time the Great Western Railroad presented a strange spectacle to the bystanders. An engine, remarkable for symmetry, strength, and magnitude, was carrying with it an attendant train of well-filled carriages. No pains had been spared in adapting the machine to the exigencies of the journey; it was sufficiently supplied with breaks to prevent excessive rapidity, and with means of developing fresh steam in case its load should be augmented. There was space for receiving more passengers, and contrivances for adding such vehicles as might be needed for the varying districts through which it was to pass. Those who launched it from its first station had remembered, apparently, that it was not only to glide near the regal towers of Windsor, and the classic walls of Oxford, but that it was to visit the untry villages of Berkshire, the manufacturers of Wootton Bassett, the idlers of Bath, and the mariners of Bristol. But now comes wonder. At every station it was hailed, but it would stop at none. Princes and peasants, watermen and waterwomen, the manufacturer

and the trader, call to it in vain. The amazed book-keepers wave their flags, the policemen hold up their wands: but no—it passes on as reckless as Kehama of old, whose

— “brazen cars of triumph straight
At the same moment drove through every gate.”

The excellent arrangements which had been made about tickets were useless. The passengers who awaited its arrival must make their way across the country by such new roads as they could discover, grumbling at Watt, Brunel, and every body else who pretended to provide for the public accommodation. Those who entered it at all could do so only by such desperate leaps as few were quick enough to adventure. The train itself, however, went well enough, except that it laboured rather at a few ascents, as though it were in danger of stopping, and precipitated itself down the slopes with a somewhat desperate rapidity. Nor was this to be wondered at, for the spectators could see at once that there were no drivers upon the engine. Whether they had fallen off, or been forgotten, had slunk back into the carriages to sleep, or been knocked on the head at one of the bridges—the result was the same, the engine was without guidance. This circumstance, however, was unobserved by the majority of passengers, whose business was not to drive the train, but to be carried by it. Moreover, the gentlemen in the first-class carriages were too busy reading the last night's debate upon the currency to take any notice of the matter. Those in the second-class were prevented by wooden partitions from looking forwards, and they were locked up besides, for it was before the time when Sydney Smith distinguished himself as a railroad emancipator. But what seemed strange was, that an excellent carriage next to the engine was occupied by a company of engineers, who had nothing to do but to step out, and take the guidance. Yet there they sat, as still as the seven sleepers. Some thought them asleep, and many were the shouts, ay, and the missiles, directed against their vehicle. But it is understood that they were quite awake to the matter. Indeed, it is said that they were debating whether it was not much safer that the engine should be left without guidance. There were stories afloat of great dangers which had attended the attempt to direct it. If they stopped, was it certain that they could be set off again; and were the drivers themselves quite agreed as to the rate of motion? True, those who were waiting at the stations were likely enough to be dissatisfied: they would have to make new roads for themselves, and perhaps pull up the rail in their vexation. But those who jumped might get in as it was; and, even if the carriages stopped, the rest might not choose to enter. And so the whole train was trusted to the instinct of the engine.

We cannot direct our readers to the number of the *Railway Times* in which this singular experiment is recorded. But, if they

are to trust to Mr. Lathbury's book, they will find an exact parallel in the condition and fortunes of the Church of England. "I will venture to assert," he concludes his work, "that no member of our Anglican Church, who fully understands her constitution, and is acquainted with her history, can deny that our position, without a Convocation, in which alone the Church can authoritatively speak, is most anomalous." How far he makes good his assertion we shall see hereafter; at present, let us observe that he first notices the earlier part of the Church's career; then shows the nature of her legislative organs; lastly, explains and deplores their inactivity.

We will deviate a little from this order, more suited, perhaps, to the describer of a railroad journey than to a systematic expositor of the Church's constitution, and profit by his inquiries into the nature and number of our Church's laws. These are mainly of two sorts, Acts of Parliament and Canons. We cannot find space to point out fully the relative places of these two classes of obligations: of which the first has always the more power, but the second often the more authority. For we cannot agree to what Mr. Lathbury says, we hope in a thoughtless mood, "the law of the land may impose a duty on the ministers of the Church, and they readily perform the duty." (P. 349.) Whether they should do so or no depends on further considerations: we ought to obey God rather than man. Were the Church, to which we have promised obedience, to give a plain command, none but an Erastian would say that we might disobey it. We hold to what was replied by Sir Thomas More to the base traitor who endeavoured to entrap him: "If an Act of Parliament was to rule that God was not God, would it be binding?" This, then, is the general position of the two authorities: where the Church speaks plainly and decisively, her Canons are of more authority with Christians than Acts of Parliament. When she does not command compliance, we are not called upon to brave the edge of the civil sword, or rather we are not justified in originating angry contentions, for what would be more desirable, but is not positively enacted. If, for instance, the State required us to alter our creeds, no persecution could justify compliance; when she interferes, as she does at present, with the exercise of our discipline—the main injury our Church suffers from the State—we are only called upon to employ peaceful remonstrances.

The most important Acts of Parliament by which the Church of England is affected are the Acts of Uniformity, passed in the 1st year of Queen Elizabeth, and the 13th of Charles II., and that of Henry VIII., by which the Clergy are prohibited from making any laws for their own guidance without the consent of the Sovereign. In each of these cases, (we say nothing of the persecuting *Præmunire* laws,) the civil power does not interfere as though possessing an originating authority, but only as watching, sanctioning, and confirming what the rulers of Christ's Church have enacted. This appears to be the theory of our Constitution, broken in upon,

perhaps, to some slight degree in modern times, but sufficiently entire to be still defensible. We hope the present generation of Churchmen will not retreat to any more assailable ground. Those who would know all the provisions (till of late years) which concern ecclesiastical matters, will find them in the learned Codex of Bishop Gibson, [the student should procure the last edition, Oxford 1761,] where those statutes, which have been superseded, are printed, by way of distinction, in a smaller character.

We find here all the State laws which affect the Church of England; and it may assist us in repelling the charge of being merely a Parliamentary Church, that many of those which are still in force are of earlier date than the Reformation. The very first clause of the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill of this year proposes to alter three Acts, still in operation, which were passed by Parliament in the reigns of the three Edwards. Nor are our Canons of less antiquity. They consist, according to the 25th Henry VIII. c. 19, of "such Canons already made as are not contrariant to the laws of this realm." Whatever portion, therefore, of the general Canon law of Europe had previously been accepted in this country, continues in force, unless it is contrary to some of our national enactments. This Act gives the same sanction to these ancient Canons, which the Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer receive from the Act of Uniformity; they thus pass from the department of Ecclesiastical into that of State laws, and are not only enjoined by the Church, but imposed by the Legislature. It is otherwise with that collection of enactments which was passed by Convocation in 1602, and which was no doubt designed to form such a collected body of statutes, as should supersede the necessity of referring to the ancient rules. But, as these Canons have never received a Parliamentary sanction, they have not taken the place of the scattered fragments of original custom, and are only binding in themselves upon those who were represented in Convocation. On the Clergy, however, they have the force of law; and even beyond this they have a measure of authority. "Some of them," Mr. Lathbury says, "even now concern the laity." What should be done, *i. e.* by the Clergy, in the exercise of their functions among the laity, is indicated by this rule, and it is the duty of the ministers of the Church to induce the laity to submit to it. But no actual process against a layman can be based upon this mere authority. When Lord Melbourne, for example, two years ago, pointed to the bench of Bishops, and declared that there sat the Convocation of the Church of England, he was protected not only by privilege of Parliament, but by his lay character, from the lash of the 139th Canon, which asserts, that "whosoever shall hereafter affirm that a national synod is not the Church's Representative, shall be excommunicated, and not restored until he publicly revoke his wicked error."

It is well, however, that the Clergy should remember the punishment to which they would expose themselves by questioning the

authority of Convocation, as well as the sentence passed upon those who deny the validity of its Canons; for, strange as it may seem, "some persons have asserted that they have no authority at all. The editor of a newspaper has maintained," says Mr. Lathbury, "that they are only conventional rules among the Clergy." (P. 212.) We could ourselves mention a county paper, under Wesleyan influence, though professing great friendship to the *Establishment*, which actually maintained this paradox, at the very moment when Mr. Escott was under suspension for violating the 68th Canon. Mr. Lathbury notices, and it is needless to do more than notice, the absurdity of such discussions respecting the validity of a rule which the Ecclesiastical Courts are habitually enforcing. As well might the accuracy of the sentiment, so absurdly attributed to Lord Denman, that acts of Parliament might be safely violated, form the subject of debate among the prisoners in the Borough Compter.

But let us hear Mr. Lathbury state the constitution of that body, which claims in so authoritative a manner to be "the Church of England by representation."

"England is divided into two provinces of Canterbury and York. The Convocation of Canterbury consists of all the Bishops of the Province, who constitute the Upper House; of twenty-two Deans, fifty-three Archdeacons, twenty-four Proctors of Chapters, and forty-four for the Parochial Clergy, and one Precentor, who compose the Lower House. As there is no Dean of the Chapter of St. David's, the Precentor is summoned in his stead. Llandaff is also without a Dean, yet no one is summoned as a representative [A. D. 1842]. Before the dissolution of the monasteries, the Abbots also had seats in the Upper House, at which time it was more numerous than the Lower. At present, however, the Upper House in the Province of Canterbury consists of 22—the Lower, of 144.

"The method of choosing the proctors for the Clergy varies somewhat in different places. In the diocese of London each Archdeacon chooses two, and from the whole number the Bishop selects two to attend the Convocation. In Sarum the three Archdeacons choose six, and the six make a selection of two of their own number; and the same method is adopted in the Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry. In Bath and Wells all the incumbents choose their proctors jointly. In Lincoln the Clergy of the six archdeaconries send commissioners to Stamford, who make the necessary choice of two persons. In Norwich the two Archdeaconries of Norwich and Norfolk jointly choose one, and the Archdeaconries of Suffolk and Sudbury choose the other. The same is the case in Chichester. In ancient times the Clergy were represented in Convocation by the Archdeacons. Such is the mode of choosing proctors in the Province of Canterbury. In the province of York two proctors are returned by each Archdeaconry. Were it not so, the numbers would be too small for the transaction of business. In this Province, therefore, the proctors for the Parochial Clergy are equal in number to those for the Chapters."—P. 119.

Mr. Lathbury then notices the double summons given to Convocation, which occasioned such warm controversies a century and a half ago—controversies which called forth the genius of Atterbury, and were at length buried under the ponderous learning of Kennet and Wake. The Convocation is summoned by two writs, one from the Crown to each Bishop, which, in a clause beginning with the word "*præmunientes*," orders him to bring to Parliament his Dean,

Archdeacons, one delegate for his Chapter, and two for his Clergy, (Lathbury, p. 121;)—the other writ is from the Archbishop of each Province, who, at the order of the Crown, summons in a similar manner the Clergy under his jurisdiction. It has been a ground of contention, then, whether these writs referred to two assemblies, distinct in nature, though consisting perhaps of the same persons, and summoned at the same period, or whether they were merely adopted as a securer way of enforcing the same summons. On this important point Mr. Lathbury takes no decided view—in p. 121 he favours the former, in the following page the latter alternative. The theory of Atterbury, who adopted the last of these two hypotheses, appears to have been mainly taken up in order to assimilate the powers and processes of the Lower House of Convocation to those of a modern House of Commons; while that of White Kennet, who distinguished between the State Assembly of the Clergy and their Ecclesiastical Synod, though more probable, leaves some difficulties to resolve. These arise especially from the division of the two provinces. Freedom from arrest, for instance, is granted to delegates to Convocation in consequence of the “*præmunientes*” clause, which summons them to Westminster: by what circumstance has this been extended to the assembly which meets at York? We should gladly see some more complete and satisfactory work on the theory of Convocation, in which these questions should be fairly examined. Mr. Lathbury, though popular and useful, passes *sicco pede* over matters of research. And all his inquiries are confined to this side of the Trent. He seems to have taken more heed than King James to the difficulty of passing that river:

“Many a pennon will be torn,
And many a knight to earth be borne,
And many a sheaf of arrows spent,
Ere Scotland's king shall pass the Trent.”

Our author is on his guard against such dangers. His mode of describing the Archbishop's summons (p. 122) would imply, though we by no means charge him with designing to infringe the hyperborean privileges, that the southern Primate summoned both provinces. Again, in the passage we quoted, he states that “in the Province of York two proctors are returned for every Archdeaconry, therefore the proctors for the Parochial Clergy are equal in number to those for the Chapters.” (P. 119.) How can Mr. Lathbury, or his authority, Hody, be ignorant that the northern province contains twice as many archdeaconries as chapters? The delegates of the one, therefore, are three times as numerous as those of the other. Several interesting points, likewise, which arise from the divisions of the provinces, he fails to resolve. What part, for example, have the bishops of the northern province in the southern Convocation? The presence of the Bishop of Durham in a Committee of the Upper House of Convocation is mentioned by our author (p. 245) without observation. Again, if the appointment of a prolocutor arises merely from the

division of the two houses, (Lathbury, p. 124,) why do the Clergy of York appoint a similar officer, and what are his rights and duties? Yet we see from Wilkins, vol. iv. p. 567, that, A. D. 1661, the following was the course adopted:—"Post lectionem literarum commissionarium Reverendissimi Ricardo Marsh, Johanni Neill, et Antonio Elcock, directarum, et post concilii continuationem in horas pomeridianas, Johannes Neill, unus commissionarium in prolocutorem unanimi consensu electus, Archiepiscopi Commissionariis presentatus, et ab illis admissus fuit." Of these commissioners, the first was Dean of York: Neill, who was selected, was Archdeacon of Cleveland: the latter may have been chosen, lest the right of presiding might be supposed to appertain to the principal Dean of the Province. We hope that our brethren of the northern Province do not neglect to keep up their privileges, but we do not remember to have heard lately of any address presented by them to the Crown.

We are sorry that Mr. Lathbury has not entered at large upon these questions, to which his learning, industry, and opportunities qualify him to do justice. Perhaps he reserves it for a subsequent work, or a second edition. We hope he will add an Index, which, for a book like his, is particularly needed. Of his present work the historical outline of Convocation is the best part, though here too he is not altogether without error. What right has he to say that "British Bishops were present at the Council of Nice" (P. 20.)? Stillingfleet, indeed, thinks it probable; but it is not right to assert what can only be suspected. Mr. Lathbury speaks as though he had in his library the lost copy of S. Athanasius's Synodicon. Again, we are not satisfied with his notice of the 5th and 7th Councils—the 5th was not merely directed against the opinions of Origen, nor was the 7th universally received in the Western Church. He is more at home on native ground, and especially when he enters upon that interesting period of the meeting of Convocation which followed the Reformation. This was the time when the privileges of that body, as the representative of a national Church, were asserted and acted upon. To the interval between the death of Queen Mary and the Great Rebellion, all members of the Church, of course, look back as an age when her principles developed themselves with most definiteness. We next pass to the reign of Charles II., when a design was in agitation for superseding Convocation by a Royal Commission, which would have entirely altered the constitution of the Church of England, and given an opening for its total destruction at the era of the Revolution; for, had so ready an instrument been in existence, the pernicious changes which were meditated by Tillotson and his associates could hardly have been prevented, and the claim of our communion to be a branch of the primitive Church Catholic would have been altogether surrendered. It was not Courts or Prelates, but the mass of the lower Clergy, whom we are to thank, God's instruments, at that period, for our salvation. And that were able to defend us must be attributed in part, as Mr.

Lathbury observes, to a man whom it has been the custom of all party scribes to abuse, but who has not had sufficient justice done him by the adherents of that Church which he served with so much zeal, and for which he suffered with so much patience. The feelings of an apt representative of the Low Church party towards Peter Heylin were expressed in the assertion, [vide the interesting Life by his son-in-law, Dr. Barnard,] "that the Archbishop (Laud) might print, and the doctor (Heylin) might preach what they pleased against popery, but that he should never think them, or either of them, to be less Papists for all that." (Barnard's *Theologo-Historicus*, p. 240.) Yet Heylin, like some whom we could mention in the present day, did good service against Popery by defending the existence of that Church, which is the only barrier against its prevalence in the world. And among other services was the letter, preserved by Dr. Barnard, (p. 250,) in which he urged the summoning of Convocation in lieu of the Ecclesiastical Commission, which was endeavouring, and the warning is not without present utility, to occupy its room. The Savoy Conference followed. Then came a season during which Convocation met, but with little effect. The Revolution for a time revived its energy. The plans for improvement which were in agitation during its sessions at the commencement of the last century were many and various. The revival of Church Discipline, the regulation of the office of Rural Dean, the extension of Episcopacy on the Continent, the visitation of prisoners, the erection and endowment of new Churches, the care of our Colonies,—these were the topics to which the thoughts of the Synod were directed, and for which, had it continued to act, provision would probably have been made. That all these subjects have been handed on untouched to the present century, and almost to the present generation; that thousands, or rather millions of men have waited vainly for the beneficent ministrations of the Church, and see her pass by them year after year, as though the mute call of their brutish ignorance was no summons which could interrupt her onward course,—all this is to be attributed to nothing so directly as to the want of some legislative power in the Church, which could retard or accelerate her progress, could meet the demands of time and place, and adapt her to the exigencies of the hour.

It is not our purpose to follow our author into the disputes which at first raised a prejudice against Convocation, and led finally to the suspension of its action. But we think he has hardly done justice to the Clergy of that age; for he has not noticed what seems to us a sufficient account of the passion and prejudice with which they acted, that they were left, like the celebrated companions of Xenophon, to find their unwonted way amidst the opposition of a hostile government, and without the guidance of their natural leaders. If they escaped in safety from such dangers, it was all that could be anticipated. Disorders and disputes, and some misconduct, either among one another or towards their neighbours, was the inevitable result of so unnatural a situation. We

have in it a striking proof of the great evil which the Church suffers when men are raised to its highest offices who are without the confidence of their inferiors. Yet such was the situation of things when, as Addison expressed it, with more truth than himself discerned, the diocese of Salisbury had not a Presbyterian in it except the Bishop. We think it is Lord Mahon who has observed that this was the great thing which prevented the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline over the Clergy during the last century. And to this do we attribute the unkindly feeling between the two houses, which placed the Convocation of the Church of England in so unfavourable a light. The Crown had just commenced a merciless persecution of the Scottish Church. But the Bishops whom it had appointed here showed no sympathy with their afflicted brethren. The permanence of the Prayer Book, and the purity of the Church, was openly threatened; but no sound of remonstrance was heard from the Upper House. Meanwhile, a large body of the Clergy believed the ejected Prelates to possess the real authority of their order. How natural then their distrust of those who showed no sympathy with their dangers! How difficult was it altogether to conceal their conviction, that no army could prevail, so long as the enemy appointed their generals! And what wonder that such a state of feeling should issue in the dissensions which followed!

To all this more justice should have been done in the work before us. Yet it is gratifying to observe, that it contains the most decided protest against the Erastian notions, which would do away Convocation altogether, and that a strong desire is expressed for a revival of its action. Yet we are not sure that the author sees his way very clearly as to what Convocation *might* do, and as to what ought to be its first measures. On these points we will make a few remarks in conclusion.

The great want of the Church of England in the present day is obviously independence. She is placed in the midst of many voluntary institutions, which are constantly endeavouring to seduce her into companionship in their uncatholic ways. She pays for the negligence of her leaders during the last century, who neglected to take such steps as might have retained the bulk of the people in her communion; and she can no longer prescribe, as she once did, for the benefit of the whole land. She is contented to spread her board for such as choose to continue in her family, without taking account of those who refuse to be her children. Over their faith and habits she exercises no control. Her sons are members of a Parliament which others enter. She receives a share of national grants, which are given as well for the support of truth, as the inculcation of falsehood. She profits by a protection for her public worship, which is given equally to the Churches of God, and the synagogues of Satan. In these respects she conforms to that law of God's providence, which makes the sun to shine on the evil and the good, and gives rain to 'he just and the unjust.

But what she does not, and may not do, is to recognise and sanction those evils which she cannot avert. And this it is for which the sectarians clamour. It is of no profit to them to be raised to high places, so long as the King's ancient servant may sit sad and silent within the royal gates. They invite her to take livery and service with them, and offer a participation of their novel blessings. She gave degrees in her universities to those who had a Church education; they do the like for those who are educated without religion. She registered the temporal incidents of her children; they required the State, which alone of God's ordinances they acknowledged, to do so for them. She blessed marriages; they desired a mode of marriage without blessing. She educated her children; they desired the State to educate theirs. But with all these concessions they were not content, unless Churchmen might be compelled to suffer those privations which they themselves chose as their privilege. They require not only the right to grant degrees, but that our titles should not be our own exclusive possession. They compel us to enroll our births and deaths in the registers invented for their benefit. They complain because we wish to be married like our fathers, and as they did to bring up our children. All looks the same way: they have lost the benefits and associations of a Church, and wish to pull us down to their level. Their complaint is not of the situation which they have chosen for themselves, but because we cannot be compelled to share it. Liberty is not enough for them without equality. They pride themselves on being destitute of the apostolical succession. It is well. But what harm do they suffer by our retaining it? It is the old apologue—they have cut off their own tails, and would follow the fox's precedent. In other words, they want intercommunion with us. Now, there is one weak point in our system. We are compelled to recognise baptized persons, who die without being subject to sentence of excommunication, as Christian brethren. Over all such our Burial Service must be employed. The Church designed that separatists should be severed from us by public sentence, but this Parliament prevents. This, then, is our difficulty. To recognise persons as our brethren in Christ who are not in communion with any branch of the Church Catholic is a clear infraction of our principles: it imposes upon us individually the assertion of what, at the best, we think questionable: it subjects the Church at large to the heinous guilt of giving men false encouragement. A large body of the Clergy live in the constant expectation of being compelled to suffer persecution for breaking the law of the land. We speak not here of the burial of children, who have been baptized by schismatics, which may be alleged to stand upon a different footing; we take the case of grown persons, who have lived in open separation from the Church, and died declaring that they did not wish to be reconciled. What possible ground is there for receiving such persons as members of our communion? If it be a profanation to minister the Holy Eucharist to a professed infidel, why is it less so to receive

as a member of the Church's fold those who by voluntary profession are separatists? Yet the Clergyman who refuses to do so is subject by the letter of the 68th Canon to be suspended for three months. We say its letter, for the law contemplated no such case. Now what Clergyman can tell that he may not be the next who is called upon to suffer this persecution for the sake of the Gospel? But this perplexity might be removed by Convocation alone; for it rests only on the 68th Canon. That nothing else compels us to use the Funeral Service over sectarians is obvious, for had any common-law right existed, it must have been pleaded in the case of *Mastin versus Escott*. This, therefore, is the first object for Convocation—to free us from a yoke which we have taken upon our own necks, and from which nothing else can exonerate us. We need no Act of Parliament; it was our own work, and can be undone by ourselves. And why the whole body of the Clergy do not incessantly solicit the royal license for the meeting of Convocation, as some dioceses have already done, if it be merely for the removal of this capital evil, we are unable to conjecture.

We are surprised to find so little mention, on our author's part, of this, in our view most material object of the meeting of Convocation. He introduces others which, however important, are less immediately within the power of our Synod. He says, very justly, "any material change in the Liturgy is out of the question." (P. 389.) But he does not appear to discern, that there is in this case the further safeguard of a legal, as well as a moral impossibility. He is surely in error when he says (p. 124,) that Convocation can "reform the Liturgy." True, no change in the Liturgy can be made without its consent; for, having been fixed by the joint authority of Convocation and Parliament, it must be amended by the same power from which it was derived; but Convocation by itself cannot alter what the Act of Uniformity has enjoined. Were the concurrence of Parliament obtained, a change might then no doubt be effected. And this we take to be the reason why nothing of the kind is to be desired. We suppose that no party would choose to consult a body so indifferent, if not hostile, to the Church as the House of Commons. There are certainly some things which many Churchmen would not regret to see otherwise. Why should Edward's First Book have been tampered with by foreign meddlers? What evil would there be in the abjuration at Baptism, or the invocation of the Holy Ghost at the Holy Eucharist? And yet, though these things may be abstractedly good, we have no wish to introduce a spirit of innovation, which is never so injurious as in the Liturgical offices of a nation. To give the minister the option of changing a few words, (as done in America,) renders it uncertain, on any occasion, whether the voice of the Priest and the mind of the people will go together. To alter existing prayers, therefore, we should hold little short of a profanation. We think it was Coleridge who said, that, to change a word in a line of Milton was like attempting to push a single brick

out of a well-built wall with the fingers; and still less could we tolerate such a process in what is not only consecrated by the inspiration of genius, but hallowed by the associations of devotion. If any change were made, it must be of a kind which should not interfere with existing prayers, but add something alongside of them. And if we must "ventilate such generals," we should observe that the thing most wanted in our service is a sufficient variety for varying seasons, for fast and festival, for joy and humiliation. This would be attained by the permission to use one of the penitential Psalms in lieu of the 95th, or of either of the Canticles. Those who attempt to do justice to our Church's resources would thus be enabled to adapt her words more completely to every season. We will mention one thing more which we should be ready to concede to the complaint of some of our town brethren. The length of the Ministration of the Holy Communion precludes them, they say, from assuring each individual that the Saviour's body is bestowed upon him for his single benefit. This complaint is an instance of the evil of sacrificing primitive usage to present difficulties. To exclude the modern figment of Transubstantiation, the hallowed simplicity of the ancient ritual was exchanged for the short sermon to each individual, which closes our present form of administration. This is found to render the service so long, that in many places it is pronounced but once to many worshippers. The ancient words had been so chosen as not to prolong the service, being coincident in the time which they consumed with the act of administration. Thus have men created the difficulty under which they suffer. And in place of the present unauthorized omission of the words, is it impossible to return to the primitive usage; to repeat the ancient words with which our modern form commences to each worshipper, and the longer form, if need be, once only to the whole body of communicants? We counsel no deviation from the Rubric; but such a practice, as the case stands at present, would seem to us a much slighter departure from the prescribed rule than that which is now too commonly adopted.

Another advantage which Mr. Lathbury anticipates from the revival of Convocation, is the restoration of Suffragan Bishops. We know not why he supposes that any legislative act would facilitate a step which it is so manifestly in the power of our present rulers to effectuate. We are clearly of opinion that it is not advisable to seek new powers, till those which lie dormant in our system have been done justice to. Indeed, we see, from a notice of a recent tract, that he is aware that no new Act of Parliament is needed. And we heartily wish that his expectations, as to the revival of this order, may be realized. It is obvious to those who are believers in the reality of the Church's ordinances, that nothing can be more fatal than that a most important part of our system should be practically in abeyance. While the Church's office of instruction has been infinitely augmented, there has been a positive retrogression in those

parts of her system which are set forth as the especial channels of grace. Charity schools for the young have been increased; the Clergy, who were bound to preach once a month, have multiplied their homilies eightfold; but what proportionate increase has there been in the solemnity with which Confirmation is administered? The Canon which enjoins triennial Confirmations seems to measure the utmost which is aimed at, and, in many instances, not attained to by our spiritual rulers. When a Rector or Vicar is disabled by age or sickness from the exercise of his function, he is obliged to procure a substitute for the discharge of his duties. Why are the much more important duties of the successors of the Apostles to be in such a case neglected? We have heard discussions of late respecting the establishment of new Bishoprics. This would no doubt be desirable, but the project is beset with such difficulties as must delay, if not defeat it. For our part, we agree with Mr. Lathbury, that the best remedy is to use, in the mean time, our existing powers. Let the Bishops, who are oppressed by extensive dioceses, or whom age or sickness disqualify from exertion, procure the aid of Suffragans. By this means the functions of the highest office in the Church would be duly performed. We should not hear of churches being opened by license, because the Bishop could not attend to consecrate. How interesting and impressive is it, that the place of God's especial presence should, from the period of its first tenancy by mankind, be taken possession of by the Church's solemn rite, secluding it from aught else till the hour of doom! How grievous is it that this affecting privilege should be sacrificed to the convenience of him whose office it is to be the servant of all men for Christ's sake! Yet how can it be otherwise, while the Bishop is oppressed with his present load of business? He can but do his best. But let him have an assistant, empowered to execute such portions of his office as are committed to him by letters patent, and restricted, under penalty, from doing more, and the whole of any Bishop's duties might easily be effected. We will venture to say, that the effect produced upon the whole Church would be instantaneous and incalculable. The Hierarchy would begin again to be not merely a system of polity, but an instrument of grace. The people would learn that the Church is not Episcopal in name alone, the priesthood would give effect to the words of the Apostolic martyr, and do nothing without their Bishop.

Now, although the session of Convocation is not needed to give effect to a law which is already in existence, yet we agree with Mr. Lathbury in supposing that nothing would so certainly lead to the consecration of Suffragan Bishops as its assemblage. To enter upon the reasons of this opinion would lead us into somewhat delicate ground. Suffice it to say, that the only reason why Episcopal duties have been so grievously neglected, as in some cases might be instanced, has been because there was no authorized means of applying a remedy. That a clergyman should reside for years on the continent, and shut up

his church, is impossible—he has a superior who would prevent it. Is the same thing impossible for a Bishop? The answer is but too apparent—what has been done may be repeated. But it is clear that such a thing could not be done were there any authorized assembly of the Church's representatives, which was convened to redress such abuses. And so on in respect to lesser evils. The grand abuse of the present day, the great inattention, namely, to the due efficiency of Confirmation, is a case in point. Considering that our present want is Church Discipline, that it is only to be approximated to by such processes as may at least enable the Church to declare who are and who are not her members, the cardinal point of our system would be such a provision as pointed out distinctly how men entered into full communion, and enabled us to keep a precise register of our members. This would at once make the Church an organized body. If Confirmation was never ministered save when young people were prepared and fit to approach the Lord's Table, and if the Church's order to require the names of new communicants were obeyed, this object would at once be secured. But the great hindrance which is felt by the parochial clergy is, that the rare recurrence of Confirmations makes it dangerous to reject unfit parties, lest they should be altogether lost sight of before the return of the three years, when the Bishop is compelled by canon to administer this rite. What result might follow its more attentive celebration may be illustrated from the following passage of a work, which contains some useful observations in the midst of much which is low and fallacious:—

“ Another cause of the great influence of the clergy, and of the total absence of religious dissent, is the great consideration in which the rite of Confirmation is held. It is not here, as it practically is in the Church of England, a mere ceremony, in which the Bishop knows nothing personally of the parties he is admitting into the Church, and the parish priest knows little more than that they were baptized, and are of age. There is here a strict examination by the Bishop, or the Probst, or rural Dean, into the young persons knowledge of his moral and religious duties, his capacity, acquirements, and character; and it is only after a long previous preparation by his parish minister, equal almost to a course of education, the confirments being instructed singly, as well as in classes, that the individual is presented for this examination. I was present lately at a Confirmation of about twenty young persons in our parish church by the Probst. The examination, in presence of the congregation, occupied nearly two hours. It was a sifting trial, to know if each individual attached the real meaning to the words he was using, and actually could understand what he had been taught on the subject of religion. It was evident that considerable pains had been taken with the instruction of each individual. To pass such a confirmation implies that the young person is well grounded in the principle of his moral and religious duties, and is of good character and understanding. It is, in common life, equivalent to taking a degree in the learned professions, being, in fact, a certificate of capacity for discharging ordinary duties and trusts. It is accordingly so considered in Norway. “A *confirmed* shop-boy wants a place,”—“Wanted a *confirmed* girl who can cook,”—are the ordinary advertisements to or from that class of the community; and the not being confirmed would be equivalent to the not having a character, either from want of conduct, or of ordinary capacity. Something similar prevailed formerly in Scotland, but not to the same extent. A young man of the labouring class usually took a certificate of his good character from the minister, when he

removed to a distant parish. The confirmation in Norway certifies much more, as, in the face of the congregation the confirment has shown that he can read, and has the use of his mental faculties to an ordinary degree, according to his station, and has moral and religious principles to direct him. It is extraordinary that the Church of England has not, like this Lutheran sister in the north, kept fast hold of a rite, which connected her so closely with society, its education, and its business. This simple discharge of an unexceptionable duty shuts out dissent from the Norwegian Church."—*Laing's Residence in Norway*, p. 188.

We will close with but one further observation—respecting the probability that we shall live to see Convocation restored. We often hear its want deplored, and the fault laid upon her Majesty's Administration. Now this is surely most unfair. The fault is obviously with the Clergy themselves. Why should they expect to see this Synod restored, till they express their wish for its restoration? The Crown has solemnly promised, and the promise is repeated in every copy of the Book of Common Prayer, that whenever the Clergy petition for a restoration of their synodical functions, no opposition shall be offered by the secular power. (*Vide* Proclamation prefixed to the Articles.) The State requires only to be told when Convocation is thought needful. Every time it summons a lay-parliament it calls our assembly together, and waits only for a request from the Clergy to give it freedom of action. Now, is such request made? From how many Dioceses has it yet come? We have heard of it in two or three, but what is done by the rest? But, it is said, if the request were made it would be fruitless. So long as the Royal Declaration continues to be appended to the Book of Common Prayer, we have no right to suppose that its promise would be violated. Should such be the case, the Church would, no doubt, be exonerated from its responsibility: but till we ask we cannot allege that we have been denied. As yet the fault is our own.

It is the more needful to say something on this subject, because the duty of petitioning has been so long neglected by the Clergy, that they need as much to be reminded of the manner, as of the necessity of its performance. At the present moment, for instance, we have the form of a petition before us, which is said to be "lying for signature" at the very shop whence Mr. Lathbury's works issue. [Parker's, West Strand.] Yet we think it impossible that the author of this singular document can have read even so slight a sketch of the nature of our Synod as Mr. Lathbury supplies. We say nothing of the structure of the petition, less perspicuous and scholarlike than we should have desired: our objections are to the admission, that we are without a legislature, and that the Houses of Parliament have the power of supplying one.

Neither of these assertions is true. We have a Legislature, though its powers are in abeyance. We cannot allow that "Convocation has fallen into desuetude." If any Clergyman thinks so, let him formally deny the 139th Canon, and see whether the Ecclesiastical Courts would not teach him that the sacred Synod of this nation,

which still meets at least once in seven years, is the Church of England by representation. Convocation has no more ceased to exist than the House of Commons in the interval between a dissolution and re-election.

This may seem to some a verbal question, but its vast importance is the conclusion which its denial involves. What leads men to petition the Houses of Parliament but the notion that Convocation has ceased to exist, and that it remains for our civil rulers to establish a new system of Church legislation? Now, that they have any power to do so we altogether deny. The attempt would imply that the Church of England was an Act of Parliament Church; which all her advocates have perpetually contradicted. Yet what else were she, if the Houses of Parliament could do more than give their temporal assent to her spiritual enactments? It would be for the Church herself to consider of "the establishment of some deliberative Ecclesiastical body, having authority to frame regulations, and to decide in questions of doubt and difficulty." And she has already considered the point sufficiently. Parliament can only lend the sanction of its powers to what is already settled by authority.

We hope, therefore, that no Clergyman will sign this objectionable petition. Indeed, we doubt whether any one can sign it without danger. Let it "lie" to the end without signatures.

But do we wish the Clergy to do nothing? On the contrary, we rejoice that attention is called to the subject; and entreat them to petition the Queen that our existing Legislature may have scope for action. Let her be requested to call together, without delay, her Ecclesiastical Council. Let every Diocese send up its separate petition; and if the other estates must be included, let us ask the Lords, the Queen's hereditary advisers, to join in our request. In truth, however, this seems idle, till we have ourselves asked. Till the Clergy of every Diocese have petitioned the Queen for redress, how unmeaning is it to have recourse to secondary quarters! If we languish, for want of the power of adapting our resources to the time, let us not look to others to remedy the defect. It is not the laity, whose duty it is to look for guidance; it is not the country gentlemen, who are busy with their secular cares; it is we ourselves, who sit still and neglect to do our part. Who then but ourselves are the culpable individuals? The mighty machinery of our Church system is mismanaged or forgotten; thousands are ready to profit by its divine march; they wait only that we should give them the opportunity, and open for them a course. That this is not done, is no fault of statesmen or parliaments; it is not the crime of economists or politicians; it is the Clergy's fault, and, till they attempt to alter it, will undoubtedly be their sin.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Report of the Oxford Parish Burial Ground Committee.

THE value of this document is not to be rated by its length. It is the record of a most energetic and successful maintenance of principle in the face of an apparently irresistible opposition; and it has opened a question of general and vital importance to the Church. We will first give a history of the events connected with this matter, as far as we have been able to ascertain them, because they afford a striking illustration of the manner in which an evil precedent is allowed to establish itself, unless it happens to be encountered in its infancy by men of more courage and long-sightedness than common. At Oxford there is an admitted want of space in the burial-grounds attached to several of the churches. The defect ought to be remedied; and the natural and obvious course would have been to consult the leading residents of the place as to what the remedy should be. And foremost among persons so consulted, of course, should have been the Clergy. But instead of pursuing this method, a few busy individuals resolve that they will have a Public Cemetery, in which the ancient practice of interment shall be entirely departed from, and one of modern date substituted in its stead. Had such an intention been openly avowed, the citizens would have scouted it; or had the real movers appeared in the matter, it would at once have failed. But upon the plea of health, a number of benevolent, unsuspecting, and unsuspected individuals are induced to place themselves at the head; and the very name of a Cemetery throws them upon the precedent of Kensal Green, &c., and the last Act of Parliament. A meeting is called, by special invitation, of persons supposed to be friendly, and resolutions are prepared beforehand, and all things seem to promise the overthrowing of the system of more than a thousand years in the ancient city of Oxford, by a kind of *coup de main*. But there happen in Oxford to be a body of Clergy a little better informed than in some other places; and though only asked to attend at the eleventh hour, they had yet the perspicacity to see through the nature of the proposal, and the moral courage to oppose it in the midst of a large and influential meeting already committed to its adoption. Nine Clergy withdrew, no one following them; and small comfort we may well conceive they were likely to meet with from the Heads of Houses, who, as a body, seem to have a righteous abhorrence of anything like principle. By degrees, however, a few persons came over to their side; and this gave opportunity for the more cautious, whose sympathies no doubt were all along with them, had not prudence stood in the way, to declare themselves. And now we see that they number supporters from all sides and parties.

But it is not our object to do honour to these men, who have nobly stood in the gap; but to assert a great principle, and to bring before our readers, and the Church generally, especially its rulers, before it be too late, the general question of Public Cemeteries.

It appears that the first Act of Parliament authorizing the establish-

ment of a Cemetery was passed in the year 1823. Whether this was designed for those who used and those who refused the Church's burial equally, we have not been able to ascertain; but there are said now to exist at Liverpool, for which place the Act was passed, distinct Cemeteries for members of the Church and Dissenters. About twenty Acts have subsequently been obtained, in all of which a single plot of ground is divided in two parts, a wall or a trench forming the boundary. Yet it was not the spirit of Schism that gave rise to these joint Cemeteries, so much as the spirit of Mammon. They were, in their origin, and still are, almost exclusively, private trading speculations, in which the only object proposed is to secure as many burials, and, consequently, as large returns as possible. The Dissenter, or the Jew, or the Mahometan, who brings his money in his hand, is just as acceptable a customer as the most orthodox Churchman. But the question appears now to be assuming something of a more public character. Mr. Chadwick, the Secretary of the Poor Law Commission, who seems to have a special antipathy to all the ancient institutions of our land, has written a voluminous report upon, or rather against, intramural interment, as injurious to the public health; and recommending the appointment of a central Board of Health, with a staff of officers, in every considerable town, whose duty it should be to enter every house which had been invaded by death, inquire into the causes of decease, carry off the corpse, possess the exclusive furnishing of coffins, and ultimately convey the body to the Cemetery, which is to be at some distant spot,—three or four serving for the whole of England. Of this Report we do not like to suffer ourselves to speak. Its offensiveness is only relieved by the extreme impudence and absurdity which characterise it, and the utter ignorance displayed of the feelings of Englishmen. It is amusing, indeed, to find a gentleman at Somerset House quoting Jeremy Taylor and the Fathers; intended as a *ruse* to catch unfledged Churchmen, we accept it as a homage to the increased value now set upon ecclesiastical lore; and only wonder that the author had not more wit than, in one of the very pages in which he makes this extraordinary display, to speak of a Government Cemetery in contrast with a church-yard, as “an object on which the mind may dwell with complacency, a place in which sepulture may be made an honour and a privilege!” as though the shadow of a church and the remains of ancestors for many generations mouldering around into the common dust, was not an object to be regarded with complacency; and as though the blessing of the Church was not a greater “privilege” than the warrant of the Board of Health, and her Majesty's Secretary of State!

But we will not waste words on Mr. Chadwick. Our objections lie against public or joint Cemeteries generally, and they are shortly these:—1. Individual Churchmen, by cooperating in their establishment, and Bishops, by consenting to exercise their sacred office in their behalf, are helping to embody and give a visible, permanent, corporate existence to Dissent. The burial of the dead is one of the duties of the Christian Church; and she cannot, without dereliction of principle, recognise any body of men acting in that

matter independently of herself. Still less ought she to bring herself within sight of those who transgress her laws, and to encourage them, by uniting them together, and so giving them a kind of symbol of unity. Moreover, (2,) if the only external difference between those who depart with the Church's blessing, and those who are separated from her, is allowed to be the merely lying on the right or the left of some path, or trench, or dwarf-wall, in one common Cemetery, are we not in great danger of casting a stumbling-block in the way of ill-informed persons, and leading them to make light of the distinctions between right and wrong? 3. Another, and a very strong objection to these Cemeteries, to our mind, is this, that they amount to the legal establishment of Dissent. Every such Act of Parliament recognises Dissent, and helps to establish it. Can this be done without sin, both individually to those who concur in the scheme, and nationally? 4. In all Cemetery Acts with which we are acquainted, the Company is invested with the power of making by-laws respecting the use of the Cemetery, and the duties of the officers connected with it, by which the right of Incumbents, and even Bishops, are virtually set aside, —a power which might be made an engine for harassing the Clergy in a most vexatious way, and which, by its very existence, is an insult to the whole Clerical body. Lastly. They render the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, in regard to burial, altogether hopeless.

But what, it may be asked, is to be done? Parliament, it is probable, will not sanction your exclusive burial-grounds, and what then? Our answer is, and we are indebted to the Oxford Committee for it; no one had before made the discovery,—Do not go to Parliament at all: but go, instead, to the Office of the Commissioners for building Churches, in Great George-street, Westminster, and they will be able to give you all necessary powers and facilities. One of the express objects of their incorporation in 1819, was to facilitate the “purchase of Cemeteries *not within the bounds of the parish*, for which the same shall be provided;” and if it is wished to unite together burial-grounds for several parishes, the Act will furnish the necessary powers; and the ground, when consecrated, follows in all respects the rule of the old church-yards. For this purpose the Act authorizes the sale of lands under every kind of holding, whether held in trust, by corporations, or colleges, or any other bodies whatever; and if even additional facilities were required for promoting this great sanatory object in the way most congenial to the feelings of Churchmen, they could not consistently be refused by the Legislature. We trust that the Church in many places will see the wisdom of taking the initiative in the matter, now that attention has been drawn to the subject, and will meet the demands of the political economist by providing for the burial of the dead in the great towns,* with a due regard to the public health, and without the sacrifice of those great essential principles which the Church Universal has ever cherished. We again repeat our thanks to the Oxford Committee, and especially to the nine Clergy.

* The Rector of Bath has munificently given a plot of ground for the benefit of that city, which has been recently consecrated by the Bishop of Salisbury.

Since the above was written, we have received a "Statement of the attempt now making in Oxford to obtain additional Burial-ground, without doing violence to the Parochial principle," (Parker, Oxford,) which persons who desire further information on this subject will do well to purchase. It is written in that healthy and beautiful spirit, which seems to make all the sons of Oxford one family. Though the subject seems eminently unpromising, it is treated with almost touching propriety.

1. *Appeal to the Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, &c. Second Edition.* By WILLIAM SCOTT, M.A. Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Hoxton. London: Burns, &c.
2. *Observations on an "Appeal to the Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Russell.* By RICHARD BURGESS, B.D. &c. London: Seeley, &c.

THE "Appeal," which we noticed in our last number, has reached a second and considerably-enlarged edition: it now bears the author's name—a piece of formal information which recent circumstances have rendered necessary, although we believe that it was generally known from the first.

Mr. Burgess' publication we were rather curious to see. At the last meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, this gentleman, in an offensive personal attack on the Author of the "Appeal," thought proper to give out that he was prepared to prove that all the passages produced in the "Appeal" were shamefully garbled, and that it was utterly unworthy of credit. What could Mr. Scott and his friends anticipate from this bold flight? Of course an elaborate proof that Robert Nelson had not been mutilated, that Bishop Wilson had never been falsified, that Ken was intact;—we expected a mass of documentary evidence to demonstrate that the S. P. C. K. reprints agreed *verbum pro verbo* with the accredited editions of the old divines. This would have been a conclusive answer to the "Appeal."

But what is the result? Does Mr. Burgess make good his vaunt? From p. 1 to p. 31, there is not one single syllable in defence of the S. P. C. K. reprints: *they are abandoned without a murmur!* the accuracy of Mr. Scott's collations and contrasts is not disputed in a single instance. Again: Mr. Scott undertook to prove that No. 619 was inconsistent with the theology of the best English Divines, such as Hammond and Bull; with the recognised principles of the founders of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Nelson, and Grabe, and Melmoth; and with the teaching of the most eminent Bishops of the present day. How does Mr. Burgess answer this? By quietly observing, in an anti-climax almost ludicrous, that—

"If I had a little time at my disposal, I should not fear to undertake to prove that the doctrine set forth in Tract No. 619 is in perfect harmony with our Articles, &c. and with our soundest divines of modern times; but the observations I have

taken the liberty to place before you, sir, are CONFINED TO SHOW that, whether the doctrine in the Tract No. 619 BE AT VARIANCE WITH THE AVOWED PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIETY or not, the author of the 'Appeal' has" [done what?] "*misrepresented the doctrine in the tract, and that there is no judging from his extracts, and from the conclusion he draws, what the doctrine of justification, according to Bishop Sumner's view, is.*"—P. 30.

and, at the same time, by asserting that he (Mr. Burgess) admires No. 619, that he (Mr. Burgess) is a much better theologian than the author of the "Appeal;" that the author of the "Appeal" is very young, and has no right to have an opinion about No. 619, or to express it, &c. &c. which may be all very pretty platform talk, but is most sorry logic. Indeed, we have come to the very bathos of controversy, when, because Mr. Scott seems to be of the old English school of Bishop Bull, he is quietly told that *therefore* he knows nothing of divinity, and is coolly referred (p. 19) to Grotius and Whitby! A Dutch Protestant, though one never to be mentioned without respect, and an Arian are to teach us the Anglican doctrine of justification, and we are to burn Hammond and Bull, as well as Newman and Knox!

Indeed, we are not much surprised at Mr. Burgess's reluctance to grapple with the question of Anglican divinity; he is much more at home among Swiss than English Protestants. Mr. Burgess, we find, has the singular honour (see the Report for 1840) of being, with Mr. Hartley, of Nice, the only English clergyman who figures as *Membre honoraire et externe du Comité de la Société Évangélique de GENEVE*. This Society is under the control and management of the somewhat notorious Merle d'Aubigné. It is on the Bible-Society plan, and *something more*. Hear Mr. Vice-President Merle d'Aubigné's *Rapport de l'Ecole de Théologie* :

"Oui, appelés avec d'autres frères, que nous avons la joie de voir en partie au milieu de nous—nous donnons la main à toutes les églises Protestantes nationales qui sont demeurées dans la vérité—à nos frères Calvin, Farel, Luther, Zwingli, Cranmer, Latimer, Knox; mais ce n'est pas trouver en eux des hommes, des formes, une hiérarchie;—nous donnons la main à l'ancienne église Catholique—mais ce n'est pas pour avoir une succession humaine, une consécration valable, une mission assurée, (Dieu nous la donne et non les hommes!)—Et s'il est des gens qui s'attachent avant tout à tel ou tel gouvernement d'église—nous nous hâtons de la rejeter. Ne voyez-vous pas que ce que ces hommes imprudens appellent église, et veulent nous imposer comme puissance première, est une épaisse vapeur, sortie des lieux bas de la terre," &c. &c.—P. 35.

This is but the Bishop of Chester's "Satanic doctrine" in another form; but if this be the view of unity held by "Rev. Burgess à Chelsea," is not he the very man to teach us who are "our soundest divines?" We only remember one parallel to this absurdity,—Dr. Chalmers lecturing on the Church of England!

But, says Mr. Burgess, the "Appeal" has assumed importance because it has been adopted by the Lichfield memorialists (see our Intelligence department, p. 516). "True," seems to argue Dr. Russell's correspondent, "the 'Appeal' consists of two distinct parts; one a criticism of No. 619, and one an examination of the reprints of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge: true also that the memorialists do not say one word about No. 619, and I do

not intend to say one word about anything else : true that the Lichfield memorialists only refer to the 'Appeal' on the allegation of altering the old Divines, and this is a subject on which I cannot say a single word ; but then, somehow, if I can get up a prejudice against the 'Appeal,' as far as relates to No. 619, perhaps the Lichfield memorialists, and the thick-headed rustics who compose the Society, will be good enough to consider this as tantamount to having replied to the 'Appeal' on the mutilation question." In other words, if I can prove that A is not B, I flatter myself that I have demonstrated that A is not C. Mr. Burgess has not, we believe, had the benefit of academical training ; a ten-year man, however, who quotes Epiphanius, might have heard of the *ignoratio elenchi*.

The sum and substance of Mr. Burgess's pamphlet is a coarse and ungentlemanly tissue of the most vulgar and silly personal abuse of Mr. Scott, who, through one-and-thirty pages, is sneered at for being young, and, therefore, unfit to protest against tract No. 619, while at p. 30, Mr. Burgess, meaning we suppose some hidden piece of humour, which few will be skilful enough to discover, affects to doubt whether Mr. Scott wrote the pamphlet at all ! or "whether such a person exists"!! The absurdity of such "observations" requires no exposure.

We now await the promised report of the standing committee on the mutilation question ; and in the meantime we commit to our readers' attention Mr. Scott's re-statement of his case, which we extract from a manly and straightforward, and at the same time very conciliatory, advertisement, which he has prefixed to his second edition:—

"1st. That the charge against the *present governing body* of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge confines itself mostly to the publication of Tract 619, and I argue that the tone of theology in this tract, thus adopted by the Tract Committee, is the last and most important proof of the ascendancy of principles foreign to those of the founders of the Society ; and, therefore, that the publication of Tract 619 is 'a doctrinal change lately introduced into the series of tracts circulated under their authority.'

"2d. That the charge of corrupting or of suppressing the text of deceased authors applies not so primarily to the present governing body ; but so far to them, because having had their attention called to it, they have not repaired this wrong. It does not apply, nor was it meant to apply, to them as having wilfully corrupted the text of deceased authors ; but it applies to the whole Society, because the corruptions and changes exist as a fact, whensoever or by whomsoever introduced. So that even admitting that it may be proved that these changes have been gradual, and that some of the mutilations are of long standing, it will be quite useless to produce old copies of the Society's own reprints, of Bishop Wilson, for example, as authorities for the present state of the text. There may be precedent for it, and yet the corruptions may and do exist. The charge is, that the Society's reprints are corrupt : it is no answer to this to say, as was said some years ago in the case of one of Wilson's Family Prayers, that an edition sixty years old had the passage in the words complained of. Do the Society's reprints agree or disagree with the authorized, genuine, accredited editions of the old divines ? This is the only question to be answered ; and it is quite beside it to say, 'We did not change the text.' It may turn out that the practice of mutilating commenced early in the Society's career. Be it so : our business, now such practice is known, is, not so much to fix the blame as to undo the injustice and to retrieve our character. And when we refer to Nelson and Wilson, we do not quote them as infallible, nor do we say that their language might not be improved : the theology of the eighteenth century falls very far below the best standard ; what we now complain of is, that, low as it is, we are sinking even lower. The changes are not only bad, as changes, which is our point, but as for the worse, which is another."—*Advertisement*, pp. iv—vi.

Thus, then, stands the case at the present moment. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge are charged with having abandoned the principles of their founders, by adopting No. 619 ;—"Granted," says Mr. Burgess, "but I like No. 619 ; and the author of the 'Appeal' don't understand it." This seems a dispute between the Rector of Upper Chelsea and the Incumbent of Hoxton, with which the members of the S. P. C. K. have marvellously small concern : let the respective polemics, if they please, wrangle it out till they are wearied. But the author of the "Appeal" also charges the S. P. C. K. with having corrupted Ken's Manual, Ken's Directions for Prayer, Ken's Hymns, Melmoth's Great Importance, Wilson's Family Prayers, and his Short and Plain Instruction, Robert Nelson's Christian Sacrifice ; and with having abandoned a whole host of orthodox books, commencing with Kettlewell and ending with the Shadow of the Cross. With this allegation, which was that alone adopted by the Lichfield memorialists, the members of the Society are very seriously concerned ; and to this not an attempt at a reply has been as yet ventured. What the Standing Committee will answer, it would be improper to surmise. Mr. Scott properly reminds us—

"Are our reprints trustworthy, or not ? It is a very subordinate matter to find out *who* corrupted them. Even if it could be shown that we never had a genuine reprint, yet, is it right that the tracts should continue unfaithful ?"—*Advertisement*, p. x.

We have spoken, it may be, sharply of Mr. Burgess ; but we ask the educated gentlemen of England who may have come in contact with him, either at the Board of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, or elsewhere, whether any remarks or discussions of his ought to receive more respect than may be due to their intrinsic merit, or relevancy ; and whether when, as in the present case, they happen to be quite beside the mark, they are content to allow him to be cited as the champion of the Church's principal Society, almost in one sense her *Home Office* ? That Mr. Burgess is only a half-educated man might have been his misfortune, not his fault ; and had his career been one of modest usefulness, we should not, even in the heat of controversy, have thought it fair to twit him with the fault. But he has all along been an obtrusive person, with neither learning nor depth to justify the position which he assumes, and he himself forces on us the necessity of making people feel this if we can.

An Explanation of the Position of the Twenty-first Canon of the Scottish Episcopal Church. By the Rev. A. EWING, Presbyter of that Church, and Incumbent of St. John's, Forres. A. Brown & Co., Aberdeen ; R. Grant & Son, Edinburgh ; J. Burns, London ; and J. H. Parker, Oxford.

THE cause of innovation in the Scotch Church has found an extremely feeble defender in Mr. Ewing. The Scotch Liturgy must be safe, if it cannot be assailed by stronger arguments than these ; *e.g.* :—

"Both Offices are good; either sufficient; but that is the better which represents all, which supports the weak, and prevents our good being evil spoken of. Both Offices are clean in themselves, doubtless; but if one be rejected by weak brethren, and by them be esteemed to be unclean, to them it is unclean; and so long as we insist on its use by them, we put a 'stumbling-block and occasion to fall in our brother's way.' If we urge that he is weak, it aggravates the offence, because his helplessness ought the more to move our compassion. In the Church of Christ there must be babes in Christ, and in those services where they meet the strong they must be contemplated with great forbearance."—P. 6.

That individuals should exercise a caution and forbearance in the expression of their opinions, we grant; but that a Church should give up truth in order to please its own "babes," is an absurd and untenable position. The "babes" ought not to dictate to their spiritual mother. Mr. Ewing's notion of the claims of "babes in Christ" is an extraordinary one.

Again :—

"Let none suppose, however, that such a step as the abrogation of the Scottish Office is recommended with a view to render England the test of Catholicity, or the centre of Catholicity, or with any desire to worship England at all. God knows we owe little unto England. England is the reverse of Catholicity in her treatment of her own Colonial Clergy, in her treatment of other sister churches, in her secular and *quasi* Erastian habits. Were it not for the faithful men in her orders we have among us, looking unto late events, I would say, 'Who is he that wishes more men from England?' But, because we have adopted the rest of her Liturgy,—because all of us can find the expression of our sentiments in her Communion Office, because in other respects we are as one Church and nation, let us not rend the unity of the Reformed Catholic Church of Great Britain by having diverse administrations of the one Bread in the one Body. The object of all Liturgies is uniformity of worship. If we break that uniformity in such an important point as the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, we defeat the object of all liturgical service."—Pp. 8, 9.

Mr. Ewing must know that if the Scotch Communion Service is exchanged for the English one, that exchange will tell so far on the side of the English Church, to the depreciation of the Scotch. Mr. Ewing, also, must know that "the unity of the Reformed Church of Great Britain" is *not* "rent" by having different Communion Services. It is not rent as a matter of fact; and there is no reason in the world why it should be by such a circumstance. The object of a liturgy, says Mr. Ewing, "is uniformity of worship:" yes, in the Church which uses it. Those who meet together for prayer in the same Church, should use the same order of prayer; but this is quite another thing from that order of prayer being bound to be the same in all Churches.

Margaret, or the Pearl. By the Rev. C. B. TAYLER, M.A.
London: Longmans. 1844.

It would be a waste of criticism to bestow much of it on this piece of ignorance and folly; which, indeed, is too weak and mawkish to give any satisfaction, except to those who are weak and mawkish themselves. But even such, if possessing any access to the facts, may, perhaps, be capable of asking, and then answering, the following questions, whether—leaving out of the question individual follies,

the direction and extent of which are, of course, beyond calculation,—the class of clergy whom Mr. Tayler calls *Tractarian*, on coming into a parish “dismiss all the Sunday-school teachers, dispense with the services of district visitors,” “expressly forbid the laity” to “read the Scriptures, or give instruction of any kind in the cottages of the poor;” and while they celebrate daily prayers in their churches, “recommend” “the people to discontinue the practice of family worship.” Supposing an admirer of Mr. Tayler’s, if such there be, were to pay a visit to Leeds, and ask whether these things were so, we can fancy the uplifted eye-brows of the numbers who have, within the last few years, been taught and encouraged to practise the duties of Christian laymen, as they never had been before; and how their patience might, perhaps, fail them, were the traveller to ask further, whether their pastor “seldom visited them in their own houses.” The force of falsehood, as of folly, can no further go, than by giving such a description, meant to be generic, of a class to which Dr. Hook, Archdeacon Manning, Mr. Perceval, and the Wilberforces, with many others, of whom it is to be read by contraries, belong; and all of whom are *Tractarians*, in the judgment of the very silly author of this book.

As usual with tales of this kind, we are in very high company, surrounded by rank and elegances; and the titles and names of the places—Glenarden, Duneden, &c.—would make us fancy ourselves in Scotland, though, of course, the scene is laid among ourselves. This may seem a small matter, but it indicates a want of sense in the writer.

Ecclesiastical Law. The Constitutions of Otho, with Notes. By JOHN WILLIAM WHITE, Esq. of Doctors’ Commons, Proctor. London: Rivingtons. 1844.

THIS work was originally published in the *British Magazine*, while under the conduct of Mr. Rose. To have received his approbation and *imprimatur*, is a sufficient guarantee of its excellence. There is no branch of learning in which our Clergy are so miserably deficient as Canon Law; and, as has been well observed, we want text-books. Gibson’s Codex is indispensable, but too long; Johnson’s Vade Mecum too short, and unsystematic; and Burn’s Ecclesiastical Law is too restricted in plan. We want more familiarity with the Common Law of Christendom. Lyndwood much requires a new edition.

From the “Summary of the Legantine Constitutions made in the Pan-Anglican Council, held at London, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, A.D. 1236, and in the 20th of the reign of King Henry the Third, the Lord Otho, Legate of Pope Gregory the Ninth, being president thereof, assisted by St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter, Archbishop of York, and by other English Bishops,”—for various reasons, which will commend themselves to the most obtuse,—some of information, and some of amusement—we venture upon an extract or two.

II.—ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

“The sacraments of the church are to be performed gratis and readily, purely and devoutly; wherefore those who wish to enter into holy orders, or have the cure of

souls, shall be particularly interrogated as to how many and what such sacraments are; and archdeacons shall take care that those within their archdeaconries who have been already ordained, be properly instructed in the administration or performance thereof.

Note.—[11. This constitution is now in great measure altered, for by a constitution of Archbishop Langton, which had reference to all the sacraments, it appears that it had then become customary for offerings to be made by those to whom the sacraments were administered, and that such offerings might even be demanded as a matter of right. Langton's constitution is quoted in Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law*, tit. 'Baptism,' in the words following—'We do firmly enjoin, that no sacrament of the Church shall be denied to any one, upon the account of any sum of money; because if anything hath been accustomed to be given by the pious devotion of the faithful, we will that justice be done thereupon to the churches by the ordinary of the place afterwards.' For the constitution itself, see Lindwood, ed. Oxon., p. 278. And indeed it is highly proper that it should be so, and is in accordance with scriptural authority—'If we have sown unto you spiritual things,' &c. And by the Rubric, in the office of matrimony, at the time of delivering the ring, the man shall also then lay down the accustomed duty to the priest and clerk; which, however, if he refuse to do, whether the minister is bound to proceed nevertheless does not appear from any rubric or canon." See Burn, tit. 'Marriage.']

What will they say at Leeds to the following?

"XII.—NO BENEFICE TO BE DIVIDED INTO PARTS.

"Never, at any future time, shall one church be divided into several rectories or vicarages. And such as have been already thus divided, as soon as it can be conveniently effected, shall be restored whole again, save only such as shall have been so divided a very long time since, and these shall be divided over again into more suitable and convenient portions by the diocesan, who shall provide that in each of the divisions, one, having the accustomed cure of souls, shall reside. Furthermore, concerning the residence of rectors at their churches, and the holding a plurality of benefices, we think it more advisable to refer to the constitutions of the Roman pontiffs, than to frame new ones.

Note.—[XII. There are several causes or reasons in the law for this consolidation, incorporation, annexation, or union of churches; and they are chiefly these five:—

1. An unlawful dividing of those churches or ecclesiastical benefices, precedent to their re-integration or intended consolidation, as when such as had been formerly united were illegally divided. 2. For the better hospitality, and that the rector might thereby be the better enabled to relieve the poor. 3. The overnighness of the churches each to the other in point of situation, insomuch that one rector may commodiously discharge the cure of both, by reason of the vicinity of the places. 4. For or by reason of a want or defect of parishioners, as when one of the churches is deprived of her people by some incursion of an enemy, or by some mortal disease, or sickness, or the like. 5. For and by reason of the extreme poverty of one of the parishes. — *Godolphin*, c. 14, s. 3, where are copious particulars on this subject.]

"The Epistles of Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and the Epistle to Diognetus," have been published in a portable little 12mo., by "Algernon Grenfell, M.A., one of the Masters of Rugby School," (Whittaker,) who has prefixed a judicious preface, and interspersed the text with a note or two, here and there. Mr. Grenfell deserves the thanks of divinity students for presenting them in so accessible a form, with a body of documents with which they cannot well dispense.

"The Church and its Ministers," &c., by H. Stebbing, D.D. (Taylor and Walton,) is an inquiry into the early condition of the Church,—a subject which might have been thought exhausted, but on which Dr. Stebbing seems to us to have said a good deal that was well worth the saying.

"The life of St. Stephen Harding, Founder of the Cistercian Order," (Toovey,) is the first of the long-promised Lives of the English Saints. Into the difficulties which have hindered, and in some degree obviated, the execution of the plan of this series we have no care to enter. A more delightful book in the way of history, and a more interesting one in the way of information, we have not often met with. Indeed, Mr. Newman, writing with his whole heart in the

matter, and in some instances, as we fancy, perhaps unconsciously, picturing his own trials in those of his subject, and in the corruptions of the Church of the twelfth century, reading us a significant lesson in the nineteenth, could not but produce a work of surpassing power. It has all the beauty of a romance, and the mastery over style which Mr. Newman has now attained, renders it in this respect perhaps the most remarkable of his works. A very grave and all-important question is, however, suggested rather than answered by this publication. We should be unworthy of our office were we not to bear the fullest witness to the needs of a self-denying life: did the biography of St. Stephen Harding answer no other purpose than testify to the fact that there have been those who through grace have given up all for Christ's sake—who have lived a life of Faith and of the Cross, very different things from preaching about them, it would be a great gift to the Church, in *all* its branches degenerate. We want such testimonies in this luxurious and voluptuous age. But we question when men are to be led back to the ascetic life—and such is our greatest practical deficiency—whether some will not be deterred from commencing even any discipline by the exhibition, *in the first instance*, of the rigorous Cistercian rule. Some, again, will be led to conclude from the absence of certain qualifying phrases that the austere and celibate life is recommended as the only possible assurance of the Gospel's strait and narrow path: we miss, here and there,—what would have been very consoling and true, too,—some such distinctions as those of 1 Cor. vii. "Pulse and water" may be blessed as the prophet's diet, but may we conclude a rule from this mystical instance? The austere life is rather of the evangelical counsels than of direct and universal command: and there can be no question that in it certain facts of our human nature itself, God's gift, are sought to be obliterated rather than corrected. Can the argument of Butler's three first sermons, for example, be made to hold with the impression which the unwary might derive from St. Stephen Harding's life? We speak of it not as the legitimate, but as the probable inference from Mr. Newman's delightful, and, we will add, most subduing, volume. While we are on the subject, though by a most violent transition, we cannot award the slightest praise to the fittingness *in this place* of Mr. Pugin's frontispiece: correct and beautiful it is, and an admirable reproduction, both in feeling and detail, of a mediæval subject. But the stern abbot of Cîteaux, he of the morass and the forest, with his rough cloak and scanty fare, his horror of splendour and beauty even in architecture and ceremonial, to be seated in a cloister as lovely as that of Salisbury, attached to an abbey of the most glorious proportions, surrounded with cushioned faldstools and jewelled mitres, brazen lecterns and richly-bound missals, diapered pavements, quatrefoils, clasps and illuminations, is as inharmonious as would be the Gregorian tones with a grand piano forte accompaniment: Scene, a drawing room: Performers, two young ladies.

Next in importance, or perhaps prior to Mr. Newman's book, is "Dr. Pusey's Guide for Passing Lent Holy," translated from the French of Avrillon and adapted to the use of the English Church. (Burns.) A most practical book, and one most acceptable to what we trust is a growing body,—those who seek to realize the severer life. It is enriched with a simple and intelligible introduction from Dr. Pusey, which will serve to dispel unreal thoughts, and mere talk about personal religion. The dedication is a dutiful and encouraging sign of Dr. Pusey's very considerate and loving nature. To the use of foreign devotional books, such as these, we have not only not the slightest objection, but we are very thankful for them. Thomas à Kempis, St. Francis of Sales, Pascal, Quesnel, and Nicole, are recognized English books, and we are glad to see the list extended: but we are by no means reconciled to this "adapting to the use of the English Church:" it is but the old story of Ken's Manual over again in another form: "acceptable" is not the English of "*méritoire*," and we are not so certain that the latter word, literally rendered, is not patient of a Catholic sense. It is an unfair practice which we are sorry to see strengthened by Dr. Pusey.

Following up the same subject, it is quite consoling to find so many, and in many respects differing minds all turned one way, and that the way of penitence. Mr. Perceval's Two plain Sermons on Fasting, (Leslie,) may well be classed with the two last works. And all these warnings will serve to show us the danger of permitting the present *taste* for monastic institutions to degenerate into mere feeling and sentiment. A full choir and splendid church, long processions, cross and chasuble, banner and staff; these may be with, but most certainly also *without*, the life of Him crucified.

The "School-master's Manual of Bible Instruction (Burns) is a valuable addition to school-books, and its "Glossary of Ecclesiastical Terms" is a happy thought.

We were quite affected with Bishop Doane's *American* reprint of "Bishop Selwyn's Letters to the Society for Propagating the Gospel." The excellent Diocesan of New Jersey has prefixed a characteristic and, therefore, warm-hearted preface.

Dr. Moberley's Five Sermons, "The Sayings of the Great Forty Days between the Resurrection and Ascension," (Rivington,) is one of the most important books of the season, both as regards the subject—the Church, God's new Theocracy—and the richness and learning with which it is treated.

A specimen of a projected "Catechism of the History of the Holy Catholic Church, from its rise to the close of the eighteenth century" (Burns, and Rivington,) has reached us. It is executed with care and distinctness, and we wish every success to the undertaking; but in a plan so important we think the catechetical form proposed anything but happy. Such a book will be studied, not learned by heart: and question and answer for eighteen centuries is both bald and tedious.

The "Prophetic Register," edited by R. W. Vanderkiste, (Masters,) we denounce unconditionally. It is a catch-penny of the vilest description; by its most offensive placards about the walls of London, we find the Weekly Dispatch and Dissertations on the Millennium in grotesque and hideous combination. The publication itself is a collection of the wildest and most exciting dissertations, from all sorts of heretical and schismatical sources, on the awful subject of unfulfilled prophecy, flung together at random: the editor's principle of selection being apparently that of the prudent Tiresias:

"O Laertiade, quicquid dicam, aut erit—aut non:
Divinare enim magnus mihi donat Apollo."

"Almsgiving, ancient and modern," (Simms, Bath,) an excellent because brief and pointed warning on the benefits of the Offertory.

A "Letter to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster on the intended alterations in the interior of Westminster Abbey," (Rivingtons,) gives rise to the most painful reflections. *Because* attendance at Divine Service in this noble Church is daily on the increase, *therefore* the building is destined to be spoilt by the rash and conceited ignorance of the utilitarianism of the day. We freely acquit the Dean and Chapter of intentional wrong: but they are under the very worst of professional guidance, if under any. Can it be believed that it is not only seriously proposed, *but the plan is all but begun*, to throw the transepts into the choir for the mere sake of increased accommodation, by removing the present side screens, leaving the ugly stalls and organ screen as they are at present, and the nave empty? It is to go for nothing with the Dean and Chapter that there is not a precedent for this most offensive scheme in a single Cathedral in Christendom,—it is to go for nothing that a square box will thus be constructed for an audience, and not for worshippers, two thirds of them shut out from altar, alike, and from the sound of the lessons and prayers, and *from all but the pulpit*. The letter-writer proposes, and very properly, to throw open the nave by removing the present organ, which, it has been ascertained, formerly stood in the west aisle of the north transept, that the stalls—alas! a reduced number

for a plundered foundation—should be removed further eastward, and that the whole space of the nave from the cross to the great western door should be fitted with open seats. This is a noble plan, combining the advantages of thrice the accommodation of the transept scheme, without violating ecclesiastical precedent, to say nothing of the majestic effect which it would produce. We are speaking strongly, because we feel strongly; but we do trust that the most pointed remonstrances will be urged against the scheme of the Dean and Chapter. No time is to be lost: the Vandals are all but at their spoils. The spirit of Will. Dowsing is evoked. Let the architectural societies protest, let Churchmen protest: a principle is about to be sacrificed—ancient custom to modern presumptuous ignorance. The Dean and Chapter have a very grave responsibility laid upon them: already the interior of Westminster Abbey is a disgrace to any caputular body: the laity profanely admitted within the sacrum, and the finest mosaic in England before the altar all but irreparably ruined thereby—a noble font built into a dark cupboard—dirt, destruction, and ruin in every part; and now to consummate all, they intend to make the (in its way) finest church in Europe, in the largest city in the world, a laughing-stock to every antiquary, and a disgrace to every Churchman. Puritan and rebel have hitherto inflicted no permanent injury in the way of *principle* on an abbey of six centuries of splendour and propriety:—this distinguished honour is reserved for the taste and literature of our own refined days.

There is no end to wonders! We lately remarked on the extraordinary extent to which Theology, in one form or other, was prevailing among all classes; and lo! as an illustration of our remarks, here comes "The Primitive Church in its Episcopacy," published by no other than Mr. Colburn. This book is by the author of "*Dr. Hookwell*," and a well-principled, intelligent book it is, calculated to give much information to the class by which it is most likely to be read. We do not accuse the author of what annoys us,—it is but a new manifestation of the publisher's besetting sin; but we beg the favour, if he have the power, to stop or abate a great nuisance in future—we mean the egregious *puffing of Dr. Hookwell* in the fly-leaves of the present book. *Dr. Hookwell* was a well-meant book, containing some excellent things; but as a novel it was an utter failure; the choice of the hero was felt to be a most unjustifiable use of a contemporary good man's merits and services; there was no creative power shown either in the story or the characters; and to talk of it as having produced a sensation, to speak of it as having been seriously ascribed to such a man as Mr. Milnes, to describe it as on the table of every undergraduate, is only to cover it with ridicule—a ridicule which might extend to the far more useful work, in juxtaposition with which we find such a farrago of nonsense.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge are publishing a pretty series of little square fourpenny illustrated books, called "The Meadow," "The Corn-field," "The Hedgebank," "The Wood," "The Heath," "The Sea-shore," &c. This is safe ground; mistakes here will do no harm,—no "Appeal" need be apprehended.

To "*Amy Herbert*," a Tale, in two small volumes, published by Longmans, we cannot award better praise than to say, that it paints nature to the life. It is by "a Lady," for whose soundness Mr. Sewell is sponsor. It is admirably adapted for the young of the higher classes. We hope that it may not be the author's last production. Only let us hint to the author that there is the *appearance* of a little want of reverence in the use of the Lord's name. And we never can be other than dissatisfied with the practice of *advertising*, as editor, other parties, and those, in all cases, of more reputation than the author. Far are we from seeking to impugn the character of such as Mr. Sewell: but can he be ignorant where this practice of "*editing*" commenced? Another instance, where the most mischievous confusion has followed this practice, is that of a recent novel, "*edited*" by Mr. Plumer Ward.

The "Committee of General Literature and Education" (S. P. C. K.) have published No. I. of a new series of "Reading Lessons." The subjects of the

Lessons, we are glad to be able to report, are more appropriate than in the "First Book" published under the same auspices, and the general tone more pure and healthy. At the same time, the book appears to us to have been prepared with but little skill. The lessons do not increase in difficulty; so that a child which can read the first can read the last,—we speak of Part II. Again, in Part I., although mention is made of the short and the long sounds of the vowels,—the "First Book" did not even distinguish vowels and consonants,—there is no attempt at showing what the causes are which lengthen them.

There is, it appears, at Bath a most energetic "District Visiting Society," which not only makes soup for the poor, and employs interesting young ladies to carry about baby-linen, but also publishes an Almanack, now in its fifth year,—and truly a curiosity this Almanack is. It professes to "contain twice the usual quantity of matter; and is designed to unite entertainment with instruction." And amongst its most "entertaining" peculiarities is the manner with which it deals with the festivals of the Church. It neither omits them all, nor recognises all; and what the principle of selection is we have endeavoured in vain to discover. At first we thought that those only which concern our Lord's own Person were inserted; but this would not do; for the Circumcision is given, and the Presentation is omitted. Neither, again, are the apostles impartially dealt with,—St. Paul and St. Bartholomew being honoured with observance, St. Peter and St. Matthew being cast out. The Blessed Virgin fares no better, the Annunciation being recorded, the Purification pretermitted; nor even the popular marks of time, the feast of St. Thomas being duly noted, but no mention made either of St. John Baptist or of "Barnaby bright!" The substitutions which are sometimes made to the places of the ejected Saints are no less remarkable: thus, Sir Walter Scott is canonized in the stead of St. Matthew; John Wesley supersedes St. Chad; and Oliver Cromwell has ousted the Evangelist St. Mark! St. David, Archbishop, gives place to the pithy apophthegm, "never trouble others for what you can do yourself." In the greater number of instances, the place of the deprived Saint is left unoccupied. In sober earnest, would it not be better for the learned Society above-mentioned to confine itself to "Advice about Savings' Banks," and "How to get sixpennyworth of good for a penny," and such like legitimate suggestions; and to consider, for the future, that the Church has already definitely fixed her own Calendar?

Mr. Gresley's "Anglo-Catholicism" will scarcely need a word from us, in order to secure extensive circulation. It was written with the view of calming unreasonable apprehensions, which are said to be abroad, by a distinct avowal of attachment to the English Church; and those who are acquainted with Mr. Gresley's honesty of purpose, and the remarkable perspicuity of his style and cheerfulness of tone, will know that he possesses peculiar qualifications for effecting this object. We rejoice to be able to add, that he has not, in so doing, departed in the smallest degree from the principles which he before advocated; nor, after the example of certain parties, to whom we alluded last month, on account of some trifling difference of opinion, is he prepared to throw himself into the arms of those, to whom, in nine points out of ten, he has throughout his life been diametrically opposed. Indeed, he does not scruple to read these "neutral" (qu.?) gentlemen a good lecture, and shows that "moderation" does not consist in finding a *via media* between high principle and low practice, but in thoroughly mastering the Church's theory, which is itself a *via media*, and in keeping to it. The cuckoo cry of innovation he rightly meets, not by a negative, but by distinctly admitting that change and reformation are the objects proposed by the body of men whom the worldling and the Evangelical, the Infidel and the Puritan conspire to calumniate—"change and renovation in a corrupted system—to raise the poor from the depths of degradation, to save the rich from their debasing self-indulgence, and to infuse the spirit of Christianity into our every-day duties and feelings."

We feel called upon to protest most earnestly against the device and motto

assumed by the "Clerical Club," of which the prospectus has been forwarded to us. The idea of a Clerical Club in itself, associated as such things are with idleness, and luxury, and gossip, and absence from home, is, we confess, not much to our taste; as indeed associations of this kind were forbidden by the early Canons of the Church. But to apply the Apostle's words, "*Quis separabit?*" (Romans viii. 35) and to set up, by way of emblem, a figure clinging to a cross, is really a profanation of the most holy things, which no clergyman ought to tolerate. Did the inventor of this device know the words that follow his motto in the Sacred Scriptures? Or how dare he speak of these panders to luxury in an effeminate age, in connexion with "tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or the sword?" Nothing surely but infatuation could have led persons so to blazon forth their own condemnation!

The translation of the "*Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond*," under the euphonious and presumptuous title of "*Monastic and Social Life in the Twelfth Century*," by Mr. S. E. Tomlins, for Whittaker's "*Popular Library of Modern Authors*" (!) appears to have been made in a spirit for which we have the smallest possible sympathy. The translator belongs to that miserable cold-hearted school of antiquarians which has prevailed in this country for many years,—men who have no more feeling for the objects of their inquiry, than the student in anatomy for the corpse on which he is making experiments. Now, if to reverence the aged be a scriptural duty, we are at a loss to understand why the obligation should not increase rather than decrease with the lapse of time; and we are not afraid to avow our opinion, that the absence of this reverential religious feeling is what has marred the success of so many of our professed antiquaries. It is undeniable that the majority of recent English antiquaries have been of this cold unsympathizing temperament, (as *e. g.* Mr. Fosbrooke, the author of "*British Monachism*," and Mr. Wright, the impersonation of all guinea-subscriber-antiquarian-societies,) and how stunted their growth, need not be told. A catholic spirit seems pre-eminently needed in inquiries into the past; and wherever success may have been gained without it, as in the case of some of the sceptics of Germany or France, we believe that it is assignable to a deep sentiment of enthusiasm almost akin to religion. In this "*Chronicle*" we have the annals of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's during about thirty years, which, under a better interpreter than Mr. Tomlins, would serve to show the beneficial temporal uses which resulted from religious houses in the days of old,—uses which, though they might vary in kind, would doubtless still be derived from their existence. The world is still as great an enemy to God as ever: the oppression of a cotton-lord is not less grinding than that of a feudal knight; there are rustics who still need education and the offices of religion to be pressed upon them; the effectual fervent prayers of righteous men have not yet lost the promise. But for these objects Mr. Tomlins has no eye. The failings of individuals are made to extend, *of course*, to the condemnation of the whole, and their very virtues do the same, for they prove, what?—that they "were in advance of the age in which they lived." So argues Mr. Tomlins of Islington!

The world, at least the sermon-writing section of it, will not profit by our frequent warnings. The evil of single discourses "printed at the request" of Churchwardens and sundry Tomkineses, old and young, male and female, is rather on the increase, we fear: all our protests go for nothing. So to prevent anything like jealousy among the type-loving clergy we intend to label this last article of our review with Martial's motto:

"Sunt bona, sunt quædam mediocria, sunt mala plura,"

without relegating to each class the single specimens. If the authors choose to prefer the former and their readers the latter, "there may be much to be said on both sides." With which sage judgment we acknowledge Mr. Pelham Maitland's "*Baptismal Regeneration*," Mr. Griffiths' "*God's presence in the Church*," preached at Astbury, Mr. Wilkins' "*Club Sermon*," preached at "Iveliscombe.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed in this department.]

REVIVAL OF CONVENTUAL INSTITUTIONS.—No. III.*

(Testimonies continued.)

"THE preamble of the very Act that annihilated the lesser monasteries, after suggesting the propriety of suppressing all such houses as had been certified of less value than 200*l.* per annum, and giving them, with their lands and revenues, to the king, proceeded 'to distribute their members amongst the great and honourable monasteries of the realm, where, thanks be to God, religion is well kept and preserved;' and granted to the king power to found anew such houses as he should think fit, by virtue of which, fifteen monasteries and sixteen nunneries were actually refounded, and remained until swept away again in the general destruction. Latimer, it is well known, never hesitated to express his sorrow at the wholesale ruin of those buildings, but, with honest earnestness (says Southey, 'Book of the Church,' p. 71, vol. ii.) entreated, that two or three in every shire might be continued, not in monkery, he said, but as establishments for learned men, and such as would go about preaching and giving religious instruction to the people, and for the sake of hospitality."—*Lord J. Manners.*

"It was not the strict and regular lives of these devout ladies, nor anything that might be said in behalf of the monasteries, that could prevent their ruin, then approaching, so great an aim had the king to make himself thereby glorious, and many others no less hopes to be enriched in a considerable manner. But to the end that such a change should not overwhelm those that might be active therein, in regard the people had everywhere no small esteem of those houses, for their devout and daily exercises in prayer, alms-deeds, hospitality, and the like, whereby not only the souls of their deceased ancestors had much benefit, as was then thought, but themselves, the poor, as also strangers and pilgrims, constant advantage, there wanted not the most subtil contrivances, &c. . . . And as for the fruit which the people reap after all their hopes built upon those specious pretences which I have instanced, it was very little; nor is it a little observable that, whilst the monasteries stood, there was no Act for the relief of the poor, so amply did those houses give succour to them that were in want."—*Dugdale.*

"To preserve some remembrance of these structures, once the glory of our English nation, and of their founders, that so highly deserved of the several ages they lived in, is the design of this book. No; I am not ignorant that the

* When will controversialists learn the simple lesson, that the only legitimate weapon of Christian controversy is brotherly remonstrance in a spirit of sorrow, love, and prayer! It is painful to find one, who has had such opportunities as Mr. Maitland of acquiring this lesson from his intercourse with the saintly spirits of elder times, so far forgetful of their precept and example, as, in the Preface to his valuable papers on the Middle Ages, to have assailed the proposed revival of conventual life in a *modified form*, with the unchristian arms of ridicule and satire. As far as regards the influence of Mr. Maitland's strictures, the advocates of the revival may be much at their ease. It is not a few clever popular arguments set off by "disdainful sharpness of wit," that can countervail a deep and solemn persuasion originating simultaneously in many independent minds, and founded on the keen perception of a want which (on the evidence of so many competent witnesses) nothing but institutions of a conventual *nature*, let them be called by what *name* they may, can supply.

Mr. Maitland has done so much good service to the Church, and is likely to do so much more, that the only feeling his opponents on the present question would wish to cherish is one of regret, that he should have indulged his peculiar vein on a subject, the seriousness of which ought to have exempted it from ridicule, and that he should have engaged himself on a side where his chief sympathisers will be persons with whom he neither has nor would wish to have (on questions of Church order and discipline, that is) any other sympathies.

generality of people, ever since the dissolution, have, through a mistaken zeal and false prejudices, thought that the very memory of those great men, who erected these places, ought to be buried in the rubbish of those structures that they designed should perpetuate their names to eternity. . . . Nay, so much are some people possessed against them, that the least mention is odious and ungrateful. But there are no grounds for it; seeing *these religious places were, by the well-intended charity of their founders and benefactors, built, endowed, and adorned (how much soever they were afterwards abused) to the glory of God, the service of religion, and the relief of poor Christians.*"—*Idem*.

"There are some, I hear, who take it ill that I have mentioned monasteries and their founders. I am sorry to hear it; but (not to give them any just offence) let them be angry if they will. Perhaps they would have it forgotten that our ancestors were, and we are, Christians, since there were never more certain indications and glorious monuments of christian piety and devotion to God than those."—*Camden—Pref. to 'Britannia.'*

"They well deserved their popularity. Wherever monasteries were founded, marshes were drained, or woods cleared, and wastes brought into cultivation. The humblest, as well as the highest pursuits, were followed in these great and most beneficial establishments."—*Southey—Book of the Church*, vol. i. p. 61.

"Therefore Cranmer advised the dissolution of the monasteries, as a measure indispensable to the stability of the Reformation; and that out of their revenues more bishoprics should be founded, so that, dioceses being reduced into less compass, every bishop might be able to fulfil the duties of his office. And to every cathedral he would have annexed a college of students in divinity, and clergymen, from whom the diocese should be supplied. *More than this might justly have been desired.* After a certain number of monasteries had been thus disposed of, *others should have been preserved for those purposes of real and undeniable utility connected with their original institution*; some, as establishments for single women, which public opinion had sanctified, and which the progress of society was rendering, in every generation, more and more needful; others, as seats of learning and of religious retirement. Reformed convents, in which the members were bound by no vow and burthened with no superstitious observances, would have been a blessing to the country."—*Idem*.

"*Jaundudum diem fatalem obierunt monasteria nostra; nec præter semirutos parietes, et deploranda rudera, supersunt nobis avitæ pietatis indicia. Minus impendiosa hodie cordi est religio, et vetus dictum obtinet, 'Religentem esse oportet religiosum nefas.'* Videmus nos. heu videmus, augustissima templa et stupenda æterno dicata Deo monumenta (quibus nihil hodie spolintius) sub specioso eruendæ superstitionis obtentu, sordidissimo conspurcari vituperio, extremamque manere interuencionem. Ad altaria Christi stabulati equi, martyrum effosse reliquiæ. Sunt quidem zelatores adeo religiose delirantes, ut religiosos veterum ordines *ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος τῆς ἀβυσσοῦ* prognatos aiant. Ita licenter sibi indulget *προσπάθεια*. Neque deerunt hæc, quæ vivimus, ætate homunciones, elephantina olfactientes promuscide, qui ista, quæ jam prodeunt, tanquam futilia, inutilia, et hodiernæ rerum conditioni minime congruentia damnabunt."—*Sir John Masham's Προπύλαιον to the Monasticon.*

"He (Archbishop Leighton) also thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation was, that more of those houses, and of that course of life, free from the entanglements of vows and other mixtures, was not preserved, so that the Protestant Churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified temper."—*Bp. Burnet's Memoirs of His own Times*, vol. i. p. 39.

"He reckoned the greater number of the regular clergy in Roman Catholic countries to be little better than *ignavi fures*—rapacious drones; at the same time that he recognised among them a few specimens of extraordinary growth in religion, and thought he had discovered in the piety of some conventual recluses a peculiar and celestial flavour which could hardly be met with elsewhere. Of their sublime devotion he often spoke with an admiration approaching to rapture; and much he wished that the sons of a purer faith and discipline could match them in that seraphic strength and swiftness of wing by which

they soared to the topmost branches of divine contemplation, to crop the choicest clusters of heavenly fruitage. . . . Would Christians retreat occasionally from the dizzy whirl of life, and give themselves time to reflect, they might become enamoured of those beauties which lie, above the compass of natural vision, on the summit of God's holy mountain."—*Idem*.

"They were tolerable tutors for the education of youth, there being a great penury of other grammar schools in that age; and every convent had one or more therein, who, generally gratis, taught the children thereabouts. . . . Grammar was here taught, and music, which in some sort sung her own dirge (as to the general use thereof) at the dissolution of abbeys. Nunneries also were good she schools, wherein the girls and maids of the neighbourhood were taught to read and work; and sometimes a little Latin was taught them therein. Yea, give me leave to say, if such feminine foundations had still continued, provided no vows were obtruded upon them (virginity is least kept where it is most constrained), haply the weaker sex (beside the avoiding modern inconveniences) might be heightened to a higher perfection than hitherto hath been attained. I say, if such feminine foundations were extant now of days, haply some virgins of highest birth would be glad of such places, and, I am sure, their fathers and elder brothers would not be sorry for the same. . . . Their hospitality was beyond compare, insomuch that Ovid (if living in that age), who feigned famine to dwell in Scythia, would have fancied feasting an inhabitant of English abbeys. Especially in Christmas time, they kept most bountiful houses. Whosoever brought the face of a man, brought with him a patent for his free welcome, till he pleased to depart."—*Fuller*.

The above collection is from Lord John Manners' excellent pamphlet on National Holydays.

"His (Dr. Johnson's) respect for places of religious retirement was carried to the greatest degree of veneration. The Benedictine convent at Paris paid him all possible honours in return, and the Prior and he parted with tears of tenderness."—*Piozzi, Johnsoniana, 47—Convents*.

"As we walked in the cloisters (of St. Andrew's) there was a solemn echo, while he (Dr. Johnson) talked loudly of a proper retirement from the world. Mr. Nairne said, he had an inclination to retire. I called Dr. J.'s attention to this, that I might hear his opinion if it was right. JOHNSON.—Yes, when he has done his duty to society. In general, as every man is obliged not only to love God, but his neighbour as himself, he must bear his part in active life; yet there are exceptions. Those who are exceedingly scrupulous, (which I do not approve, for I am no friend to scruples) and find their scrupulosity invincible, so that they are quite in the dark, and know not what they shall do,—or those who cannot resist temptations, and find they make themselves worse by being in the world without making it better,—may retire. *I never read of a hermit but in imagination I kiss his feet; never of a monastery but I could fall on my knees and kiss the pavement.*"—*Boswell's Life of Johnson*, vol. iv. p. 59. Edit. Croker.

"[Monasteria] olim erant scholæ sacrarum literarum, et aliarum disciplinarum, quæ sunt utiles ecclesiæ, et sumebantur inde pastores et episcopi. Olim ad discendum conveniebant."—*Augsburg Confession*, 1530. (*The apology and explanation*.) [The whole article is directed only against the Romish abuse of religious houses, acknowledging their use; so also the *Confessio Saxonica*.]

"The lives of the conventuals abroad are mostly regular (I chiefly speak of those who are not obliged to roam about in quest of a precarious subsistence) and entirely free from those crying abuses with which ignorance or calumny have often charged them. Every essential breach of discipline which comes to light is most severely punished. Amongst the religious women there is usually much more happiness than in convents of the other sex. When from

their tender years they have been brought up to a life of piety, and have carefully been preserved from the society of men, from conversations, books, and objects, which awaken the senses and inflame the passions, they mostly continue happy and content, and are satisfied with that degree of tranquillity, and those innocent enjoyments which they meet with in these retreats. Some similar establishments to those of which we are here treating might, if under proper regulations, be rendered of acknowledged utility both to individuals and to society; but they should only be considered as a temporary refuge, and not be enforced by irrevocable engagements. Peculiar circumstances may render a few asylums *desirable in every country*."—*Hawkins on Celibacy*, pp. 129—133.

"If any of these societies do at all exist, I think they should be such alone as adhere to the primitive institution of the cenobitical life. They might, undoubtedly, be so calculated as to afford a comfortable asylum to those who, after having performed the duties owing to society, wish to conclude their days in peace, at a distance from the more distracting cares and bustles of life. But they should, at least, be only open to the few who, from peculiar inclination, or other personal circumstances, might be desirous of retiring to a quiet and temporary refuge, such as might either contribute to alleviate the grievances of affliction, or to facilitate their happiness."—*Ibid.* pp. 181, 182.

[The above two passages are the more remarkable, because they occur in an essay very violently, and often most objectionably, directed against the practice of clerical celibacy in the Roman church, from which the author was a convert.]

"I was yesterday evening at Oseney, now a desolate, dreary island inhabited by a solitary miller. Here were once assembled the hierarchy of the English Church! where swine now feed God has been solemnly adored; where the noise of reptiles now alone is heard did once resound the pious requiem for a departed soul, on the majestic laud of omnipotent goodness! Here learning was cultivated, education improved;—here was a retreat for grief, or sickness of heart, and weariness of life;—here the poor were daily fed. If monks and friars were greater villains than malice, still unextinguished, represents them, we should mourn and lament their loss."—*Ext. of Letter from Barré Charles Roberts, Student of Christ Church*.—See *Memoirs of his Life*, p. 32.

[If some of the following quotations refer only to the virtue, or dignity, or whatever else it may be called, of the virgin life, still it must be plain, that any admissions or assertions of such dignity, or even of the allowableness of this estate, have a very obvious bearing upon the matter in hand; monastic institutions presuppose the celibate, and are but the legitimate and natural growth of it; whether it is a fitting subject of a *vow* does not enter into the essence of the life as such.]

Archbishop Sandys writes as follows, "There be, no doubt, that have the gift of chastity by birth; and there be that have made themselves chaste by endeavour: but of this all men are not capable. As it is the gift of God, so it seemeth to be a rare and not a common gift. Such as have it, and so live sole, *they are more fit to labour in God's Church*, it must needs be granted, for they are cumbered with fewer cares. But be these cares never so many and great, better it is to marry than to burn," &c.—[Sermons by Archbishop Sandys, Parker edition, p. 316.] He then passes on to the defence of Matrimony, which is the subject of his sermon, his text being Heb. xiii. 4. Yet amid much complaint against the real or supposed abuses of virginity, or of the profession of it, similar admissions with that just cited above are not wanting. Thus at page 328, he speaks of St. Paul as "giving the *highest* commendation to single life;" and again, at the conclusion of his sermon, the ability to maintain this life is spoken of as a "*gift*," which must of course be held to imply the obligation on the part of its recipients to cherish and to use it. Indeed, above, some encouragement is held out to persons to "*endeavour*" after it.

Bishop Andrewes, in his Exposition of the Ten Commandments, writing on the Seventh Commandment, chap. vii. speaks of "two virtues: 1. *castitas cœlibatûs*, and 2. *castitas conjugalîs*." Then he adds: "For the first there is no doubt but it is *better* than the other; either if we take it *simply*, he that giveth

not his virgin in marriage doth better; or, in regard of the present necessity, which is to be thought upon; for the Apostle would have men to be without carefulness." Then he assigns "the care and trouble of a family in a married estate," and the inability of "the married either to watch, or fast, or pray, without the other's consent," the comparative facility which a single man has in providing for himself, the likelihood of his being "more free from covetousness," and more exempt from "distraction," as reasons why "the chastity of single life is chiefly to be desired." And in his treatment of the Third Commandment, when dealing with the subject of vows, he holds their lawfulness, their use, and their necessity, and that a man's state of life is a lawful subject matter of a vow, the "*possibile*" being of course presupposed; and adds expressly, "Some disallow the vows made in former ages as not possible to be kept, as to vow single life; of which we may say, that to say all may do it, is dangerous; so to say that none may do it, is no less dangerous." And then he specifies certain means, in the use of which persons so minded may become enabled to do it safely and beneficially. An admission of the same nature is made by him in his Answer to the Eighteenth Chapter of Cardinal Perron's Reply, xiii. under the head of "*Marrying after vow of single life.*"

Bishop Mountague, in his Answer to the Gagger, seems to take a similar view (chap. xxxix.) "Your promise was, your undertaking is, to prove by express words of our own Bibles, that the vows of priests and religious persons touching single life, should be kept; and yet *neither do we deny the one, nor you prove the other.*" The whole chapter, if consulted, and also the xv. xvi. xvii. of his "Just Appeal," will be found to bear out this view more fully. But being not directly on this subject, it would be difficult to show this by extract, without citing more than can be done in a limited space.

Bishop Cosin has the following passage in his Sermon on the Marriage in Cana of Galilee: "Had not Christ vouchsafed His presence at this marriage men might have had cause to doubt, as they did in the Gospel, whether it were good to marry at all, or no; for first, He was a virgin Himself, and His Mother, she was a virgin; neither He nor she would lead any other lives; and married life itself seems to be but an *imperfect state, the state of perfection is virginity, so much commended by our Saviour, so highly esteemed by S. Paul.*"—Cosin's Works, vol. i. p. 56. Oxford edition, 1843.

Bishop Hall, in his defence of "The Honor of the Married Clergy," (Book i. sec. 2,) writes thus: "Neither did I ever derogate ought from sacred virginity; or lay it level, whether absolutely or in all circumstances, with holy matrimony." And in sec. v.; "Single life is good; the opinion of the necessity of single life, and the unlawfulness of the married, is anti-christian. What can be more plain? Yet this wilful slanderer tells the world, that I make the profession of continence anti-christian: whereas, we do willingly profess, that *true profession of true continency is truly laudable*: that the forcible imposition of it, as necessary to some state of men," &c. And again (sec. vii.) in a passage, which, considering to whom it is addressed, and by whom, and where, is *instar omnium*, he says, "We do, therefore, from our hearts, *honor true virginity as the most excellent estate of life which is incident to frail humanity.* Gerson hath taught us not to call it a virtue; but it is cousin-german to a virtue. *Neither do we think that the earth affords anything more glorious than eunuchism for the Kingdom of Heaven*: which is, therefore, commended by our Saviour, not as a thing merely arbitrary, by way of advice, but of charge to the able: *Qui potest capere capit.* In this we can gladly subscribe to S. Chrysostom, *Bonum est virginitas*, &c. 'Virginity is good; I yield it: and *better than marriage*; I confess it.' Secondly, every man, therefore, not ecclesiastics only, should labour and strive to aspire unto this estate, as the better; using all holy means both to attain and to continue it. Neither do we think it any other than blameable, that young persons, not so much as advising with their own abilities, without all endeavour and ambition of so worthy a condition, leap rashly into the bands of wedlock. Thirdly, though every man must reach for it, yet every man cannot catch it: since it hath pleased God to reserve this, as a peculiar

gift, for some persons; not intending it as a common favour to all suitors. Fourthly, those, then, which are, upon good trial, conscious to themselves of God's call to this estate, and his gift enabling them unto it, *may lawfully make profession thereof to the glory of the Giver*; and, if need be, *may vow*, God continuing the same grace unto them, *a holy perpetuation thereof*, to their end; the observation whereof, if they, through their own neglect, shall let fall, they *cannot be excused from sin*, or freed from censure."—*Hall's Works*, vol ix. pp. 168, 176, 180, 181; Oxford edition, 1837.

Perhaps it may not be quite out of place here, to observe, that the Act of Edward VI. by which the marriage of priests was made lawful, sets forth in the preamble, "that it is to be wished the clergy would live single, that they might be more at leisure to attend the business of their function;" and that this Act, as is remarked by Collier (from whom I quote), "goes no farther than a *permission*."—*Collier's Ecc. Hist.* vol. v. p. 304. Edition, 1810.

"What their (the primitive monks) bill-of-fare wanted in cheer, it had in grace; their life being constantly spent in prayer, reading, musing, and such like pious employments. . . . It would do one good even but to think of their goodness, and at the rebound and second-hand to meditate on their meditations. For if ever poverty was to be envied it was here. And I appeal to the moderate men of these times,* whether in the heights of these woful wars they have not sometimes wished (not out of passionate distemper, but serious recollection of themselves) some such private place to retire unto, where, out of the noise of this clamorous world, they might have reposed themselves, and served God with more quiet."—*Fuller's Church History*, book vi. sect. 1.

"Those who founded and inhabited these monastic buildings were for ages the chief directors of the national mind. Their possessions were, in truth, the possessions of all classes of the people. The highest offices in those establishments were in some cases bestowed upon the noble and the wealthy, but they were open to the very humblest. *The studious and the devout found here a shelter and a solace.* The learning of the monastic bodies has been underrated; the ages in which they flourished have been called dark ages; but they were almost the sole depositaries of the knowledge of the land. They were the historians, the grammarians, the poets. They accumulated magnificent libraries. They were the barriers that checked the universal empire of brute force. They cherished an ambition higher and more permanent than could belong to the mere martial spirit. They stood between the strong and the weak. They held the oppressor in subjection to that power which results from the cultivation, however misdirected, of the spiritual parts of our nature. Whilst the proud baron continued to live in the same dismal castle that his predatory fathers had built or won, the Churchmen went on, from age to age, adding to their splendid edifices, and demanding a succession of ingenious artists to carry out their lofty ideas. The devotional exercises of their lips touched the deepest feelings of the human heart. Their solemn services, handed down from a remote antiquity, gave to music its most ennobling cultivation; and the most beautiful of arts thus became the vehicle of the loftiest enthusiasm."—*Knight's Life of Shakspere*, pp. 184, 185.

"It was this principle (*i. e.* the surrender of this individual to the public will) transferred into the bosom of the Church, which produced the monasteries—a salutary and sustaining principle, till it was perverted to destroy the sense of personal responsibility. For it would be hard to find a good reason against the introduction of such a principle into a religious rule of life. If a man is led to give up some portion of his *natural* liberty for the sake of the advantages he derives from being a member of a well-regulated state, how much more may he make a free-will offering of some parts of his *christian* liberty, if he thus becomes enrolled in a community whose orderly life, regulated by well-advised

* Those of the great rebellion. The thoughtful reader will mark how strongly these yearnings come in aid of the assertion, that monasticism has its root in the principles and feelings of our common nature.

restrictions, is conducive to a perfection not easily attainable amidst the distractions of the world. . . . With regard to the errors of the monastic system, they have been unsparingly exposed; and, as far as they were the fruit of the system, no man will plead in their defence. But still it may be questioned whether any other foundations of human institution are on record which for so long a period contrived, by their public advantages, to counterbalance their defects. This, at least, is certain, that from the planting of Christianity among our British and Saxon ancestors, till their fatal decline in the 15th century, there was no period at which their influence was not the chief conservative power in society. The monasteries were the nurseries of education, the asylums of the afflicted, the seats of judicature, the record offices of law. Here our monarchs kept their court at the times of the Church's solemn festivals—here the nobles and knights assembled at the summons of the king to meet in parliament; and the spiritual and temporal peers conferred to preserve, by their counsels, the balance of the State. Here were trained the future rulers of the Church, and the statesmen who first set bounds to the will of imperious despots, and laid the foundation for civil liberty by establishing the prerogatives of religion. Here were the secure abodes of divines, philosophers, historians, and poets, inventors of rare arts which have since been lost to the world, but of which the fruit may yet partially be seen in the storied window, and in the pictured missal. Here, lastly, were the studies of those architects whose skill was directed by a nobleness of conception and design, such as the world never saw before nor since. And yet so little were they in their own esteem, that scarcely in a few instances did they leave their names to be known, or to invite the praise of posterity. We neither can nor would blot from remembrance these benefits:—we acknowledge those who conferred them to be the lights and glory of their time; and to their care in cherishing the records of learning, while the world around neglected them, we owe much of the returning civilization which has since been extended over the western shores of our quarter of the globe.”—*Rev. E. Churton: Introduction to the Monastic Remains of Yorkshire.*

“Christianity was not once that umbratile thing, that feeble exotic, shut up in churches, and parsonages and parlours; but walked abroad, made the multitude both the receivers, the collectors, and distributors of her bounties; compelled cities to wear her livery, and dared to inherit the earth. She once provided *homes and forms of operation for the heroic virtues, for lofty aims and firm resolves*, making their torrents flow in the manifold channels of mercy, instead of suffering them to waste the land with a hateful magnificence. She once gave names, and methods, and ancient sanctions, and solemn order, and venerable holiness, and every quality men love and obey, to the pious bearers of spiritual aid to the ignorant and the poor. . . . She once did so combine and temper these works of benevolence with other holy employments, with *frequent daily prayer and oft-heard choral praise*, that the social acts of temporal and ghostly relief seemed no separate, adventitious work, no petty craft of artificial goodness, no capricious adventure or trick of interference, but rather flowing from a something holy, natural, and complete in all its parts. She once had officers, and employment for all; that all, however humble in rank or wealth, or mental culture, might be personally interested in the Church's work. She once could claim her own from every rank, teach all her holy characters, make all acknowledge her marks and passports of sacredness and authority. We cannot bring back those days again;—who would wish that *man* should have this power?—but still *they may come back to us*. The times are dark, and a curtain of gloom hangs over the future; but on its dark face we may discern, brightening in prismatic hue, a vision of past beauty,—the Holy Catholic Church.”—*British Critic*, No. LVI. p. 370, quoted by Mr. Paget—“Warden of Berkinholt,” Preface.*

* We owe a sincere apology to Mr. Paget for having admitted in our last collection of testimonies, a misquotation from his “*Tales of a Village*.” Our contributor

A Prayer for the use of those who are seeking the Revival of Conventual Piety in the Church of England.

O Almighty God and Saviour, who art head over all things to Thy Church, and the author and giver of every good gift, we beseech Thee, of Thine infinite mercy, to look favourably on the designs of those who are seeking to revive in this Church the spirit of primitive retirement from the world, piety, charity, humility, and self-denial. Pour out upon them, we beseech Thee, a more abundant measure of Thy Holy Spirit, that they may become in themselves examples of those graces which they would recommend to others; and so temper their piety with soberness, and their zeal with discretion, that they may give no occasion to any adversary to blaspheme, nor by any rash or erroneous proceeding bring discredit upon the great design before them.

And as we humbly trust this stirring of so many hearts is from Thy Holy Spirit, give, we beseech Thee, such grace and wisdom to the rulers of this Church that they may not oppose their motions, lest, haply, they be found to fight against God. And do Thou, who art the author of unity and order in all the Churches of the saints, let our confidence that this is Thy work be confirmed by the harmony of design and operation amongst those devoted to it. May none seek to advance their own private views, but each be ready to sacrifice all selfish considerations to the furtherance of the common end; that thus, through their endeavours, aided by Thy blessing, the eyes of Heaven, and pilgrims, may once more behold within this Church a model upon earth of the Heavenly Jerusalem, the city of the Living God.

And grant, O Lord, that the spectacle thus offered may not be lost upon any who shall witness it, but that many beholding this example of holiness in heart and life,—of meekness and wisdom,—of overflowing charity,—of unworldliness of spirit,—of taking up and bearing the cross,—may confess and show their deeds, may abjure the service of the god of this world, and be turned from practising the works of the flesh, to bring forth those fruits of the Spirit, which are, by Jesus Christ, to the praise and glory of God.

Finally, we beseech Thee, to put it into the hearts of those who have this world's goods, or to whose hands the patrimony of the Church may cleave, by charitable gifts or just restitution in aid of this advancement of Thy kingdom upon earth, to make for themselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, and to lay up in store a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life. And do thou so direct the counsels of our civil governors, that all legal obstacles to the free exercise of such acts of piety and charity may speedily be done away.

O Lord, hear—O Lord, forgive our unworthiness, through our past sacrileges, of this inestimable gift—O Lord, hearken and do—for the sake of Thy Church, which is called by Thy name, and which Thou hast purchased with Thine own blood. These prayers and supplications we humbly offer in the name and through the mediation of Him, in whom Thou art always well pleased, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

MR. MAURICE'S KINGDOM OF CHRIST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

SIR,—IN common with other of your readers, I have very much regretted to see in some of the recent numbers of the *CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER*, the writings of the Rev. F. Maurice held up to the admiration of your readers, with very little, if any, qualification or

must have received it, we imagine, through some corrupted channel. As written and printed by Mr. Paget, the passage reads just as it should do, as follows:—"If the monasteries, instead of being swept away, had been reformed—had been reserved for persons," &c.

warning. In the last number, in the article "Signs of Hope," (p. 179,) we are told that Mr. M.'s "Kingdom of Christ is, perhaps, one of the greatest treasures of the age," and much more is there said in his praise.

It would be presumptuous in any one to say that this work is not in some respects a remarkable work, and indicates considerable powers in the author, since it has undoubtedly attracted the favourable notice of many able men. At the same time it is equally certain, that a very different opinion of its merits is entertained by others, whose character for intellectual power, and still more for enlightened and thoughtful orthodoxy, entitles them to much weight.

This being the case, I think it is scarcely fair to hold up a work so questioned, to the unqualified admiration of the readers of the *CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER*. For my own part, I feel very strongly, with many others, the unsound and dangerous character of Mr. Maurice's writings, and of his tone as a writer. I think, therefore, your readers ought to be told that there is another opinion prevailing on the subject from that lately expressed so strongly in your pages—a very opposite opinion; and that among those who, on the whole, much approve the Remembrancer, and who stand high in the esteem of the school of which it is an organ.

I would, therefore, protest against the continued admission of such praises of Mr. Maurice and his works, and entreat you to consider whether it is wise or right to commit your Review to the writings of this gentleman, knowing that such difference of opinion exists as to his merits. I do not wish to prevent Mr. M.'s works from being read; I do not mean that nothing is to be learned from them; but I do object to the pages of the *CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER* being made the instrument of commending them to the favourable prejudices of your more unguarded readers.

I might content myself with having said thus much, and I will, if you please, be content with thus much appearing in your next, as a protest; but I am quite ready to state the ground of my opinions, if I may be permitted to do so, and it is not thought undesirable to do so, in your pages. To me, I confess this rather appears a desirable plan. It seems fair that the strictures should have an opportunity of overtaking the praises; and there is a precedent for such a proceeding in one of your late Numbers. I am the more disposed to do so, as it might elicit—what I have never yet been able to learn—the grounds on which Mr. Maurice's work is considered so able and excellent. With your permission, then, I will now make some remarks on Mr. Maurice's work, "The Kingdom of Christ."

Before I begin, let me assure the writer of the article, "Signs of Hope," that, although I may not be one of the few "*competent to read*" it, I have laboured to understand it. I do not pretend that I have invariably succeeded—I have not; and therefore I suppose, in self-defence, I might be tempted to accuse Mr. M. of being very misty sometimes, and of using words for thoughts, and so on; and this is one objection, which I own that I feel, to the work. But it is when I do seem to understand him, when I do see a meaning, that I object to that meaning. I may still be mistaken; but I will now gi

instances of what I mean, which will at least show Mr. M.'s friends what kind of objections are felt to his writings, and why; and will give them an opportunity of vindicating him.

I begin, then, with his Preface to the first edition of his work—the only one I have seen, but which we are told is not superseded by the second. In this Preface, Mr. M. is engaged in stating, incidentally, the nature of his work, and why he has discussed it; and he seeks to defend himself from certain imputations that had been made upon him. This would seem, therefore, a particularly favourable portion of the work for arriving at a fair estimate of Mr. Maurice's opinions and principles. Let us see.

Mr. M. begins by observing, that the questions, "Is there a Catholic Church?—what are its principles and constitution?" have, from circumstances, forced themselves on the attention of all men. He shows how three different classes of men are led in a different way to these same questions. He "thinks it will be allowed that their cases include most of the forms of thought which prevail." He then proceeds to give the answers of each of these three classes of men to these questions. The first is nearly as follows:—Is there a Catholic Church?—and what are its principles and constitution? "We refer you," say one class of intelligent and thoughtful divines, "to the centuries which immediately followed the coming of our Lord in the flesh. To those ages in which lived the men who had conversed with Christ's own Apostles, received their traditions, imbibed their spirit, suffered their persecutions;—when men received mysteries with reverence, when the ministers spoke as those who had authority, and the people thought it their chief duty to receive their words, and bring forth the fruits of them in their lives;—when the dignity of sacraments, and the importance of ordination and consecration, were recognised and felt;—when the conditions and methods of a holy life were understood, and men fashioned themselves according to the rule of the Church, rather than by their own caprice. Then the Church was indeed a Church, one in itself, and Catholic. Since then it has fallen indeed, but it may be restored; and the early ages are our pattern: we must look to them, and gather from them the true principles and constitution of the Church, if we would restore it in our own age to its purity and strength, for the blessing of our people."

I have departed a little from Mr. M.'s own words, but only where they seemed to be an exaggeration or caricature of the opinions intended. The answer is essentially the same; and surely it is in substance saying that "*the Catholic Church*," commonly so called, is that Catholic Church which men are seeking for.

Mr. M. then gives two other answers to the question; one, the liberal creed of the day; the other, that of the Plymouth Brethren, I believe, and others. He then says, that he "is persuaded" that few even of those who hold either of those three doctrines "are so content with them as not at times to be ready to abandon them." He "is equally sure" that they would "resist the intrusion of any new doctrine affecting to displace its predecessors." He proposes, therefore, to "look at the facts of the case as presented by each of these

disputants, and to gather from them *hints of an older, simpler doctrine*, which, excluding neither, shall embrace all, and exhibit a church which shall satisfy the whole nature of man, and be a mirror of the glory of God." "My object," he says, "is only to trace the 'hints' of this doctrine."

This is an analysis of Mr. M.'s preface so far; and now what are we to conclude from this, but that Mr. M. does not consider *the Catholic doctrine of the Catholic Church*, as it has been taught or held in any age by any authors, a satisfactory answer to the question, Is there a Catholic Church adequate to the wants of human nature? It is impossible to avoid this conclusion, if there be a meaning at all in what is there said. Mr. M. asks the question in the most pointed way, Is there a Catholic Church? He gives in answer a doctrine, which most persons must understand to represent what is commonly called the Catholic or High Church doctrine; he charges upon this the same kind of imperfection that belongs to two other doctrines, which are heresies; and when he comes to give his own answer, he does not allude to *any other doctrine* existing as worth mentioning, he does not speak of expounding the *true Catholic doctrine* of the Catholic Church; but he proposes to collect from the facts of the case a doctrine "older, simpler, more comprehensive, more complete, more satisfactory!" including in its embrace the opinions and views of Catholics and heretics equally! I ask, with this declaration before us, can we think this author a sound member or safe teacher of *THE Catholic Church*—not of a Catholic Church in some enlarged Maurician sense—but in the actual and ordinary sense of that term? Is this a book to put into the hands of the many, or of any, with words of high praise?"

Your contributor seems to say that Mr. Maurice comes to the *same conclusion* as his contemporaries, the Catholic writers of the day, as to the doctrine of the Church. But this is surely a mistake; unless Mr. M. himself has made a mistake, or failed in his undertaking. The views and principles of these writers are contained substantially under Mr. M.'s first supposed answer. At least he thought so, or he would not have neglected to mention the opinion of writers of some note surely in this day, and supported by the authority of many of a former day. *Their* object and wish is to explain and restore the *old doctrine*, the ancient principles and constitution of the Church. Mr. M., on the other hand, comes forward in the character of a discoverer of something old at once and new. His predecessors have failed in solving the great problem of the Catholic Church. He is about to give us *his* notions or "hints" of what the Catholic Church really is or should be. He does not deny that this doctrine has been held in part by others—different persons possessing different fragments—that it has existed in germ and embryo always—but has not been held consciously and completely, not put together and viewed as a whole, in the due relation of all its parts and functions to all the various wants of man, as these "hints" will serve to exhibit it! This may be very original, very clear, very profound; but it is Catholic only in the most un-catholic sense, in the most abused sense of that much-abused word. I do not wish to speak strongly, but I feel that such

language and such sentiments as these deserve as strong reprobation as your contributor seems to think they deserve praise and admiration.

But such an undertaking as that thus avowed by Mr. Maurice, besides its other graver faults, would seem naturally to bring down upon the author a suspicion of a very unusual share of presumption and self-conceit. To discover in the writings of every different and opposing writer, "the blessing each one can, which the other cannot give," to look at every system and doctrine on "its fair and illuminated side;" and from this examination and survey, to collect a simpler, sublimer, and more comprehensive doctrine than has ever been reached or embraced by any writer; really does seem a somewhat presumptuous attempt—and does indeed suggest a suspicion that the author is almost "the most self-conceited of human creatures." Mr. M. is aware of this, and therefore proceeds at this point of his preface, (p. xxiv.) to guard his readers against such a mistake; a mistake which, "by a very slight and moderate injustice," they may easily be guilty of. Let us now see what he has to say in vindication of himself from such an odious charge.

It would be a mistake, he says, to suppose that he is one "who wishes to place himself above all sects and parties, that from a calm elevation he may behold, and smile with complacency at their errors." This would be a mistake; for the truth is, he only "wishes to place himself where he may receive the light from all (sects and parties), because he feels himself so dark and ignorant, that he cannot spare one ray of it." This is Mr. M.'s own account of the position he assumes himself to be in,—the position from which he dictates that greatest treasure of the age, "The Kingdom of Christ." That is, he *only* assumes to have placed himself at a point from whence he can see the fair and illuminated side of every doctrine and system. The rays from each converge to a focus on him. He is all over radiant with this reflected light. This is his position—this is the matter of fact. In speaking then as if he has the light and advantage of each and all, it must not be thought that he is conceited. He *has* all the light indeed. But what then? he only *received* it from them. His *only* advantage, his *only* peculiar claim is, that while each party has *its own* ray or rays; he has, from a humble sense of his own darkness, *collected them all*.

Again, he says, it must not be supposed that he is "putting himself in the place of a teacher, but of a learner; he is not assuming to be wiser than his neighbours, but is anxious to sit at their feet; he is not angry with them for presuming to teach him, but only because they will not admit any wisdom but their own." "I do not complain," he says, "of any for what they hold of truth, but for not holding what others have, and they have not," &c. &c. That is, he *only learns from all* what each has to teach him,—he sits at their feet from a sense of his own ignorance, to observe what each has of truth; and then, if with this advantage he proceeds to point out to each, how far he is right, and how far wrong, he does not assume to be a teacher, but is indeed, in the truest sense, a learner. True, he does come to *teach all* at last, but then he only teaches what he has *learned*.

It would be a mistake, therefore, to say he is self-conceited, though "by a very slight and moderate injustice," he may be so represented. No, it is his "sense of his own ignorance" that obliges him to learn from all, all that they have to teach!

I do not know what effect this vindication may have on others, to me it is the most curious proof of the thing to be disproved that could be imagined; and I can truly say that I cannot feel that I have really caricatured his own account, nor do more than express, in other words, what it contains. I must add that, for my own part, I never in all my life saw any one, or read anything that exhibited such wonderful self-conceit as the writings of Mr. Maurice generally; while it is made more wonderful still, by the calm, complacent way in which he thinks he disproves by simply denying the fact.

In these remarks I have confined myself to the preface of the work, purposely avoiding all extracts from, or allusions to, the work itself, because I wish to be definite; and I wish what I write to be brought at once to book; and this preface consists of only a few pages of large print, which any one can read for himself in a few minutes. And, for the sake of being definite, I will now sum up and repeat the propositions which I consider this preface to contain, and to which I object. It implies or states 1st, That the true and adequate doctrine on the subject of "the Holy Catholic Church" has never yet been held or taught. 2d, That even the most Catholic doctrine as taught by Catholic divines, is only a partial and imperfect statement of it. 3d, That the doctrines of heretics and schismatics are partial and imperfect in the same way, perhaps a little more so. 4th, That the true doctrine lies not in any one of these doctrines in opposition to the others; nor in a doctrine independent of and distinct from all; but in one which is older, simpler, deeper, more complete and satisfactory than any, and *comprehends and includes all*, holding them each in its proper place and connexion, and in harmony with each other. 5th, That Mr. Maurice has possession of this COMPREHENSIVE DOCTRINE, and is about to trace "the hints" of it in this book. And 6th, In making this assertion, and avowing this intention, he is not presumptuous nor self-conceited. Each of these propositions are really contained or stated in Mr. M.'s preface, and are indeed a just, and only a just explanation of the whole drift and matter of the work, in which they occur again and again in every form. Mr. Maurice seems to feel that if he can be fairly chargeable with presumption and self-conceit in this avowal and design, such a charge would be both odious to himself and fatal to his work. I think so too; and must think *this imputation alone* conclusive against him and his work, until I can be made to understand how an individual who assumes to have now, first and alone, discovered the one idea of the Catholic Church which includes and embraces all other ideas of it; who calmly asserts this; whose one only professed object it is to exhibit this idea; how such an individual is either not the most gifted or inspired of men, or "the most self-conceited of human creatures."

Of course, I feel that I am laying myself open to the imputation of being one of those who, the writer of the article, "Signs of Hope," says, are "not competent to read" this work: and "whose reasoning"

powers are too unexercised to receive such a banquet of pure concentrated thought." But really, this scarcely seems a fair or courteous way of settling such a matter. It is begging the question by the assumption, on the part of the writer, that his is one of the very few most highly-gifted minds that are competent to understand Mr. M.'s writings, and savours strongly of the very temper which I have been pointing out in Mr. Maurice. However, I shall be much obliged to any of those whose minds have been "deeply possessed and mightily moulded" by Mr. M.'s work, if they will interpret it to my less-gifted self. I shall be very happy to be obliged to admit that Mr. Maurice is orthodox as well as original, and that he is not conceited in spite of appearances.

If what I have here said against Mr. Maurice's preface to his book be not wholly a misconception of his meaning, we must expect from such principles, and such a tone of mind, their natural consequences in the work itself; and this expectation will, I believe, be found correct. I will, however, stop here—for the present, at least. Should time and opportunity be afforded me, I may, at some future time, go on to state other objections to Mr. M.'s particular opinions, and shall be very glad, if, by so doing, I may obtain a complete explanation of what appears so objectionable, not to myself only, but to many others.

Feb. 15.

I am, &c. &c.

[We have admitted the above communication for much the same reason that the article "Signs of Hope," of which it complains, went unaltered to the press; i. e. because both that writer and his present censor are perfectly able and ready both to form, to express, and to defend their respective opinions of any theological book. The eulogist of Mr. Maurice is so much more deeply read than most of us in Mr. Maurice's somewhat subtle speculations, that it would have seemed almost presumptuous to object to the particular, though strong phraseology of a contributor, to whom, perhaps, more than all others, the "Remembrancer" is indebted. At the same time it is possible that such praise might be overstrained and excessive. The objections which we foresaw were not unlikely to occur, however, may probably be best met by giving Mr. Maurice, his friends, and censors, fair lists for their differences. And if the discussion, which seems likely to ensue, shall have only the benefit of bringing out, in an intelligible form, that on which such widely different opinions have been formed, as the *real* character of Mr. Maurice's works, the objectionable praise itself—if objectionable it shall be proved—will have done good service to the Church. It has always seemed a healthy state and condition of a Review, that its contributors should not be too much controlled (though of course restricted within due limits); and we have yet to learn that the writer of "Signs of Hope," even if it be shown that he overpraised Mr. Maurice, overstept the conventional licence willingly accorded to independent thinkers in any Review. The "Christian Remembrancer" is, and ought to be, the transcript of many minds. But while once more sanctioning the dangerous principle of admitting strictures on our own strictures, of which our present correspondent so adroitly takes advantage; or, in other words, while we abandon editorial infallibility, so far, at least, as to profess little acquaintance with Mr. Maurice, we intend to exercise a most tyrannical supremacy, by putting a stop to the proposed discussion, whenever, and for whatever reasons we please.]

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

BP. OF GLOUC. & BRISTOL, *April 14.*
 BP. OF ROCHESTER, *in April.*
 BP. OF CHICHESTER, *June 2.*
 BP. OF EXETER, *June 2.*
 BP. OF LINCOLN, *June 2.*

BP. OF PETERBOROUGH, *June 2.*
 BP. OF SALISBURY (for B. & W.) *June 2.*
 BP. OF LICHFIELD, *June 2.*
 BP. OF ELY, *June 9.*
 BP. OF WORCESTER, *July 21.*

ORDINATIONS.

By the LORD BP. OF LONDON, at the Chapel Royal, St. James's, on Sunday, March 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—L. J. Bernays, B.A. St. John's; E. B. Heawood, B.A. Ch. Ch. (*l. d.* Abp. of Canterbury); L. S. Dudman, B.A. Wad. (*l. d.* Abp. of Canterbury).

Of Cambridge.—W. L. Hardisty, B.A. St. John's; W. Way, B.A. Trin.; T. A. Pope, B.A. Jesus; W. B. Faulkner, B.A. Sid. Sus.

Literates.—(For Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions.)—H. Laurence, C. W. Noesgen.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—H. Robbins, B.A. Wad.; M. Shaw, B.A. Brasen.; W. Cobb, B.A. Ch. Ch.; J. Yarker, s.c.l. New Inn H. (the last three *l. d.* Abp. of Canterbury.)

Of Cambridge.—J. F. Spong, B.A. Caius, and G. Beardsworth, M.A. St. John's (*l. d.* Abp. of Canterbury).

Literate.—(For Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions.)—J. Hunter, Church Missionary College, Islington.

By the LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER, at Chester, on Sunday, March 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—R. C. Black, B.A. Worc.; F. A. La Trobe Foster, B.A. Oriel; W. H. Jones, B.A. Queen's; R. S. Redfern, B.A. Queen's; E. Royds, B.A. King's H. and Brasen.; E. Tomlinson, B.A. Trin.; A. G. Woolward, B.A. Magd.; E. Walker, B.A. Pem.

Of Cambridge.—W. Chawner, B.A. St. John's; S. J. Lyon, B.A. Trin.; T. Troughton, B.A. Trin.; J. R. Whyte, B.A. Downing.

Of St. Bees.—H. T. Fletcher, W. R. P. Wandby, T. Wilson.

Of Lampeter.—H. T. Downman.

Of Dublin.—J. Bateson, B.A. Trin.; C. R. Huson, B.A. Trin.; T. Ireland, B.A. Trin.; J. Richardson, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—C. R. Clifton, B.A. Mert.; R. Fletcher, B.A. Brasen.; W. B. Garnett, B.A. Brasen.; W. T. Redfern, Magd. H.; J. Rigg M.A. New Inn H.

Of Cambridge.—J. Appleton, B.A. Cath. H.; T. Massey, B.A. Cath. H.; P. Thompson, B.A. Cath. H.; W. Shackleton, B.A. Cath. H.; W. A. Cartledge, B.A. St. John's; J. P. Firmin, B.A. Queen's; J. P. Power, B.A. Queen's; W. C. Greene, B.A. Clare H.; C. J. G. Jones, B.A.

Clare H.; C. B. Jeaffreson, B.A. Pem.; S. G. F. Perry, Trin.; J. D. Raven, B.A. St. Mary Magdalen; J. B. Turner, B.A. Caius.

Of St. Bees.—J. Beilby, W. Hughes, W. H. Jones, J. D. Lateward, T. Sabine.

Of Dublin.—P. Reynolds, B.A. Trin.; R. F. J. Shea, M.A. Trin.; G. A. G. Warner, B.A. Trin.

By the LORD BISHOP OF LICHFIELD, at All Souls' Church, Langham-place, St. Marylebone, on Sunday, March 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—G. M. Haughton, B.A. Linc.; J. H. A. Herries, B.A. Trin.

Of Cambridge.—H. J. Stokes, B.A. St. John's; J. Hall, B.A. Corp. Chris.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—W. G. Holmes, B.A. Wad.; S. W. Steedman, B.A. Ch. Ch.; W. H. Skrine, B.A. Ch. Ch. (*l. d.* Bp. of Rochester.)

Of Cambridge.—B. Pidcock, B.A. Corp. Chris.; W. Rawson, B.A. St. John's; H. B. Greenwood, B.A. St. Cath. H.; J. M. Pratt, B.A. St. John's; J. Bradshaw, B.A. St. Cath. H.; J. Rushton, B.A. St. John's; J. F. Harward, B.A. St. John's.

Of Dublin.—R. W. Houghton, B.A. Trin.

By the LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY, at Salisbury, on Sunday, March 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—G. A. Oddie, B.A. Univ.; J. F. Stuart, M.A. Trin.; H. Thompson, B.A. Magd. H., and J. J. T. S. Cocks, B.A. Brasen. (*l. d.* Bp. of Exeter).

Of Cambridge.—F. J. Biddulph, B.A. Em.; T. W. Dowding, B.A. Caius; P. W. Molesworth, B.A. St. John's, H. S. Aubyn, St. John's, B.A. and S. Dennis, B.A. Trin. (the last three *l. d.* Bp. of Exeter).

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—W. Grey, B.A. Magd. H.; J. N. Hinxman, B.A. Trin.; G. Nutt, B.A. Wor.; G. E. Cole, B.A. St. Mary H.; T. Dyson, jun. M.A. New Inn H.; J. C. Earle, B.A. St. Edm. H.; R. H. W. Miles, B.A. Ch. Ch.; G. D'Oyly Snow, B.A. St. Mary H.; N. Lowe, B.A. Queen's; H. H. Fortescue, B.A. Exet.; G. B. Northcote, M.A. Exet., and G. E. Symonds, B.A. Linc. (the last four *l. d.* Bp. of Exeter).

Of Cambridge.—J. J. Evans, M.A. Trin.; E. C. Wilshire, B.A. (*l. d.* Bp. of Exeter).

Of Durham.—W. Haslam, B.A. Univ.

By the LORD BISHOP OF RIPON, at Ripon,
on Sunday, March 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—D. Wright, B.A. Magd. H.; J. Swire, B.A. Univ.

Of Cambridge.—E. W. Cook, B.A. St. John's; J. H. Pollexfen, B.A. Queen's; C. Sangster, B.A. St. John's.

Of Dublin.—W. D. Wade, B.A. Trin. (l. d. Bp. of Kildare.)

Literates.—R. Ellis and P. Eggleston, St. Bees.

PRIESTS.

Of Cambridge.—A. J. W. Morrison, B.A. Trin.

Of Dublin.—W. Cockett, B.A. Trin.

Literate.—W. Cross.

By the LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH, at Peterborough, on Sunday, March 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—W. Hombersley, M.A. Ch. Ch.; N. J. Moody, B.A. Oriel.

Of Cambridge.—C. T. Glynn, B.A. Trin.; J. Levett, B.A. Cath. H.; W. J. Marshall, B.A. Queen's; M. O. Norman, Corp. Chris.; C. Pratt, jun. B.A. Trin.; G. E. Welby, B.A. Trin.; R. V. Whitby, M.A. Em.; A. T. Hudson, B.A. Jesus (l. d. Bp. of Norwich.)

Of Dublin.—S. Jervois, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—F. Baron de Paravacini, B.A. Worc.; T. N. Twopeny, B.A. Oriel.

Of Cambridge.—P. L. Smith, M.A. St. John's.

By the LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN, at Lincoln, on Sunday, March 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—A. Kent, B.A. Oriel; A. Kinloch, B.A. St. Mary H.; J. Mason, B.A. New Inn H.; P. Newington, B.A. Worc.

Of Cambridge.—H. Howard, B.A. Magd.; R. W. Sheldon, B.A. Trin.; W. Talman, B.A. Fell. of King's; H. Wortham, B.A. Jesus.

Of Dublin.—H. M. Archdall, B.A. Trin. (l. d. Bp. of Down, Connor, and Dromore).

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—A. R. Pain, B.A. Pem.

Of Cambridge.—T. Crossland, B.A. Sid. Sus.; E. G. Jarvis, M.B. Trin.

By the LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER, at Hartlebury Castle, on Sunday, March 3.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—C. B. Calley, B.A. Wor.; F. Tate, M.A. Univ.

Of Cambridge.—J. Hardy, Queen's; C. Turner, B.A. St. John's.

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	Preferment.	Diocese.	Patron.	Val.	Pop.
Barker, W. G.	Matlock, R.	Lichfield ...	D. of Lincoln	£320	3782
Barlow, J.	Guildford	Winchester	Lord Chancellor	171	...
Barlow, —	Shalford & Bramley, v.	Winchester	Lord Chancellor	330	996
Bassett, C.	Monknash, P.C.	Llandaff	Hon. W. B. Grey	67	109
Bayly, E. G.	Langton-Matavers, R.	Sarum	Rev. J. Dampier	351	762
Beaumont, J. A.	St. Mary, Leeds, P.C.	Ripon	Dr. Hook	47	...
Bowles, A.	Send & Ripley, v.	Winchester	Earl Onslow	260	1538
Broadley, A.	Bradpole, v.	Sarum	Lord Chancellor	199	851
Bryan, R.	Childon, R.	Exeter	Hon. N. Fellowes	114	90
Carnegie, J.	Bishopstone, v.	Chichester..	Bishop of Chichester ..	88	288
Cole, F.	Issey, v.	Exeter	D. & C. of Exeter	246	748
Corfe, J.	St. Petrock, R.	Exeter	D. & C. of Exeter	138	662
Crosthwaite, J. C.	{ St. Andrew Hubbard, } { Ann, St. Mary-at-hill }	London	D. of Northumberland.	387	1318
Crowley, J. C.	St. John's, R.	Exeter	Hon. R. P. Carew	179	149
Cubitt, G. I.	{ St. Thomas, R. Win- } { chester	Winchester	Bp. of Winchester	145	3071
Dennis, R. N.	East Blatchington, R.	Chichester..	John King, Esq.	88	163
Driffeld, G. T.	Stratford-le-Bow, R.	London	Brasen. Coll., Oxford...	319	4626
Eden, J. P.	Redmarshall, R.	Durham	Bishop of Durham	341	272
Ellman, E. B.	Wartling, v.	Chichester..	Rev. J. Pratt	307	962
Gibson, B.	{ St. Mary Abchurch, R. } { St. Lawrence } { Pountney	London	Corp. Chris. Coll., Camb.	206	526
Gruber, C. S.	Westport, P.C.	B. & W. ....	.....	...	...
Gunning, J. W. ...	East Boldre, P.C.	Winchester	.....	...	...
Hall, J. R.	Frodsham, v.	Chester	Ch. Ch., Oxford	590	5821
Hodgson, E. F. ...	Holton, R.	Lincoln	C. Turner, Esq.	334	191
Jones, H.	Holywell, v.	St. Asaph..	Jesus Coll., Oxford	250	10834
Maxwell, M. H. ...	Frampton, v.	Sarum	R. B. Sheridan, Esq. ...	120	391
Oakes, H. A. A. ...	Nowton, v.	Ely	Marquis of Bristol	314	171
Overton, J.	Rothwell, R.	Lincoln	Lord Yarborough	250	290
Price, —	Wishley & Syrford	Winchester	Earl Onslow	210	1355
Ray, G.	Statherne, R.	Peterboro'..	St. Peter's Coll., Camb.	566	549
Richardson, J.	Heywood, P.C.	Chester	Rector of Bury	196	...

PREFERMENTS—Continued.

Name.	Preferment.	Diocese.	Patron.	Val.	Pop.
Scott, F. T.	Eastbridge, R.	Canterbury.	Archbp. of Canterbury.	73	22
Scott, R.	Duloe, <i>sin.</i> v.	Exeter.....	Balliol College.....	50	...
Smith, G.	Cantley, v.	York.....	J. W. Childers, Esq.	233	651
Smith, H.	Butlers Marston, v.	Worcester..	D. & C. of Ch. Ch., Oxf.	88	313
Spring, G. T.	Hawling, R.	G. & B.....	J. H. Hope, Esq.	100	217
Sutton, J. H.	Bishop's Hill, Sen. R.	York.....	Lord Chancellor	195	1302
Tetlow, J. R.	{Pontesbury, R. First}	Hereford ...	Rev. H. Harrison	800	1489
	{Portion				
Thompson, W.	Bramley, v.	Winchester	Queen's Coll., Oxford..	385	428
Townley, R.	{St. Matthew, Liver-}	Chester.....	Rectors of Liverpool ...	107	...
	{pool, P.C.}				
Tucker, C.	Washford Pyne, R.	Exeter.....	Rev. C. Tucker	144	197
Westmorland, T. } jun.	Sandal Magna, v.	Ripon.....	Lord Chancellor	157	3482

APPOINTMENTS.

Beamish, H. H. {	Union of Kinsalebe & Grange, in the county of Waterford.	Meade, M. {	Prebendal Stall of Coombe, Salisbury Cathedral.
Bridge, S. {	Minister of Denmark-hill Pro- prietary Chapel.	Moore, J. C. {	Archdeacon of the Isle of Man.
Clive, W. {	Archdeacon of Montgomery.	O'Brien, M. {	Prof. of Natural Philosophy & Astron. at K. Coll., London.
Harrison, J. {	Head Master of the Andover Grammar School.	Slade, G. {	Mastership of the Free Gram- mar School, Manchester.
Hill, J. {	Head Master of the Royal Naval School, Greenwich.	Symonds, H. {	Minor Canon of Norwich Cath.
Jones, J. {	Archdeacon of Anglesea.	Traherne, J. M. {	Chancellor of Llandaff.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Ackland, T. G., D.D., Rector of St. Mildred's, Bread-street.	Langhorne, G.
Barrow, T., of Skirton.	Lister, J. S., Vicar of Luddington, Lincolnshire.
Burrows, S., Rector of Shingleton.	Manby, J., M.A., Chaplain to his Royal High- ness the late Duke of Sussex, and Vicar of Lancaster.
Bushe, W., Rector of St. George's par., Dublin.	Michell, J. H., Rector of Buckland.
Carlos, J., M.A., Rector of Thorpe-by-Hardiscoe, Norfolk.	Nash, J., of Flaxbourton.
Church, W., Rector of Woolthorpe.	Nicholls, D., Vicar of Llanegwad.
Cotton, G. H., Incumbent of St. Clement's, Rochdale.	Oxenham, W., Vicar of Cornwood, Devonshire, and Prebendary of Exeter Cathedral.
Cresswell, D., D.D., Vicar of Enfield.	Price, B., Tredegar.
D'Eve, N., Rector of Thrandeston.	Rhodes, C. H. R., of Barlborough Hall, near Chesterfield.
Fleming, G., M.A., of Christ's College, Camb.	Sparke, J., M.A., Curate of Wrawby cum Brigg, Lincolnshire.
Gilkes, W., Curate of Littlehampton.	Vawdrey, G., B.A., Incumbent of Wrenbury, Cheshire.
Glaister, W., late Vicar of Kirkby Fleetham.	Yolland, J., late Curate of Huxham.
Harling, J., M.A., Curate of St. Lawrence, Evesham, Worcestershire.	
Jackson, F. A., Vicar of Riccal, near Selby.	
Jones, R., D.D., Vicar of Bedfont.	

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT, BUILDING,
AND REPAIRING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

A MEETING of this Society was held on Monday last, at their chambers in St. Martin's-place, Trafalgar-square, to take

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into consideration a variety of applications from parishes and districts requesting assistance from the funds of

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the Society to aid in the enlargement of old or the building of new Churches in places which are, as we shall see further on, sadly in want of church accommodation for the working classes of the people, and who are, therefore, left in the dangerous position of either not receiving any religious instruction, or of taking up any sort of dogmas that may be placed before them, whether good, bad, or indifferent; to obviate which awful state of things the constant and strenuous labours of the Society are directed.

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury was called to the chair on that occasion; where, also, were present the Bishops of London, Chester, Bangor, Ely, Peterborough, Hereford, and Lichfield; Sir R. Harry Inglis, M.P.; the Reverends the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Spry, Dr. Shepherd, J. Jennings, and Benjamin Harrison; Messrs. F. H. Dickenson, M.P., William Davis; Newell Connop (the treasurer), Wm. Cotton, S. B. Brooks, James Cocks, A. Powell, &c.

The Chairmen of the sub-committees having made their respective reports, the meeting proceeded to investigate the cases referred to their consideration, and eventually voted assistance to the amount of 3,130*l.* towards the erection of seven additional churches or chapels; the rebuilding, with enlargement, of three existing churches; and the extension of the accommodation in eight other existing churches.

The situations where the additional places of worship are to be erected are the following:—Lower Cam, Gloucestershire; Brackmoor, parish of King's Winford, Staffordshire; Languic, Glamorganshire; New Radford, near Nottingham; Mosley, in the township of Congleton, Cheshire; Hazlewood, in the parish of Driffild, Derbyshire; and at Little Metros, near Tetsworth.

The churches to be rebuilt are at

Westmeon, Hampshire; Bathwell, Nottinghamshire; and Honly, near Huddersfield.

The churches where additional accommodation will be obtained by enlarging, reseating, &c. are at Wichen, Ely; Fowley, Hants; Kirkdale, near Liverpool; Tottington, parish of Bury, Lancashire; Austrey, Warwickshire; Ugmaston, Pembrokeshire; Full Sutton, Yorkshire; and Upton-cum-Chalvey, near Slough.

The population of the eighteen parishes thus assisted is 154,615 souls, for whom accommodation, to the extent of 25,595 sittings, is now provided in thirty-six churches and chapels, of which 7555 are free. To this most scanty provision of church room 5683 will now be added, including free seats for 4963 persons; thus it will be seen that the present places contain accommodation for only one-sixth of the population, while the free seats are only in the proportion of one sitting for twenty persons.

The meeting next examined the certificates relative to the completion of new churches, enlargement, &c. of existing churches in several parishes and districts. These have been approved. The treasurer received authority to pay the grant in each case.

The provision of church room in these parishes previously to the commencement of the works now reported to be completed, was only 2832 seats, 1226 of which were free, while the population amounted to 11,022 souls; but 1920 additional sittings are now provided, of which 1182 are free and unappropriated in perpetuity.

Since the last meeting of the committee, forms of application have been forwarded to eighteen applicants, to enable them to submit their cases to the consideration of the board. Five of these applicants will solicit aid towards the erection of additional churches in populous places.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

67, *Lincoln's Inn Fields.*

At the General Meeting, held on Tuesday, the 5th of March, 1844, the Rev. Dr. Russell in the chair, the minutes having been read, it was moved by J. C. Meymott, Esq.,

"That the Standing Committee be

requested to reconsider the course taken in regard to Bishop Ken's Manual, and Archdeacon Hale's work, as reported at the meeting in February."

This was seconded by N. Goldsmid, Esq., and carried.

The following report from the Tract

Committee to the Board was read to the Meeting :—

"The Tract Committee consider it due to themselves and to the Society at large to make the following report to the Board :

"The attention of the Tract Committee has been drawn to the prevalence of much dissatisfaction among members of the Society, with regard to the republication of the works of deceased authors, which are on the Society's Catalogue.

"The chief source of such dissatisfaction has been represented to them to be, a belief that the Tract Committee have been in the practice of making alterations as to doctrines, sentiments, and expressions, in the works of deceased authors, which had been adopted in their original state by the Society.

"Into the circumstances which may have given rise to such a belief the Tract Committee will not inquire, wishing to confine themselves to a statement of the facts with which they have been themselves connected.

"The Tract Committee was first appointed in the year 1834, a provision being made by the Board that all books and tracts should be referred to such Tract Committee, in like manner as they had been referred to the Standing Committee.

"In consequence of this resolution, some tracts which had been previously objected to at the Board, were referred to the Tract Committee for revision; and within the period which elapsed between their appointment and March, 1836, other tracts, against which objections were in like manner made at the Board, were by the Board referred to the Tract Committee.

"The Tract Committee accordingly examined such books and tracts as were so referred to them by the Board, and reported to the Board the results of their examination, recommending such changes to be made in those books or tracts as they thought desirable; and in no single instance does it appear that the Tract Committee authorized the publication of any work so altered without the express sanction and approval of the Board.

"Of the works thus referred to the Tract Committee, the following eight were altered by the Tract Committee, and with the alterations were submitted to the Board, and were afterwards published by the order of the Board; namely,—

"In the year 1835,
"Country Clergyman's advice to his Parishioners.

"The great importance of a religious Life.

"Companion to the Altar.

"Advice to Young Women on going to Service.

"The Church Catechism broken into Short Questions.

"And in the year 1836,

"The Pious Parishioner Instructed.

"A Companion to the Aged.

"The Christian Monitor.

"They are not aware of any other work having been altered during that time.

"The Tract Committee, having experienced great difficulty in fulfilling the wishes of the Board with respect to the revision of old books and tracts, were anxious to be relieved from this task, which was still urged upon them.

"At length, in March, 1836, they made the following communication to the Board :—

"The Tract Committee regret to be obliged to report, that having endeavoured to the utmost of their power to fulfil the wishes of the Society, as to the correction of passages deemed open to objection in points of doctrine in works already on the Society's Catalogue, they feel themselves under the necessity of declining that part of the office assigned them by the Board.'

"This report was received by the Board.

"At the next Board, April 5th, 1836, the Standing Committee made a report, in which, having referred to the above resolution of the Tract Committee, they use these words :—

"In consequence of this resolution, the Standing Committee think it desirable that the Tract Committee should be requested to direct their attention in future to the providing of new books and tracts, and that the duty of making such corrections in the old ones should revert to the Standing Committee.

"This duty, however, they doubt whether they shall be able to discharge in such a manner as to obviate all objections, or to give universal satisfaction.'

"The Tract Committee, from the time of communicating their resolution to the Board in March, 1836, to the present day, have strictly adhered to that resolution, and have never, except as hereinafter stated, made any alterations of the doctrines, sentiments, or expressions in the work of any deceased author on the Society's Catalogue; nor are they

aware of any such alterations having been made either by the Standing Committee, or otherwise.

"In the year 1841, it having become a matter of notoriety that changes of different kinds had crept into the Society's editions of some works of deceased authors, the Tract Committee and the Standing Committee conferred together upon the subject of providing that the old books and tracts should be faithfully reprinted; and in consequence the following resolution of the Standing Committee was reported to the Tract Committee:—

Feb. 5th, 1841.

"Agreed: that the Tract Committee be requested to take such measures as they may think proper for the careful republication of the old books and tracts on the Society's List, and that they be authorized to employ a competent person or persons to revise them, when new editions are required."

In compliance with this request, the Tract Committee have from time to time engaged the services of competent persons for the express purpose of securing the genuine text of the works of deceased authors already on the Society's Catalogue.

"Under this head may be mentioned 'Nelson's Fasts and Festivals,' and 'Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Golden Grove.'

"In the case of admitting on the Catalogue for the first time the works of deceased authors, the Tract Committee have adhered to the same plan in every case, adopting the edition which they believed to present most faithfully the author's own text.

"Under this head may be specified, among other works, 'Bishop Patrick's Consolatory Discourses,' 'Sutton's Disce Mori, and Disce Vivere,' 'Archdeacon Welchman on the Thirty-nine Articles,' and 'Dean Stanhope on the Epistles and Gospels.'

"The Tract Committee, therefore, so far from having adopted the measures which they are represented to have adopted, have been engaged, to the utmost of their power, in securing the publication, in their original state, of such works as had not been altered with the express sanction of the General Board.

"The Tract Committee desire it to be distinctly understood, that in these observations they do not in anywise advert to those books and tracts which had, at any time previous to their appointment, been altered and adapted

to the use of the Society, and published by direction of the Board.

"The Tract Committee would willingly be relieved from the task of providing for the faithful republication of the works of deceased authors already on the Society's Catalogue; but in the case of admitting such works now for the first time on the Catalogue, they will, as heretofore, take all the care in their power that no work shall be put forth otherwise than as it was published by the author."

This Report having been read,

It was moved by the Rev. Dr. Spry,

"That the Report of the Tract Committee now read be entered on the minutes, and printed in the Monthly Report."

This was seconded by the Dean of Chichester, and carried.

The Secretary stated that the above Report had been laid before the Standing Committee, at their meeting yesterday, and that they had agreed to the following resolution:—

"The Tract Committee having this day communicated to the Standing Committee a report which they intend to present to the Board to-morrow, and which appears to call for some additional information as to circumstances that took place before the appointment of the Tract Committee, it is resolved,—That a statement of facts connected with the alterations made by the Society in the works of deceased authors, be drawn up by the Standing Committee, and submitted to the Board at the General Meeting in April.

"And that this resolution be communicated to the Board to-morrow."

The following memorial was then read to the Meeting:—

"Memorial of certain Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, resident in the Diocese of Lichfield, addressed to the Chairman and Members of the Society, at their Meeting in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on the fifth day of March, 1844.

"We, the undersigned, having recently seen a publication, called, 'An Appeal to the Members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, containing statements which appear to us very seriously to affect the character of the Institution, beg leave to submit the following observations to the General Meeting.

"It is stated in the 'Appeal,'—and the statement seems borne out by the instances cited,—that changes have been

gradually made in the character of the tracts issued by the Society; and in particular that the works of Old Divines, some of whom were founders of the Institution, or connected with it at an early period, have been in many cases altered,—that various doctrinal and practical statements contained in them have been omitted, and in some instances, language attributed to the authors different from that which they really used.

“We beg to express our earnest hope—and in so doing we believe we are speaking the sentiments of a large majority of members—that the sound and orthodox principles which have so long distinguished this Society, as the instrument of the Church of England in some of her most important functions, may jealously be maintained: and, at the same time, to state our opinion, that if the principles of the Society be compromised or tampered with, the result can only be the promotion of strife and dissatisfaction, and the ultimate disruption of the Institution.

“With regard to the changes made in the books of standard authors, we confess that we are both grieved and surprised—having always supposed that we were reading and distributing the genuine works of the Divines of the English Church.

“We have in vain searched amongst the Rules of the Society for any authority by which the above-named alterations have been made. By the XXXIst Rule ‘the Tract Committee is empowered to place upon the Society’s Catalogue any Book or Tract which shall have been approved by them, and shall afterwards have received the sanction of the Episcopal Referees.’ But it does not appear to us that this Rule gives any power to the Tract Committee for the time being to alter the books and tracts which have long been used for the purposes of the Institution.

“We beg that it may not be supposed that we desire to impute to the present or former members of the Tract Committee any wilful departure from the Rules of the Society; still less do we suppose that men of their high character would lend themselves to any design of misleading the public as to the views of the standard Divines of the English Church. We rather suppose that the practice of making alterations has been suffered gradually to grow up, without consideration of the very serious objections to which it is liable.

“We object to the practice,

“*First*, Because such alterations are disrespectful to the memory of pious and holy men—some of whom were founders of the Institution.

“*Secondly*, Because the language of the old writers is generally better than the new.

“*Thirdly*, Because the alteration of their language, and modification of their sentiments, and omission of their opinions, must have the obvious effect of giving to the numerous readers of the Society’s books a wrong impression of the sentiments entertained by the Bishops and Divines of the English Church.

“*Fourthly*, Because their statements on many subjects (such, for instance, as passages on the Offertory and Festivals which have been omitted in the Society’s editions) would, if fairly presented to the public, have tended to aid the exertions of those Bishops and Clergy, in the present day, who desire to restore the ancient and prescribed usages of the Church.

“*Fifthly*, Because the Clergy and others who use the books of the Society are liable to be misled, and fall into misquotation, by referring to works which are not genuine.

“*Sixthly*, Because being made aware of these defects, we do not feel that we can conscientiously continue to aid in the distribution of books which are not the genuine production of the authors to whom they are attributed.

“We, therefore, respectfully submit, that the books on the Society’s list should be restored to their genuine state, and that in future no alteration of the language and sentiments of deceased writers should be allowed; nor any omission, unless it be found absolutely necessary for the sake of curtailment: and that in such cases the attention of the Episcopal Referees be specially called to the omission, and the usual mark indicating omission be inserted in the text.

“In the meantime, we respectfully request to be informed, what books and tracts on the Society’s list are genuine, and what are not so. And if such information cannot at once be afforded, we beg to suggest that a committee be appointed, who shall make a careful collation of the books of the Society with authentic editions, in order to ascertain to what extent the alterations of the text have been carried.

“It appears to us, that these measures should be adopted without delay, in

order to restore public confidence in the Society, as the instrument for the promotion of true Christian knowledge throughout the land.

"Henry E. J. Howard, Dean of Lichfield.

"T. Gnosall Parr, M.A., Incumbent of St. Michael's, Lichfield, and Secretary of the Lichfield Committee.

"Henry Oldershaw, M.A. Minister of Wall, near Lichfield.

"William Gresley, Prebendary of Lichfield.

"Richard Greene.

"Joseph Taylor, Priest Vicar of Lichfield Cathedral.

"William Villiers, Vicar of Shennstone.

"Francis E. Paget, Rector of Elford."

The Rev. Dr. Spry moved, "That this Memorial be entered upon the minutes, and printed in the Monthly Report."

This was seconded by the Rev. J. Eudell Tyler.

The Rev. R. Burgess moved as an amendment, "That the Memorial be referred to the Standing Committee."

E. Moore, Esq., seconded the amendment, which on being put from the chair was negatived.

The original motion was then carried.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[Owing to some inaccuracies in the copy of the following Address, inserted in our last Number, we give it afresh. Its importance requires that it should stand in the pages of the "Christian Remembrancer" in an authentic form.]

"Nov. 1843.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR REVERENCE,—We, the undersigned Presbyters of the Diocese of Aberdeen, beg leave respectfully to address your Reverence on a subject very deeply interesting to us as Scottish Churchmen.

"We have seen with surprise and deep regret that attempts have recently been made, in more than one Diocese of this Church, either to procure the entire abrogation of Canon XXI., in which the orthodoxy of the Scottish Communion Office is asserted, or otherwise so essentially to modify that Canon as to derogate from the primary authority with which that Office is invested in the Church of Scotland.

"Now we, your Reverence's faithful Presbyters, actuated by the earnest desire to obviate, if possible, any similar attempts—attempts which, we are well assured, will never meet with any sympathy from your Reverence—as well as to strengthen, so far, the hands of those Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of this Church, who desire to maintain the authority and use of the national Office, as recognised and warranted by Canon XXI., beg leave respectfully to lay before your Reverence the following reasons which have prompted us to address

you with this expression of our sentiments :

"I. Although, as your Reverence is aware, more than one of the undersigned Presbyters have availed themselves, from various circumstances, of the permission granted by Canon XXI., and administer according to the usage of England, yet they cordially unite with their brethren who use the national Office, in expressing their decided conviction of the superiority of that Office, inasmuch as therein the great Eucharistic doctrines of the Real Presence and a Commemorative Sacrifice are more fully developed, and by which its identity with the Divine model appointed by our Lord in Holy Scripture is clearly evinced. These characteristics of the Scottish Office have commanded for it the approbation of all Ritualists of orthodox and patristic principles; and, therefore, we prize it, not only as a mark of the integral as well as independent character of the Scottish branch of the Church Catholic, but also as a rich inheritance handed down to us by our fathers in the faith, and therefore to be by us faithfully transmitted to our children, and those who come after us.

"II. We desire to express our dissent from the idea of those who would seem to erect the principle of *Liturgical conformity* as the one great note of union and communion, and would remind them that the Catholic Church in Scotland is not a mere appendage to the Catholic Church in England, but, though unestablished, still a *national* Church; that

'every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things are done to edifying;' and that in primitive times, almost every diocese had its own particular Liturgy prescribed by its Bishop, and yet, that a more efficient intercommunion was maintained between the several portions of the primitive Church than has been secured to the various branches of the later Church.

"III. Although we are unwilling to contemplate the possibility of the abrogation, or even the remodelling of Canon XXI., yet, in such an event, we should feel it our sacred duty to protest against the sin which, in abandoning the Scottish Office, the relinquishment of such an amount of Catholic truth would involve; for that it *would* involve such a relinquishment, the undersigned cannot escape from the conviction, seeing that the present clamour against the Scottish Office *originated* with individuals who demanded its abolition, not chiefly because it is *expedient* to assimilate ourselves to the sister Church of England, not chiefly because *uniformity* is desirable—but principally and avowedly because, in their eyes, it is deeply tainted with Popish idolatry and superstition.

"IV. In order to guard ourselves against any chance of misconception, we deem it right to declare our conviction, that the Communion Offices of Scotland and England teach the same holy and scriptural truths; both equally remote from the Romish dogma of a *corporeal* presence, and the ultra-Protestant error of a mere *commemoration* in the holy Eucharist. We are satisfied that the distinctive doctrines of the Eucharist are contained in the one Office, by plain implication, obvious inference, and statements more or less explicit; while in the other we see them clearly and broadly enunciated, and without the possibility of heretical perversion. No disciple of

Zwinglius or Hoadley could subscribe to the Scottish Communion Office. It is only when these distinctive doctrines are denied, an opposite and uncatholic sense attempted to be put upon the *English* Office, and the abandonment of the Scottish Office demanded *as a consequence*, that we feel it our duty to resist the repeal of the Canon which recognises that Office, and for the reasons above stated, solemnly to declare that, in our eyes, its relinquishment would be tantamount to an apostasy.

"That your Reverence may long be spared to preside over this diocese, and to the Church whose Primacy you so worthily hold, is the devout prayer of, may it please your Reverence, your Reverence's dutiful and faithful Presbyters,
JOHN CUMMING, Dean.

P. CHEYNE, Presbyter, Aberdeen.

DAVID WILSON, Presb^r, Woodhead.

ARTHUR RANKEN, Presb^r, at Deer.

WILL^m WEBSTER, Presb^r, New Pit-sligo.

WILLIAM ROBERTSON, Presb^r, Old-Meldrum.

CHARLES GRANT, Presb^r, Meikle-folla.

JAMES CHRISTIE, Presbyter, Turriff.

JAMES SMITH, Presbyter, Forgue.

AL. HARPER, Presbr, Inverury.

ALEXANDER COOPER, Presb^r, Portsoy.

ANDREW RITCHIE, Presbyter.

ALEXANDER BRUCE, Presbyter, Banff.

GEORGE HAGAR, Presbyter, Lonmay.

CHARLES PRESSLEY, Presbyter, Fraserburgh.

A. LOW, Presbyter, Longside.

JOHN B. PRATT, Presbyter, Cruden.

NATH^l GRIEVE, Presb^r, Ellon.

"To the Right Reverend
THE BISHOP OF ABERDEEN."

"I beg to express my hearty concurrence in the above address.

"CHAS. WAGSTAFF, Junior Minister of St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, and late Curate of Arundel, Sussex."

THE NEW DIVINITY STATUTE AT OXFORD.

Oxford, March 7, 1844.

THE Statute now pending, which involves certain new regulations on the subject of the B.D. degree, has been re-committed by the Hebdomadal Board, in deference to the most unusually unani-

mous voice of public opinion. We may expect then that one or two of the more obnoxious provisions will be modified or repealed. Under these circumstances, it is better to confine our present attention to the *principle* involved in all that part

of the Statute; and which can *not* be modified or repealed, without making the whole Statute nugatory. That principle is the obligation, which in due time is to be imposed on all who may desire the B.D. degree, that they shall have passed the examination instituted by the Theological Statute of 1842. Now in a time of such very earnest controversy as the present, when advocates of either side generally consider their opponents not merely to hold *erroneous* opinions, but opinions *inconsistent with the doctrine of the Church of England*, if the examiners under the Statute be honest and sincere men, they *must* make the Theological Examination, more or less, a test of doctrine. They are bound to refuse their testimonial to a candidate, whom they consider to contradict the voice of that Church to which they, in common with him, belong. It follows therefore directly, that the necessary result of passing the Statute in any shape must be, that the Board of Theological Examiners will be final judges of orthodoxy, so far as regards admission to the theological faculty.

Now are we, Members of Convocation, prepared to concede this point? are we prepared to rule, that in course of time no Masters of Arts shall be allowed to take their B.D. degree, or, consequently, in not a few cases, *to retain their fellowships*, whose opinions shall have been considered by the Board of Theological Examiners inconsistent with those of the Church of England?

How are these examiners appointed? Two are appointed by a body of five, or (as it will be in its complete state) a body

of six professors. How do these professors obtain their situation? The Professor of Divinity from—the Crown; the Professor of Hebrew from—the Crown; the Professor of Pastoral Theology from—the Crown; the Professor of Ecclesiastical History from—the Crown; the Professor of Exegetical Theology from—the Hebdomadal Board; the Margaret Professor from—that very faculty of Theology to which it is proposed, in due course of time, to apply this test.

These professors nominate *from their own body* two out of the three Theological Examiners; the third is appointed by—the Vice-Chancellor; submitted to the approval of—this very faculty of Theology again.

The old constitution of the University was, that Convocation was the governing body, and Congregation the body for granting degrees. In two several official documents we have heard lately, that the Vice-Chancellor is the 'Resident Governor,' that the Hebdomadal Board are the "responsible Governors of the University of Oxford," and that they adopt measures "with the *assistance* of Convocation." And there seems every disposition to make it manifest, that these are very far from accidental and unmeaning expressions. If this Statute should pass in any shape, not the University itself, or its governing body, but the Crown and the Hebdomadal Board are constituted, for the whole faculty of Theology, irresponsible judges, to determine what is, and what is not, the doctrine of the Church of England.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A valued friend is thanked for his information and hints as to the "Brothers of the Christian Doctrine." We hope to pursue the subject: indeed we are so firmly convinced that all that is commonly understood by the term "national education," is no better than a disguised anti-christianism; that we hail anything like an indication, however faint, of a return to discharging *all* works of evangelical love by those commissioned in the Church.

The same feelings lead us to urge several correspondents and well-wishers to the proposed revival of Orders of Mercy, to think seriously of a scheme—such as a private conference—by which, having now talked and written enough, we may begin to act. "Action—action—action" must be at once our consolation and watchword: it is the sole reality.

S. C. overstates the force of our observation, if he thought that the writer of the article on the American Church intended to convey a dogmatic assertion that consecration by a single Bishop was *ipso facto* invalid. Such cases must be judged simply by their own merits; and a distinction must be drawn as to the degree of necessity in each. In case of all but general apostasy, for example, it would be harsh to say that such a consecration were even uncanonical. However, we refer those interested in the inquiry both to Palmer and Bingham—and to Bellarmine.

THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

MAY, 1844.

1. *Notes on the Episcopal Polity of the Holy Catholic Church, &c.* By T. W. MARSHALL, B.A. London: Burns.
2. *Tracts on Doctrine and Practice, &c.* London: Burns.
3. *Tracts for the Latter Days.* London: Painter.
4. *Offices of Prayer for Private Devotion, compiled from Catholic Sources.* London: Rivington.
5. *Anglo-Catholicism.* By WILLIAM GRESLEY, M.A. London: Burns.
6. *Sermons on Duties of Daily Life.* By F. E. PAGET, M.A. Rugeley: Walters.
7. *Answer to Anti-Supernaturalism.* By J. N. PARK, M.D. London: Nisbet.
- . *Burns's Magazine for the Young*, No. XXVIII.

MEN are endued with faculties, feelings, and energies, which, all and each, have their own proper tendency and object. When they are directed towards that object they are in a state of health and strength, and advancing to their own perfection; when they are directed towards any other object, not their own, they are weakened, and, ere long, paralyzed. The Will influences and guides them all. Their true object is God. As they tend towards Him, *i. e.* to obedience to His Will, and working out His Ends, they become strong and perfect; when they are directed to any other object, they become weak in the proportion in which that object is distant from God. At the Fall, the Will became perverted, and directed all our powers towards false objects; our powers were weakened, and the human being became a weak, a disordered, and disorganized system, like a watch with all its works separated and out of place, not working their proper end. While the powers of man were thus disorganized, they gradually weakened; their strength and perfection

consisted in being united ; each occupying its own place, and working out one end, its proper one ; inactivity weakened them, disorganization warped and bent them.

The Church is the system which supplies the channels through which those feelings, and powers, and faculties, may be allowed to flow onward to God, their *true object*. The Church herself offers no Object short of Him who is her Head at which those powers may stop ; but, though sometimes she may seem to do so to the short-sighted, we look farther, and see it is but a pathway a little deeper in the shadow of the wood, still leading out to God, and never stopping till in Him, though sometimes darker, narrower, and more difficult, that his child who walks along it may exercise his faith, and gaze more intently. *E. g.* Men say the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, received in the higher sense, in which the Church, in her voice of purer days, would bid us hold and understand it, stops short of Christ, and makes itself the final object of our trusting dependence and final perseverance. Yet is it so ? Look deeper, and does not the Church, through the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, lead on the feelings and powers of man to rest more entirely in Christ than the mere statement of Truth would convey Him, which some men consider the only sure way of leading men to Him ? Does it not lead men to dwell more entirely in Him—to understand Him ? She tells us His real Presence is there—we believe it, and receive it. By her assurance we feel we are there His disciples, the abode of His continual presence. We there, of course, learn the bearing of His cross in the sight of His Broken Body ; the preciousness of the Atonement in His shed blood ; the lessons of charity and unity in receiving Him together ; each man a Temple of Him, each a part of His own Temple.

Such means will, surely, lead men more certainly to Christ as the final Object : and does not the very need of entering into the force and intention of the Holy Eucharist lead men more safely and surely to that object, than the mere assertion of truths outwardly which touch the feelings, but scarcely arrest the attention ? So the Church offers an immediate object for our feelings and powers—the Body of Christ, to whom, as the final Object, they lead. He is the Head ; she is the Body ; our Body may offer immediate objects for our attention ; but all tend to the promotion of our existence. She offers the system through which we reach God. She brings the ordinance of God, and leads man to Him. Without systems which will find a channel suited to each feeling and power, they will make channels for themselves, and waste ; without a system whose End is God, they will not only waste, but work ends which are their own destruction.

Socialism, and other like systems, are of the former kind ; affording channels, though scarcely to be called true ones, leading men to false ends. Dissent will be an instance of the latter, as striking out systems, and supplying the want of system by giving one of its own,

which affords imperfect channels for the feelings and powers of our moral nature. Take the example just spoken of; schismatics reject the deep view of this Sacrament, and thus unconsciously make preaching a sacrament. They find they must have a deeper, more real way of approaching Christ than mere instruction; and so by arraying instruction in certain forms unconsciously to themselves, they give it a sacramental nature. Men say, that, in a perfect state, the feelings and powers will exhaust themselves on God without system. We do not know what may be the way devised by God, by which men shall serve Him hereafter. We are sure of this; in our present state, a system is needful to direct, guide, and discipline our powers in their search after God. It may be the accident of an imperfect state. But be it so; we are in an imperfect state.

Men imagine they can do without system, but belie their statement by immediately falling into it. The instance mentioned above is an example; and we may take another. We are told by some they want no system of interpretation of Holy Scripture: they will teach and understand it for themselves, and by themselves. What is the result? Do they not at once fall into a system: a way of taking Holy Scripture, under the rule of which they bring every word and statement, by which they receive this and condemn that? Have they not as complete a scheme of interpretation as the Catholic scheme of interpretation? Is it not so rigid often as to stand alone and independently of Holy Scripture, so that men fearlessly reject a manifest meaning because it does not find its place in their system of interpretation? Is not this as much bringing human interpretation and system to bear upon Holy Scripture, as the most devoted child of the Church could desire? The only difference between them is, the one seeks the system of ages—of the Catholic Church of Christ; the other, the system of to-day, and of his own individual mind. Both are systems: the latter—in some respects more so than the former—often falling under the rigid rule laid down by some individual interpreter of his own day, as fully as we would fall under the guiding of the Church.

Men must fall under system. It is as impossible to do without it as to support the bodily frame without regular sustenance, or as untrue as to say, that an act of the will does not precede each moral action. It is the support of our moral nature: men unconsciously fall into it who are most violently opposed to it as a thing external to themselves. But this is not exactly to the point; it is rather to show the futility of the objection which men raise to the Church under the notion of its being a system at all.

The final Object of systems with regard to our moral conduct is, of course, God, and subjection to Him. In the same degree in which they lead truly and surely to this End, in that degree, to short-sighted observers, they will seem not to do so. This mistake arises from the fact, that such schemes will present objects short of the Final one, yet resembling it, to revive the tired energies, and to lead on to

weak powers of men in their road to God: the truth is, they more certainly lead to and end in Him. They become rests on the journey, securing the steps already taken, and applying their gain to make the remaining ones easier and lighter. Ends short of the Final one, in systems, will have the appearance, at first sight, of taking the place of the Final one: they will closely resemble it: they will take part of its nature; whereas the leading feelings and powers directly to God, without the intervention or aid of systems, has the appearance of greater devotion to Him, and of avoiding the difficulties supposed above, as no End short of Him presents itself for their aim. This is the feeling of men who have fallen into views in the present and past ages, which they call "spiritual," as distinguished from schemes which involve Form and auxiliary ends. But what is, and must be, the consequence? Their feelings and powers are led to God. They keep His name and service in continual view; but with their eyes on Him, fail to reach Him with the step: they go to waste, become extravagant, unreal, and dissipated; keeping their eye as on the dawn in the horizon, become lost in the desert over which they go to reach it. They call this spirituality of mind and unity of purpose. It is, in truth, unreality. They imagine that they avoid Formalism, and, in doing so, lose the prop and support which Forms must give to enable their powers to reach their ends at all. They feel this at last, and fall into systems of their own, weak and insecure. We said, ends short of the Final one, partaking of its likeness and nature, are mistaken for it by some. *E. g.* the Holy Eucharist is an End, and short of Christ, yet leading to Christ by a sure road. Daily Prayer in Public Worship is an End which leads men to longings for continual support and beginnings afresh; yet it, of course, leads on these very feelings and longings to exhaust themselves on the repose of eternity. The traveller who sees the distant light which speaks of rest and shelter, must mind the path he takes to reach it. Better be in the right path to it, and his eyes off it, than his eyes on the light, and he in a road which finally leads away from his object.

The objections to systems at all, and to systems as leading men to stop short of the Final End, are, then, unreal. Men fall into them always, more or less: it is in their nature to do so; and so by the short-sighted, the ends contained in a scheme of forms partaking of the likeness and nature of the Final one, are likely to be mistaken. The Church is the divinely-appointed system to lead man in his every part to God. It is the only one which surely and really does so. It takes each power and feeling of men, guides them to their own proper object in God's scheme, and through them leads them to God himself. She only, while she regulates, prevents their extravagance, corrects them while she guides them.

Take the feelings of Reverence, and those which are called out to the awful and sublime; God is their final Object, in some way or other; but there must be means of drawing them out towards Him;

ends short of Him which receive the feelings, they must find, and have their own proper object in some scheme and system; or finding none provided for them, will find unfit ones for themselves, or run to waste. The Church offers her mode of administering the Holy Sacraments, especially the Eucharist. She throws a mystery about it; rather draws out the mysteriousness there is in it, and convinces men of it: her way of administering it creates and keeps up mystery; she makes it part of her system. The object of feelings of Reverence receives the feelings, and guides them on to God: takes of God, and gives Him to our feelings: she asserts and teaches the Real Presence after the mysterious sense: other systems explain it away or deny it. She only admits True Believers even to see it. She pauses while the unconfirmed leave her Temple, ever leading them to expect it as the last step of their preparatory life: a holy thing, to be looked for with hope and fear and earnest dread: not to be even seen till received: not to be received till duly fitted for it. Who shall say what are the mingled feelings that a child's mind has when leaving the hush of the church, on the day of its administration, when he sees the prepared altar, hiding from his sight the holy "Creatures"—the mixture of awe and wonder with which he leaves the threshold? The Church gives a home to his feeling of Reverence. And in the case of the recipient, too: the blessed symbols to be all consumed ere the Priest leaves the altar: the leaving not a crumb to fall again which has been gathered up from our Master's table: all is part of her system, finding objects for Reverence. Other systems find them not; fear them; and leave feelings of Reverence to waste where they will. Surely they must have their home on earth,—their resting-place in God's earthly system: surely they were not for nothing,—they were for God.

Again, her consecrated places of worship. Here she offers objects for feelings of Reverence: she attaches awe to place. She leads our feelings up to God, through scenery in which He teaches us that He resides and moves. Our natural Reverence is called out, and is satisfied with this: systems which afford no such objects for such feelings, lose the value of them. They will go somewhere; and the consequence is that they dwindle into Superstition of the worst kind. Superstition is the feeling of Reverence going after false objects in a wrong manner. Reverence becomes Superstition when it has no fit object offered for it. The Church, by the objects she presents, prevents the abuse, while she loses nothing of the use of such feelings. It is another point in her system, that she not only offers objects, but full, satisfactory objects. Some systems offer objects, but only slight ones, not receiving and engrossing the whole feeling, to which it is presented. Then, too, Reverence dwindles into Superstition.

These feelings, finding nothing on which to exhaust themselves, are thrown back on their subject, and produce a strange deformity of character, by injuring the growth and development of other feeling—

and principles. In some they produce morosity: in others constant dissatisfaction. They roll back like a flood on the advancing moral character, and draw back parts of it in their own receding tide, or they fix themselves on some trifling object, whose importance they magnify. In either of these two cases, the repression or false use of these feelings produce narrowness of mind. Any feeling without its due object will have the same effect. So it is that we find dissenters so often narrow-minded. They have no objects for feelings. The Church, in her systems, expands the mind, and leads the feelings to God. She does this by adopting the course the very contrary of the one just supposed. She does it by finding vents and laying hold of feelings and enlisting them fully in her service. Her objects are natural ones: the voice within seems always to have led men to attach awe to place and mystery to rites: it is the vent suggested by this moral nature for certain feelings. Who can contemplate without admiration the Church's vast machinery? Her buildings, whose symbol and ornament, by storied window and rounded shafts, arrest Reverence wherever we turn: the hoary hue of ages on her walls and towers, the deep meaning of her slightest carving, the silence of her mysteries, the footstep, oft returning, of her holy-days, independent of our fancy, and always the same, however we may change: the calm motonony of her daily prayers, though we are ever altering: the certainty with which she carries on her work, whether men will heed her or no. These are all parts of her system which offer full food for Reverence; fit, satisfying objects for our deepest feelings—objects which no other system has pretended to find, and many have indignantly rejected.

The consequence has been, that she has retained in her bosom her own children, while other systems have lost many, who have gone to seek in other homes objects to satisfy feelings which will have their way. She has caught in her grasp everything which was passing in the world's scenery, and made them her own,—antiquity, symbolism, sublimity, and mystery. She has declared them sacred, and has consecrated feelings of Reverence by consecrating them. She saw they were what satisfied men, and seizing them, engrafting them into her system: through them she leads us to God. If we may say it, before she was a system, they had arrested those feelings in us, and she, by taking them, has made herself the master of the deepest things of nature. Standing in this position, she draws on the philosopher to see to what final point his own systems and principles lead: how much he agrees with her; and she argues that he should do so totally, while with the schismatic she argues on the imperfection and inability of his objective system—the perfection of her own.

But, again, take Shame. No moral system professing to lead men to God can leave out objects for this feeling. It is evidently strongly in us for something, it has evidently a strong moral tendency—other systems pass it by—the Church lays hold of it, and uses it for God. She has her Confessional: she bids the sinner open his heart

and humble himself by confession,—she bids him, or rather lets him, be ashamed. She finds a vent, a proper use for Shame; other systems, many of them, find no acknowledged place for it, and the consequence is, that it dwindles away in the moral constitution of their children; and the character, it being one of its essential parts, becomes imperfect; other parts assume an undue importance, and the whole is deformed. So we see so many who are formed by such systems especially wanting in humility. Shame has not been developed. It is lost to the character for want of an object. The loss of one principle is directly succeeded by the too great predominance of another,—one keeps the other in its place. So of Reverence. If we lose and repress the feeling of Reverence, the whole character has lost an essential part of itself, and the effect is seen and felt in the most palpable manner.

But to return to the feeling of Shame. Systems which offer no objects for it, form in their children a character of presumption, and want of humility, which is manifest to all. But, more than this, they do, against their will, find objects for feelings which will have their way—will find their vent. And “the experience meeting” of many systems of dissent seems a substitute, however imperfect, for the confessional of the Church;—imperfect to the very highest degree; for presumption is rather excited, than Shame promoted. Nor do we mean that such is a device at all intended by them, as an object for Shame; it is rather the forced substitute for an object which no system, which pretends to work upon our moral nature, can do without.

The Church, in her system, is co-extensive with our moral nature. That which the “experience meeting” of the schismatic is instituted to gratify, is the feeling of Shame (and one other added to it) for which the confessional of the Church is alone a fit object. It is because she has hushed the voice of her confessional, that substitutes have sprung up, to remedy—how imperfectly!—her neglect.

Every distinctive mark of schism is a substitute for parts of the Church's objective system, which are not worked out and presented to men. They are in her theory, but not worked out. Each sect, in their day, has been formed on some want created by the silence and seclusion of the Church. Our moral nature must have some objective system: it yearns after it; and the more real any system of schism seems, the more it will be found to be a substitute for some part of the system of the Church. Their copy of her is their life. We do not say their copy is good—it is often most defective; often leading to results directly contrary to what she would have done. But they are copies. They exist, because, in some point of her practical working, she does not appear to do so. Let her again come forward in all the majesty and vastness of her objective system and deep working, and they will shrink into all the feebleness and poverty of copies by the side of a perfect original. She will arrest our soul with all the power of God; and schismatic

will be compelled to feel that in her they will much more abundantly find the object they valued in their own imperfect systems.

No one system of schism embodies more than one part, perhaps, of her objects. But we must return.

We said "the Confessional" led another feeling, together with Shame, in the road to God: the natural desire for sympathy implanted in our nature—a feeling which is irresistible.

Under the head of the desire for sympathy, we include all that longing, after the knowledge of the fact that other men go through the same that we do, the support we derive in the advice of others, and the satisfaction derived from the mere fact of being felt for. This is a natural feeling: we all have it: the Church gives it an object in her Confessional. Here men learn the truth, that "no temptation has taken them but such as is common to man;" here they find support in authoritative counsel; and here they find one who stands, as the Church, lending her ear of compassion, so she receives and engrosses the feelings of desire for sympathy. But more: she not only gives due objects to natural feelings, but also keeps them within bounds, restraining them from excess and extravagance. The yearning after sympathy would lead men sometimes to make their feelings too public,—to infringe the delicacy of the inmost thoughts, and thereby to injure the whole character. The secrecy of the Confessional obviates this, disciplines and checks, while it keeps within due bounds, the feeling of desire for sympathy. Other systems have substituted many modes to fill the place of the lack of the Church's working in this particular. It seems the most real of the distinctive marks of sects of schism, and of Low schools within the Church. It is that which men have most felt the want of, and which systems of dissent have especially been formed upon. Perhaps the kind of meeting referred to above was struck out more as an object to this feeling than to that of shame. But contrast the system of the Church in this respect with theirs.

The Church calls her children, with the voice of authority, to open their hearts to her appointed Priest, who has power to pronounce Absolution, to admit to or exclude from the Holy Sacrament of grace. This power invests her office of confessor with all the influence of power and authority. It is no longer left entirely a matter of choice to the penitent; and he is more than recommended to open his soul as to a faithful and loving parent. He is boldly, strongly, decidedly rebuked for sin. He is made ashamed of the very sins he longs to reveal and fears to conceal. He receives all the indescribable support, which an all but compulsory-system places on him. The schismatic among us tells his virtues rather than his sins. His confessor fears to rebuke, lest he deter and offend the penitent. He is supported by no power to exclude or admit; and the sinner who has longed for the support of confession of some kind—of laying open his heart—begins the work, but at once, falling under the influence of annoyance, rebuke, or a shame which deters him from being open,

loses the whole effect of the system, because it has not been compulsory on him.

The Church system enables a man to throw himself, by choice, under control which shall be compulsory; and he, having once chosen, may not draw back. He has chosen not to choose for himself in some things any more. Its strength is self-compulsion. The two systems spring from the same origin, are ends of the same tendencies; viz. the longing for sympathy and guidance, and the true effect of shame. But how differently! Men yearn after sympathy and guidance: they long to be taken out of their own hands. The Church does this. Existing systems of dissent, the contrary. Of course, acts of penitence, well worked, would also become an end, in the moral system of the Church, to Shame.

But again, take Ambition. The feeling which this word expresses exactly, is the excess of a feeling; the direction of it towards false objects, or towards true objects, unduly. But it is a feeling which has its own proper end, which end is one short of the final one. It is the province of the Church to find this, and she does so. It is the work of any system which professes to be a moral one, under which man is to be guided and disciplined, to find an end for the feeling, the excess of which is called Ambition, and to direct it towards God. Men yearn after superiority; after strong manifestations to the world of their devotion towards some one favourite object. There is a satisfaction in manifesting devotion to the world: it convinces ourselves that we have it. It is natural to long to burst from the unreality of the views and course of action of the many, to long to break from the cold and formal manner in which multitudes assent to principles they do not practise, or practise them as if they were utterly indifferent and unreal: while we watch this we love to burst the shackle. To be real, earnest, true, devoted, we convince ourselves that we are so by showing ourselves so to the world.

Again, we love to make sacrifices for what we love; we yearn after it. The multitude do not make sacrifices for the principles they hold. We feel, while we only act like them, that we are untrue as they. It is a right feeling: it is in us by nature. It must have its end somewhere: its Final end is God. Yearning after a fuller devotion to Him than the mass show. The feeling has been placed in us to guide us to God; to exhaust itself on Him. It is generally perverted, and then it is called Ambition. The Church supplies the true end in her system. Schismatics have imitated her; in some cases, have invented substitutes for her.

It is the history, the true cause, of many very strong movements in religion; the desire to burst from the multitude and to be singly real. It is one of those feelings which is the truest, surest enemy to systematic tyranny and continued oppression. The Church (we speak of the Church developed in her system, independently of any particular existing development) provides in her system monastic establishments, where strong, earnest, devoted spirits may go a

find the end they yearn after in vain in the cold routine of daily life. It is the home provided for those spirits among us which are solitary, earnest, stern, desirous of severity. They find all that : in the cell, the discipline, and the brotherhood, each desire after severity is satisfied. They feel they are devoting themselves more to others. They feel they are real. It need arise from no wrong desire, we conceive, of superiority. It is a spirit which yearns after reality : one to which common things are more unsatisfactory than they are to most. They were made so, and the Church finds them a rest, a home : erects a tent in the wilderness for their repose, provides for them suitably on their journey homewards. They do their work for her : she employs them well. They are themselves brought nearer God by working out their end thus. They lift up their hands in the silence and solitude of their lonely resting-place, and intercede for the Church which struggles in the world around them. They are her secret, unseen strength : her friends raising prayers during the time in which she is held and imprisoned by the kings of the earth. Who shall tell the work they do for her ? Who shall say the power she would act with, did she provide objects for such spirits more than she does, did they teach her children and aid her Priests ? What must be, what is, the consequence of such objects not being provided ? such spirits will find their line,—they will not, cannot, should not, go on in the cold formality of the world around them, or in the same degree of devotedness with which less ardent spirits are satisfied. They leave her bosom ; they find reality and devotion in a new sphere. They follow some sort of leader. They empty their zeal in attacking the mother they have deserted. She cast them out, and their efforts are against herself. They find no food for their energies within her ; they find no reality of system ; so they declare her unreal, formal, and false.

So, in late ages, have sects been multiplied, according to the different objects which are, from time to time, held up for the devoted search of aspiring and severe spirits. They take the line which St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis would have taken, had not the Church in their day found them a home ; a sphere of labour, a compulsory rule within her own limits. She showed them she had exactly the ground to occupy which they were suited to fill, and they filled it. How well, how devotedly, how usefully to her, the age of the Reformation may best tell. In every age there are the same men ready waiting, and solitary devotees, yearning to be thrown under compulsory rule, fearing, not trusting themselves ; waiting to hear and obey the voice of one that they own as their mother. If the Church had thus called forth the devoted of her children, the strength of Wesleyanism would not have been arrayed against her, and she would not have suffered or needed the existence of associations of individuals to carry on by solicited trifles the work of evangelizing the heathen. The same spirit which strengthened Methodism in its hostility to the Church, would have swelled in the bosoms of

her devoted and obedient sons, and sent them forth to distant lands, her zealous Apostles, her devoted Martyrs. Give fit objects to ardent spirits, or they will break away and find them for themselves. They are to be kept, not thrown away. No other system supplies the same objects which the Church can, in her legitimately-developed system, for these feelings.

Other systems supply opportunities for working and calling them forth; but they are unsystematic, changeable, do not assert authority. Such spirits need compulsory control. Schismatics have none. They need a voice to obey which they feel has a right to demand obedience from them. Schismatics do not even pretend to assert it. It is a permanent, continuous authority they need, more than frequent and sudden impulses. The Church gives one, existing systems of schism the other. Such spirits need an authority, which takes for granted it is right, and does not admit of dispute as to the direction it shall order. Schism reasons with the spirit it should control, and wavers where it should be firm; leaves it to individual judgment just at the very point where the individual requires the judgment of another. The greatest of all blessings which such spirits have, is their being taken out of their own control, and told where to go. Of course, it is not likely other systems should have fit objects for spirits like theirs. They have not experience. They are of yesterday. They are not divine. They are not Catholic. Earnest spirits want adequate objects; but they must be commanded to follow them; and having begun to do so, they have no choice left to give them up. It must no longer be at their own disposal. The Church only can speak with that right and authority to them. How many an ardent spirit would find a shelter and adequate object and home in the daily discipline of the monastic life! How many of the weaker sex would find an object for strong, yearning spirits, in the devotion and security of the veil! We do not speak of the working of any existing system; we speak of what might be in the legitimate development of the Church. She leads them, through herself, to God.

Then, too, such objects, drawing out men's feelings and yearnings, such as we have described, actually become a protection to the man himself who uses them: he might be lost without them: strength of feeling, finding nothing adequate to vent itself on, and being received with coldness and indifference by others who cannot understand, because they do not possess its reality, will often drive its possessor into despair, or worse. Who shall say how many a secession from our own Branch of the Church might have been saved by a more perfect working of her objective system? Without this, such spirits are lost to themselves, and lost to the Church of which they are members. Surely they were not made for nothing; they were not simply created for the same work on earth as the rest of mankind; they had their own solitary, distinct path to move in; they had a work to do which they only could do. No system which professes to be one which will regulate and supply the moral nature of man, can leave those

out. Who can say how many a strong mind, which has wandered after some created object of its own, might have been saved from wreck, if it had found an appreciation of itself in the Church? Might not Byron and Shelley have found a rest, and colder schools of days before them have received a more vigorous spirit from that system which they, as it then was, never thoroughly understood? But these are instances which come, perhaps, more strictly under another principle of man's moral nature.

Again, her system takes within her grasp and finds room for Compassion. She sees it is a feeling in man which has been implanted for some purpose; she discovers that; she sees its abuse; she avoids and prevents it; she includes the whole of it within her system, and whatever appears like it which she does not find due place for, we may know, is fictitious. She arranges together a perfect, full set of objects, to answer to the feeling in all its details. It is an essential part of her system; it is one on which other parts necessarily hang. Take her, as she was, working in different ages past, and even now, in nearly every branch of her existence, providing a system to answer these ends. The widow and the orphan were her especial care, and their wants have, in every age of her existence, been the ground-work of many of her laws and rites. She connects the exercise of the natural feeling of Compassion with the most sacred acts of Devotion.

Compassion is recognised as an element in our moral being; it is considered; it is sanctified. No system which does not supply objects for it can be a satisfactory one for man, morally considered. The feeling is, by the Church's assertion, a holy feeling, and she supplies for its exhaustion, holy objects, through which she leads it up to God.

And to see more plainly the aptness of her system, contrast her with other existing systems which pretend to occupy her place; they, many of them, do not recognise the feeling at all; where they do, they supply no objects for it, but leave it to strike out its own channel and its own objects. The consequence is, that none of the abuses to which Compassion is liable are avoided, all are fallen into.

One natural abuse is, the working it under the influence of false motives, or, more strictly, mistaking other principles for it, or allowing it to be overwhelmed and misdirected by inferior motives. Compassion is a feeling whose object is the relief of the distressed: it is that which distress calls out of necessity: it is the advocate of the unhappy in our hearts. When it is directed simply to those objects, it is truly used: namely, when it finds a relief for itself in the relief of distress—when it is exercised for the sake of calling out commendation as much, or more, than to relieve sorrow—when it is used to subserve our own advantage, which it often is, (that is, the feeling does exist, and it is exerted towards the true object; but the desire of self-advantage through the commendation of others, is allowed to outweigh the desire of relieving sorrow,) then it is abused: it not only is abused, it leads men away from God.

The Church exercises the feeling, but in secret : the solemn stillness of her temple ; the eye fixed upon her altar ; the thoughts drawn up to Heaven in holy contemplation ; the ear arrested by the Words of the Law of Charity : all tend to serve as a covert to throw a veil over the acts of Compassion, and to enable the sacred gifts to be laid on God's altar, unobserved, unexamined, and unreckoned. "The right hand does not know what the left hand doeth." The rich may have poured forth his treasure, and poverty its mite, but they lay side by side in one holy offering, the gift of the united members of Christ's one Body. So the Church uses, draws out, and exhausts Compassion : so she prevents or corrects its abuse. Other systems encourage display, encourage the abuse, find no especial part of their system to prevent, what in the course of things, must be the abuse.

Is it not the case ? In proportion as men deviate from the Church system, in proportion as they draw towards low principles, they fall into all the abuses of subscription-lists, and fancy bazaars ; almsgiving becomes venal, the gift becomes a loan or a purchase. We said, too, the Church leads the feeling to God, offers it to Him ; ostentation in its exercise, of course, leads from Him : it leads to "the world, the enemy of God." The Church connects the exercise of Compassion with God's Law. She reads it in the ear of her children while they give. She tells them, Compassion is a consecrated feeling : that God's Word has its especial rules for its exercise. No other systems do this ; they allow the mere exercise of the feeling to be enough ; and the gift is therefore proportioned to the degree in which the feeling is excited ; they do not make it, or recognise it as a duty. It is one of the distinctive marks of the low schools of the day, that Almsgiving is not recognised as a duty ; it is left to the result of mere pity, undirected and untaught, and, what is worse still, undisciplined.

Besides, another abuse of Compassion consists in the many hindrances raised in the application of its gifts to objects apparently worthy of it. A man is not the best bestower of his own compassion. He allows feeling to be strongly drawn out towards objects by the counterfeit of sorrow. He is often deceived in his objects ; he is imposed upon ; a slight circumstance prevents his exerting it as much as he should in particular cases ; the fact of having been often imposed upon before, or unfairly treated : all these come in as hindrances. The Church obviates these. She takes the immediate bestowal of relief out of her children's hand, and places it out of the reach of counter-influences in the exercise of Compassion. She administers it through those ordained and set apart for the express purposes of discovering the fit mode of administration, her Deacons. Her children give as to God, as to Christ, through His people. Compassion is exercised and satisfied, but through the medium of duty, and saved from abuse and hindrance. Without her system, the truly distressed are often deprived of their advocate in the breast of the selfish and prejudiced, because they vent on them the indignation they have had excited by the false appearance of others.

Without her system, the feeling of Compassion flows like a mighty stream over soil which does not need, or wastes its gift, and leaves barren spots unfertilized which thirst for nurture. The indigent are not relieved, the false and pretending are encouraged, the compassionate are deceived, and resentment (our safe-guard against injury) excited, where no injury was given or intended ; the exercise of that feeling, under the discipline of her system, calms the mind, relieving the λύπη, of the compassionate, and leaves it nearer to God in humble obedience and denial, than it found him.

Other systems must, of course, excite pride, vanity, and raising the acts of others as a standard by which to try ourselves ; attempt to call into play feelings, which miss their aim, and which are allowed to foster abuse, to leave true objects unsatisfied, or to flow back without having found an end in the moral world ; to overwhelm and disorganize the general character of its possessor.

The consequence is, that, taking the view of the general exercise of Compassion, we see it is not exercised in any degree as we should expect ; although men imagine that the systematic exercise of it will curtail its influence and extent of application : it is not so ; the age we live in is a boastful one ; a falsely pretending one. Men talk of its benevolence and compassion ; the truth is, it is one in which the feeling of Compassion has been, and is, less exercised than in any age since the first advent of our Lord : we grant it is one in which the exercise of Compassion meets our eye on every side. But that is all. We grant, subscription-lists are abundant, fancy bazaars and "charitable balls" meet our eye often enough. We grant the rich man of 5,000*l.* a-year, takes unwonted pains to let his parish know that he bestows 10*l.* of it annually for the good of Christ's poor, and with all the pomp of charitable dignity stalks into his ancestral pew, or attempts to curb the church-ward tendency of the parish priest in his education of the baptized children of God. If this is a sign of the exercise of Compassion, ours is a charitable age. We must beg to differ. We should prefer a Compassion less known and more felt : where the principal marks consisted in the rich giving up their creature comforts, setting down luxuries one by one, taking the lead in lowering the standard of expense in society, and laying their thousands in secret on God's altar. We would prefer judging for ourselves of the exercise of compassion, and not be told by the giver how much he gives ; and when men talk less of the "true kindness of employing servants, and promoting trade, and keeping up station," mere excuses, pardon us for saying it, for the vilest selfishness and love of ease. When men do talk less of this, and deny themselves more, we will be more willing to grant the name of benevolent to the age we live in ; not till then. Allow us now to term it the least charitable of days, when men expect more in return than ever was before expected ; when giving to the poor is looked upon rather as a placing out money to interest, expecting the return of general praise and commendation. Interference in the arrangement of the Church

in her parochial system, is not the legitimate expectation to be encouraged in the Church's offerers. But our object was not so much to state a fact, as to assign a reason. The low state of the exercise of Compassion in this day, is easily accounted for in the depression of the Church's practical system.

Compassion will deteriorate under the influence of low schools and the treatment of low men. We should expect it, and our expectation is realized. In an age when the Church's voice has been nearly hushed, Compassion has shrunk into the back-ground, and violent, clamorous counterfeits have protruded themselves into her place. What do we see at this moment? An increased spirit of true, secret, unobtrusive benevolence; and why? Because the spirit of the Church is reviving.

Then, too, the Church prevents Compassion being excited without having always ends and objects on which to work practically. It rather checks the inclination to indulge the feeling without an application practically to some object. Her very principle throughout, in her mode of teaching and discipline, is to avoid the working of feelings alone, for the mere sake of working them. She is truly practical as far as her influence over man goes. We shall surely be correct, when we say, that low schools and systems of schism generally tend towards exciting and indulging feelings, without any reference to their proper practice.

View, too, the Church's dealing and provision with regard to those earnest desires after self-denial which exist more or less in all, but very strongly in some,—a fear, an awe of going on too much in indulgence; a quiet and calm in the consciousness of thwarting self; surely this is a natural feeling to all, and, in proportion as the mind and character are refined and perfected, we find it more strongly. Whatever it be, it is a feeling which is always satisfied by the consciousness of being in a state of denial; and self-denial seems its own object.

The Church sees and provides for this. She is constantly throwing her children under restraint. She is always giving them opportunities of self-discipline, and where they are unwilling, or from natural infirmity almost unable, to use it, she compels them to adopt it. Her years are marked with days of sorrow; her feasts are interchanged with fasts; her months never fly away without having humbled her obedient children, and subdued their nature a degree more.

All men yearn after denial; all men feel they cannot be safe or real without it. Systems which exclude it on principle, and do not acknowledge or recognise it, by finding and providing opportunities for the gratification of the feeling, still are compelled, in spite of themselves, to find objects for it; still increase in reality only as they do admit the feeling, however unconsciously, or they send out their most devoted children to form themselves on a system of denial which they could not provide for them. Every body of schism has been marked, at some time or other in its history, by strong features of self

thwarting, and sometimes even of asceticism, which the principles of the system did not acknowledge. Men of low schools within the Church now, belie their statement by their lives ; they must have their day of denial and seclusion from pleasure, and because they are determined to strike out their own way, and to desert the Church's pathway, they make Sunday their fast-day instead of the day of our Blessed Lord's Passion. They imagine they are supported by Holy Scripture in this use of it ; of course, they are not ; it is the natural yearning after some one season of fixed denial set apart from the rest ; it is the voice of nature calls them to it ; they have mistaken a feast-day for a fast. The feeling which many devoted men, in this day, have about Sunday is simply created by this natural impulse ; and the real reason why they are so indignant at any effort being made to uproot it, is, that they are jealous of the deep feeling within them being disturbed, which demands a season of stated denial : it is not that they have any deep reason for attaching this feeling to Sunday : had they been accustomed to attach the same feeling to Friday by the holy prejudice of education, they could have seen, still more strongly, the beauty and force of the rule. That feeling is not wrong : it is right ; it is the voice of our moral nature, which will be heard. It is their object only which is wrong ; we respect the feeling, we love it, and cherish it : only substitute the true object and means of gratifying it. Nay more, we could scarcely expect men to be different from what they are, considering the force and prevalence of the schools in which they have been brought up ; and we can only desire the same devotedness of feeling and will in the sons of the Church towards herself.

Man is formed with a moral nature ; with moral instincts within him, and it is a sign of the Church's divine origin that she alone is the system which takes them all in, and finds them safe vents. But denial needs indulgence, and fasting needs the holy Feast : the Church considers that, and provides her objects here, too : she takes hold of man altogether, and makes herself mistress of his every want and gratification. How beautifully is her year chequered with joy and sorrow. Feast and fast, gloom and glow. Lent succeeds the joy of Christmas. The triumph of Easter succeeds the deep abasement of the Passion. The calmness of practical life succeeds the season of the out-pouring of the Spirit, and precedes the contemplation of the second Advent. Here and there, throughout each season, the sorrow of denial is cheered by the day of her Lord's resurrection (no fast-day with her), and the days of her times of triumph are relieved by the days of Rogation, or the seasons of Ordination. Her very Festivals are solemnized by a Vigil. Her Vigils are suspended in the days of especial joy.

What other systems attempt so to answer and meet these wants and inclinations—so to suit man's moral nature ? Systems which fear to inculcate systematic denial, which shrink from it in principle, immediately and without exception refuse their children joy too. The Fast

is unrecognised, and the Feast forbidden. The most social meetings are denounced as unlawful, and the most prominent part of their system is, the affixing a stigma to two or three amusements, in the use of which all are bad, and the refraining from which, is made the distinctive mark of holiness. The appetite may be indulged to excess, so as only certain marked pleasures are avoided. We are not passing a judgment on the nature of such amusements; we believe they are right in condemning them; but we blame the confined mode of viewing the whole condition of man, the utter unreality and insufficiency of the system. All man's wants must be acknowledged and guided in a system professing to be a moral one. "Nature has made nothing in vain."

It is the path of denial which leads the children of the Church to become the examples which she holds up to her succeeding generations, and is it not so that systems hostile to her do the same thing, though against their principles? They do venerate and elevate those among them who have been most marked by discipline and self-denial; they do not profess to canonize, but they do it without professing it.

They have their commemorative days of holy acts, though, in spite of themselves, they have their days of especial self-abasement and prayer, though the suggestion comes from individuals, and is not acknowledged a part, essentially, of their system: we are reminded forcibly of an exhortation yearly sent out from an individual, in the ranks of the low school in this day, to assemble for self-denial and general prayer on a given day in the year, which he seems to have forgotten to be already provided for by the Church. We venerate, as all must, the high and holy piety of the individual, in his exemplary devotion to the cause of his Master, but must use his yearly exhortation as an instrument to show the unreality of the objections of his own school to the Church system; when condemning her, they do the same.

And what is the consequence of the individual effort at denial? It produces self-sufficiency and pride: it must. A system hides the man: men acting in spite of systems must become prominent; too prominent for humility; so that the moral effect of the Church system, in her discipline of these desires in men, is manifest. She leads them to ends, and through these to God, by producing Humility. Hostile systems lead away from God, by leaving men to strike out solitary, unrecognised paths. In the one case, the individual is lost in the system for awhile, and comes out in the discovery of God; in the other, he walks alone, and consciously, prominently, in spite of his system.

It is manifest which must produce the better tone, morally.

Again. There is a contradiction of feelings in men in respect to love of sameness and restlessness: the one deeper than the other, and constantly arresting the other. There is a love of restlessness in men; they seek exciting things, and being roused by constant incite-

ments; but they soon tire of it: it is an unreal state, and men find it so: they fall back on sameness and quiet, and continuing in "old paths." All may not; but it is, generally, circumstances, not the character of the individual, which prevents his reaching the conviction of the true beauty of a settled state. We hear men who have gone through a course of excitement, express their longing after quiet—their value of it when they have gained it: the old express it constantly; the young inwardly, and occasionally feel its truth, when they do not act upon it. The Church sees and provides for this; she continually arouses her children and answers the want; they are stirred up by her Festivals and days of especial Contemplation, by her use of Preaching; but she sees and knows this is not the deep longing in man, which is to be most attended to and answered: she bids them fall back on the calm monotony of her Daily Prayer. There is a soothing influence in this; a freedom from excitement which all who know it love. It seems to expect and soothe the awe which the objects of religion must wear to the soul; it prepares men for the solemn and terrible in the things of God. Excitement in religion raises the awful without allaying it.

Men are not conscious of it at the moment frequently: we often do not know the real effect of excitement till it is past. If men consider it, they will see that excitement in religion has always left an indefinite awe behind; a sense that the feeling of excitement has been unduly exerted; that the object of it was beyond it; that it was a feeling unworthy of its object;—the latter was too great, too vast to bear such a mode of approach. It is one which is met by the calm monotony of Daily Prayer, where the truth of the object is taken for granted, and no farther search into it allowed; where it is made the ground-work of devotional exercise, the unquestioned and uninvestigated subject of constant Prayer. It seems to enable us to meet the solemnities of God without undue terror; it allays the feverish excitement, and consequent terror and suspense of frequent search, and forms in men a humble, devout habit of mind. It strengthens Faith, for it takes for granted; and nothing so strengthens Faith as taking its object for granted. We appeal to men who have tried it, to answer to the truth of what we have said. That men do fall back on it, as the more real of the two states, we appeal to the fact, that while the services, attendance at which is made to depend on the excitement of Preaching, are awhile attended with eagerness, and services which are divested of everything save the act of "monotonous" devotion are little used or valued at first. On the other hand, the attendance on the former gradually dwindles away, and that on the other, by degrees, becomes more settled, more frequent, and more devoted. Men do really love and yearn after sameness. It is tedious and irksome in the end, though at the time pleasing, to undergo excitement. How truly the Church has seen and answered this part of man's constitution! She becomes the calm home of her children in all their troubles going through this scene of strife;

she is the same, though they change ; she alters not, however altered they may be ; she recalls her children, by the oft-heard voice of **Daily Prayer**, to leave the world and come to God. Who can say the tranquil peace created by returning, day after day, at the same hour, to the same house, to say and hear the same words ? We return there and find the Spirit we have too often lost in intercourse with the world. It becomes the home and centre of association : it recalls us to our better self. We go there when friends are cold, and are led to One who never changes ; we go there in sorrow, and her sentences fall into accents of sympathy and comfort ; we go there in prosperity, and the echo of sorrow has not left her walls ; we are reminded to rejoice with trembling ; her sorrow is sweet, her joy softened ; we go there when our hearts are cold, and tinged with the world's spirit, and we find the power of our warmer feelings, our closer communion, still clinging to her prayers and exhortations, still bound up, as it were, to her very stones, and we are melted into tenderness again. When we have grown worldly, the Prayer we used in sorrow brings us back, for it is the same Prayer, the same Power still, though we have changed ; the words we sent up with fervour, in our days of deeper devotion, again arouse the feeling when it has fled from our mind. She is in every tone, form, and detail, the sweet and kind remembrancer of better things. On the ear of Death, the same voice falls which claimed us at Baptism, and cheered us ever since. She is one voice with many tones ; but whether the tone sink on the room of sickness or death, whether it fall on the unconscious sense of infancy, or the opening mind of youth at Confirmation, or whether it consecrate the changes of life, or call us to oft Communion, it is the same sweet Mother's voice, recognised through the medium of its thousand tones.

But this view emerges into another point in connexion with the Church's objective system : her power of Association. There is a feeling and tendency within us which is met by the objects of association. The Church gives them and arranges them : she has a strange power to do this ; her home is the home of ages ; her children the offspring of successive generations. Every object which usually calls out our feeling of Association, she has to a large degree, and these are real feelings within us, and will find their objects somewhere. Tones of music carry us back to times, feelings, and men, with whom we first heard them ; and the Church's music is bound up with Liturgies of almost Apostolic days—with the last hours of Martyrs, and the sameness of her children's destiny through many a hundred years. Words and forms of speech strangely wind themselves around men who used them ; Martyrs, Confessors, and Bishops of long past days, in some cases, even Apostles, have consecrated her forms by their usage. The sorrows of her children, in other days, were comforted by the same words which comfort us, and their doubts were guided, their joys softened by the same voice which speaks to men of to-day. Her very architecture has become a frame-work by which she em

bodies the doctrines of her Creed, and her Creeds are still continuing echoes of her CECumenic Councils. We use the forms which the blood of holy men has given down to us unimpaired; and while we love the form, we think of the hand which gave it us, sealed with its blood.

Nor is its Associative Power confined to the days before us. It is also bound up with the scenes and days gone by of our own existence. It speaks to us, not only as members of one Body, but as individuals made up of successive periods of existence. She is our Mother. She had our first love, and heard it often repeated at her altar, and will speak to us with an accustomed love at our last hours. The words of the covenant of Baptism. Her daily prayers are the links of the chain which links the first with the last day of our life, reminding us of the sameness of our being, and that the highest view of sameness is our connexion with God. When we are worldly, she calls us back to love. When we are friendless, she calls us back to friends who are still in her bosom, or tells us she is the home and friend of the lonely. When we are changeable, we see her the same; she calms us when we are excited and troubled. When the world has touched us with its icy hand, she melts its grasp with the recollection of the simplicity of childhood, of the trusted truth of her Catechising, of the fresh energy of her Confirmation. She remains simple: she reminds us we were simple once, when we, perhaps, have almost forgotten simplicity. The feelings we had at the dying hours of those we loved, and the changes in us they made, which the world has perhaps chilled; but we go back to her and she re-opens the fountain of tears which had dried up, and places us again by the side of those whom the world would have us forget. Their spirits are still with her, and we find them there. Her oft Communion is Communion with them. Her Creeds are a word about them; the world would have us forget them when we left them; but she continues on through the dying hour: with her it was but a change from one state to another. All this belongs to her Associative Power; these and a thousand more are the objects she offers to our feelings, which yearn after Association: feelings which will, which must, have a home; other systems do not attempt to find one. She does. In doing so, does she not consecrate a natural desire to God? Does she not, in the mean time, refine and chasten the whole character, intellectual and moral?

We might pursue this subject much further; it spreads itself into the development of every feeling, intellectual and moral. The Church is the objective system, which answers to, and receives, the imagination and the intellectual powers generally. It refines and draws out the innate elements of what we call taste, which is a combination of the development of a moral and an intellectual principle. It satisfies and offers objects to our love of arts, receives and disciplines, as in the bosom of a mother, every talent her children possess, and helps them to improve them. She is the system which does this, which was meant to do this; she makes the "five talents" ten, and the "two" two other beside them.

We might see how she offers objects to other moral affections beyond what we have referred to; but we forbear.

Our object has been to show that there being feelings, affections, and tendencies within us which will find objects to which they are suited in the external world, it is the work of any system professing to be one, which governs our moral nature, to provide fit objects. The Church should do this: it is her office; and more, she does this, *i. e.* we find as matter of fact, that her system does find a place for every such innate affection. Men do not recognise this, because her system is not worked out. In the lack of her practice, other systems have crept in and usurped her place; have offered themselves to different parts of man, some to one, some to another—systems of schism; but they, being unauthorized and weak, have misdirected and injured man's moral powers. Their perfection consists not only in their use, but in their right use.

Low schools in the Church have done much the same as these systems; have supplied the want of the Church's practical system by inventions of their own. The point we reach is this; that those feelings which impel sectarians and "Low Church" men in the pursuit of their distinctive ends, are right feelings, their objects only are wrong: they exist at all, only because the Church has so little practically existed. We cannot drive them out otherwise than indirectly; the Church must answer to what man wants, and then there will be no room for rival systems. As she rises in her strength, other systems will sink from view. They are, many of them, and in many respects, subjectively right, and objectively wrong; we say "many," because, of course, some are essentially, inherently wrong, in intention and subject. But, so far as each one has been built on the deficiency of the Church's practical system, she may remedy the difficulty in the way just alluded to.

Let parish priests open the Confessional, and Wesleyanism will lose its power; let our Churches be open for Daily Prayer, and "prayer-meetings" will cease to be; let her Ministers live and die for her flock, and dissenting teachers will either enter her bosom, or fall back into the position of mere political agitators. Let her but put forth the energies which are in her; let her make her priests feel, as Rome did, and does, that one soul is worth a life's devotion, that they are but members of a mighty Body, that they are not to estimate their "professional" success by "getting preferment," but by bringing, if it be but one soul, well tended, to the bar of judgment. Let her do this, and the "Evangelicals" will give the zeal they now give to a rival, to the Church.

Would that men would see this! would that the Church, through her teachers, would always see, love, and cherish warmth and ardour wherever they exist, and make them her own! Would that they were never passed by, and allowed to swell the ranks of dissent! Would that she would consecrate every power to herself; would gather together all that is beautiful in nature, and send it forth, hallowed, to her holy work! Would that every line of disposition, whether tending

to reserve or openness, to warmth or caution; whatever is strong, whatever is ardent, "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely" in man, might be taken by her as her own, and we might again see triumphs as mighty, though in a more truly Catholic cause, as India once witnessed under the teaching of St. Francis, or Europe under the devoted perseverance of St. Ignatius Loyola, or St. Charles Borromeo.

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1. *"The Way which some call Heresy ;" or Reasons for a Separation from the Established Church. A Letter to the Christians of Hull. By ANDREW JUKES, formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge, and late Assistant Curate of St. John's, Hull.* London: Whittaker and Co.; Jackson and Walford. 1844.
 2. *An Examination of a Pamphlet, entitled "The Tendency of Church Principles, so called, to Romanism, &c." By the REV. F. CLOSE, A.M. Incumbent of Cheltenham.* London: Rivingtons. 1844.

WHEN the Eternal City was struggling into infant greatness, her inward contentions afforded a singular example of what has often been exhibited in the history of mankind. The tribune might press his veto upon the senate, might withstand the consul, even menace the dictator, while crowds of ignorant plebeians cheered on the Licinius or Icilius of the day. But no sooner awoke the cry—"The Volsci are at the gates," than all was changed. The sullen tribune withdrew his complaint, organic changes of constitution were suspended, the chiefs strode forth in the paludamentum, the youth threw down the toga to grasp their arms; the temple of Janus was thrown open;

" Ipse, Quirinali trabeâ cinctuque Gabino
Insignis, reserat stridentia limina consul ;"

and any obstinate reformer, who refused to sacrifice his scruples to the general voice, was in danger of being surrendered by his own friends to the incensed lictors, and of bleeding, if not under their axes, at least under their rods. In this unfortunate condition do we find the Rev. Andrew Jukes, formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge, and late assistant curate of St. John's, Hull; and not merely from the curiosity of the spectacle, but to secure him fairer play than he seems to meet with from his old associates, we must beg a few minutes' attention from our readers.

It is now exactly ten years since the Clergy of Hull came abroad as Church reformers. They might, perhaps, have done so without observation, but for the unpleasant notoriety of a cutting article in the Quarterly, generally attributed to the pen of the redoubted Croker. It is infinitely amusing to see the *naïveté* with which (in a pamphlet, descriptive, if we rightly remember, of the warfare between them) they express their deep regret at the contemptuous manner in

which this gentleman described their proceedings,—“that let him collect the Asini together, and they would batter one another to pieces with their own heels.”

But it was not even the sarcastic pen of Croker which suspended their proceedings. For no sooner had they published their proposals for an alteration of the Liturgy, containing, if we rightly remember, changes in the Daily Service and Athanasian Creed, in the services for Marriage, Burial, Confirmation, Visitation of the Sick, and especially in that for Baptism, than at that very moment was heard a blast as fatal to Puritan innovations as that of Coriolanus himself to the different intruders upon the tranquillity of the republic. For then awoke those ancient principles of Anglican Churchmanship, which, sounding forth from the venerable walls of Oxford, have rung through the utmost limits of our land; then arose the memorable question, “If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?” Not Thames alone, or Medway, but “Humber loud that keeps the Scythian’s name,” re-echoed to the inquiry. At its sound the reforming tendencies of the Hull Clergy were suspended. In the awful cry of “Puseyism at the gates,” every other died away: probably they have themselves almost forgotten that ten years back they wished to re-model the constitution and services of the Church. They perceive that there are two sides to the question of Church reform; they perceive that alterations must be measured, not by a show of hands, but by their accordance with the Scriptures of truth. As, in every period, the popular errors are to be especially avoided, they must see that at the Reformation the prevalent dangers of superstition were to be peculiarly counteracted: against them, therefore, our reformers made their chief protest. The same principles would now dictate a corresponding fear of irreverence and unbelief. These are notoriously the evils of our own day. Did men believe in Transubstantiation under Elizabeth? under Victoria they openly deny the Divinity of Christ. Did our fathers kneel at the precincts of a church?—their sons enter it without uncovering. Was their day without knowledge?—ours is without faith. If we make changes, therefore, let them be adapted to the times. Let us guard against the predominant errors; it were as wise to give stimulants in a fever, as to bleed the patient who sinks from inanition.

These considerations have induced the Puritan party among us to let well enough alone. “Let us get rid,” they say, “of the Puseyites, and be contented, in the meantime, with the standards of our Reformation. Till then we must be satisfied with eulogizing the Prayer Book: happy if we can be allowed to go on, as we have hitherto done, without obeying it. True, the Reformers bade us use its prayers daily; they established a complete system of observances, against which our common habits are a permanent revolt; they ordered us to fast on Friday and in Lent; they enjoined certain Church Festivals; but to yield them such deference

would be too troublesome a service: it is easier to pay them by commendations and neglect: if we do not regard their words, we subscribe to the Parker Society."

In this manner has the cry of Church Reform subsided in the Puritan camp. From the distant shores of the Humber not a note of it has reached us for years; the cry of defection is turned altogether in a different direction; and small, therefore, is the favour afforded to the inconvenient adherent who comes forth to recall their ancient war-cry, and prove that the *Hull heresy* is still as dangerous as the heresy of Oxford. This seems to be keenly felt by Mr. Jukes:—"With regard to the errors in doctrine, which have so liberally been ascribed to me, I will only say that I hold all the errors, if errors they be, which I have preached and taught among you during the year that is past;" *i. e.* while he was curate of St. John's. (Page 102.) Of the steps which led to his apostasy, little is said in his pamphlet; but he implies in page 6, that it was in consequence of "communications which passed between the Archbishop (of York) and myself." Not having seen this correspondence, we are unable to pronounce upon its exact tendency, but we cannot refrain from congratulating the Northern Province on the rule of a prelate whom his advanced years do not render unmindful of the vows of his consecration, to drive away all doctrine contrary to God's word. That such was Mr. Jukes's unhappy situation, is but too apparent; he states that, while ministering at Hull, he was "assisted by the hands of others into that very position of separation from the Establishment, which, under God, I had determined to take for myself."

We do not wish to attribute dishonesty to Mr. Jukes; we conclude that his mind was not made up at once on the grave question which decided him; we suppose he hesitated till his resolutions were complete; but we wish he had told us whether many of his brethren are in the same predicament; whether they have "determined to take for themselves a position of separation from the Establishment," and are only awaiting time and tide. Now, we really do not believe that such an imputation against them would be well founded: our conviction is, that while things go on as they are, no defection is meditated by this party as a body; but we ask the question, because it may be put with exactly the same fairness as it has been in a different quarter, because Mr. Jukes is as good a specimen of a Puritan, as Mr. Seager of a Tractarian divine. Did Mr. Seager teach Hebrew at Oxford? Mr. Jukes was Hulsean prizeman at Cambridge. And really Mr. Seager is the only person of note whose defection can be alleged against the Tractarian party; what Mr. Sibthorp is none seems to know but himself: and, strangely enough, he belongs to both members in this contrast; for, though a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, he commenced his ministry under Mr. Scott, of Hull. Now, belonging ourselves to neither party, we have no wish to raise suspicions against either which may realize themselves, but we maintain that the balance of danger is by no means on the "Tractarian" side. The

changes which the Hull Clergy proposed in our Liturgy are far more sweeping and deadly than any which have been suggested by Dr. Pusey. He asks only a return to the rules of the Reformers, they claim their abandonment; he asks to reduce our practice to our laws—a settled, and therefore determinable standard; they wish to mould our laws by the capricious and indefinite rule of individual practice. For our part, we think that if either demand is to be heard, that of the “Tractarians” is a thousand times the least dangerous. It alters no standard; it unfixes no established test; it does not commit us to a course of interminable mutability; it does not shake the ancient affection by which long generations have been bound in one happy consent to our Book of Common Prayer. Let the Puritan party, then, remember the movement of ten years ago; let them be more cautious in their imputations; let them perceive that men may continue members of a Church without asserting the infallibility of its founders; and, above all, let them listen to Mr. Jukes’s comments on the ultimate nature of those opinions, of which some of them, at all events, are in danger.

Mr. Jukes’s reasons for his separation from the Church may be classed under two heads; one grounded on the evils which attend, or are alleged to attend, its connexion with the State—the other, his repugnance to admit the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. When he refers to the neglect of Church Discipline, which he classes under the former, we admit that he touches a sore, which, if we thought as his friends do, that the Church was a mere voluntary association, might raise a question whether we should not follow his example. But he forgets, apparently, that the same evil applies in some measure to all the dissenting bodies, which are lamentably wanting in, though not altogether destitute of, any Discipline: and that, moreover, the Clergy of his own party have been as negligent as their neighbours in enforcing that measure of Church Discipline which we still possess. Our great remaining weapons of Church Discipline are the Communion Service and the exaction of legal notice “at least some time the day before” from such as intend to be communicants. Were these things brought permanently forward; were the Bishops petitioned to allow the use of the Communion Service on additional occasions; were our people shown that no persons openly immoral would be received at the altar; they would be prepared for an increased measure of Church Discipline, and the means which we possess would be efficiently employed. Till existing means are used, it is idle to ask for additional. Till the Puritan party use the Communion Service, and demand due notice from communicants, let them cease to murmur at the neglected discipline of the Church. How far this may be done at Hull we know not, but the ordinary practice of the low Church party does not warrant any very favourable expectations. Mr. Jukes’s other complaint is, that the Queen is recognised as head of the Church. He asks with great justice, “How is it that what is so evil in the

Pope, is right in the supreme governor of the realm of England?" (Page 71.) But why does he not do the Church that justice which he asks for himself. "Let me be judged," he exclaims, "by what I say for myself, and not by what others say for me." Now, where does the Church call the temporal Sovereign her head? Henry the Eighth, no doubt, claimed this title; but it was solemnly renounced at the settlement of the Church of England in the time of Elizabeth. We can hardly doubt that Mr. Jukes must know this, since, looking around for an authority for his assertion, he can find none but the work of a foreigner, De Lolme, on the British Constitution. We could have helped him to another: Blackstone says the same thing. But is the Church responsible for a lawyer's errors? Where do the obnoxious words occur in the Prayer Book? In what canon are they included? What council of our Bishops has accepted them? What formulary of our Church have they defaced?

But Mr. Jukes will say, perhaps, that though the Queen is not called the head of the Church, yet she is supreme ruler in all causes; and is she not in all causes which affect the Dissenters?

Where was the question decided respecting Lady Hewley's trustees? Who secures their meeting-houses to the Wesleyan Conference? Who guards the conventicles of the Plymouth brethren? The regal power is the representative of that brute-force which is the "*ultima ratio*" among the sons of men: it is a sort of algebraic expression, in which club-law conceals its nakedness, and when it is said that the Queen is supreme in all causes, no greater headship is claimed over the Church than over any body of sectaries: questions really spiritual, though the Queen sees that attention is paid to them, are not decided in her Majesty's courts, or by laws of her enactment. Who shall receive Holy Orders; who shall have commission to minister Sacraments; these are points which spiritual persons alone decide. True, the Queen appoints to bishoprics, as the representative of those who endowed them. This, but for the persecuting Præmunire acts, some among the best of us would not object to more than to any other case of lay-patronage. And as it is, what is there which interferes with Episcopal succession so much as the intrusion of Asmonæan or Roman power did with the appointment of the High Priest?

But we leave this subject to touch on one which Mr. Jukes handles with more relish and greater ability—the Baptismal Service. His main topic is an attack upon his brethren of the low Church party for using language which they disbelieve. This he expresses with a force and pungency not unnatural for a mind to which the festering sore of conscious dishonesty had at length become intolerable. What he especially exposes is that monstrous quibble of a hypothetical sense, by which he says that the majority of his party bring themselves to *assert* the regeneration of those whom they do not believe to be regenerate.

"'Charity hopeth all things,' and may you not defend the service under its shield? I say, No: This scripture will not shelter you here. If you

'*hope*' the regeneration of the child, say you *hope* it: charity may defend you in this; but charity will never justify you in saying what is not the case. In truth, to a simple mind the matter is very simple: the only question is, do we, when we say these words, *believe* that the child is then and there 'regenerate,' or do we not? If not, why do we say it? I cannot but feel that to have the least feeling of insincerity on such an occasion,—to have the least approach to professing what we doubt in such connexion as this,—to tell God what we do not believe, this is nothing less than to carry the works of darkness into the very presence of the God of light, and thrillingly brings to mind the solemn charge that was laid against Ananias,—'Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.' And now, to exchange all this cloud of hypothesis and assumption for the simple daylight of fact and truth, let me put one single question to the advocates of this method of interpreting the Prayer Book. It is this: Do you, or do you not, say of every child you baptize, that it is then and there 'regenerate with the Holy Ghost?' Yes, or no? Your answer must be, Yes. Do you then believe of every child that you baptize, that it is then and there 'regenerate with the Holy Ghost?' Yes, or no? Your answer must be, No. You cannot, and, by your own confession, you do not, believe that every baptized infant is so regenerate. Then, can any explanation, hypothetical or otherwise, justify you in telling God what you do not believe? One would have thought not; and yet in a solemn religious ordinance you say more than once of every child you baptize, that it is 'regenerate,' and all the while you do not believe the fact which you assert so positively."

Singularly enough, while this subject is before us, we see in one of the newspapers a very able letter, written to the Rev. A. T. Carr, who still advocates, it seems, this very error, which Mr. Jukes has exposed in the adjoining town of Beverley. But what Mr. Jukes's conscience will not allow him to utter in St. John's Church, Hull, is still uttered by Mr. Carr in St. John's Chapel, Beverley.

"I am most anxious," says Mr. Hildyard,* "not to misrepresent you, but I cannot be mistaken in what I now say; for I have heard you, on many occasions, explain yourself to this effect. I have heard you declare from the pulpit, that 'infants might be taken to the font and baptized, and brought away again, and yet remain exactly in the same spiritual condition they were at first.' I am quoting your very words. I have heard you repeatedly affix the hypothetical sense to the Baptismal Service, and represent that infants *may* be regenerated in Baptism, but that it by no means follows that they *are* so; even though the ceremony be performed by a minister legally appointed and duly qualified. I pledge myself to the accuracy of these statements, though they may be denied by your friends, who did not, which I did, hear the words uttered."

We cannot help wishing that these gentlemen would settle the matter together; the plain honesty of our Yorkshire brethren must, we think, be outraged when that is practised at Beverley which at Hull is admitted not to be consistent with the rule of honesty. Other persons besides Mr. Jukes will be ready to say, "I can never be certain that I am in the right way between Beverley and Hull."—(Page 82.)

But our object in adducing these arguments from Mr. Jukes, is not to expose the dishonesty of those who adopt his views but not his example, but our hope that there are men to be found with

* A Letter to the Rev. A. T. Carr, M.A., respecting a Sermon preached by him in St. John's Chapel, Beverley, by the Rev. W. Hildyard, M.A.

whom the authority of the Reformers, if not of the whole Catholic Church, is of some weight, who will inquire, therefore, with more fairness than Mr. Jukes has done, whether a modern tradition is entitled to throw overboard at once all the formularies of antiquity. This question Mr. Jukes has never asked; it evidently has never occurred to him whether, after all, the Church may not be right, and he himself in error. Mr. Jukes is one of those gentlemen who make one exception in their protest against the doctrine of infallibility. Fathers, Councils, Apostles, Martyrs,—all these, he is convinced, are liable to error. He observes, in rather a flippant manner, that the low Church “defenders of the Baptismal Service are clearly guilty of saying what is not the case, and the only way they have to justify this is, by proving that Apostles have done the like.”—(Page 37.) But to all uncertainty there is one exception; there is one person who need look no further a-field in search of his opinions; one man in the world, as the saying is, has swallowed a Pope, and has all his infallibility quick within him.

For the sake, however, of less presumptuous reasoners, over whom modern traditions have not gained undisputed control, we will say a few words on the real difference between the assertions of our Church and Puritanism; for it is on this question of Baptismal Regeneration that the contest between the Socinian and Catholic belief—between Neology and the Scriptures—must ultimately be waged. The fault of the ministers of St. John’s, Hull, and St. John’s, Beverley, is, in reality, nothing less than this—they want Faith. To whatsoever is unseen, they refuse credence. They judge only by sight and sense; and to this rule they submit the ordinances of God. Our Lord has long ago declared that this was the great difficulty by which the question of Regeneration would ever be embarrassed. “Marvel not that I said unto you, Ye must be born again.” Yet a periodical writer, who calls himself a “Christian Observer,” can express in the following words the swelling of his heart against the humbling declarations of Scripture. “The absurdity—the irrational fanaticism—the intellectual drivelling, under the abused name of Faith, which dictates such sentiments, must disgust every intelligent man, and make him an infidel, if he is really led to believe that Christianity is a system so utterly opposed to common sense.” We know not to what particular opinions these words refer, but they are adduced by Mr. Jukes as justifying his own general line of argument. To what then do they amount, but to the denial, on the part of this unhappy man, of that present influence of God’s grace, which, independently of our cooperation, corrects the malignant influence of the Fall, and reinstates men in that position of privilege and communion of which Adam’s guilt deprived him? “For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ all Christians are made alive.” The loss of our first parents was evidently the deprivation of a miraculous principle dwelling within, which is called in Scripture, God’s image. Now, till this is restored, what appeal can be made to men

as being possessors of that divine nature which enables them to live to God? True, there is a measure of grace even among the heathen, else were their sins excusable; but the Son of Man "lighteth every one." But an especial grace rests upon Christians, whose very children are holy, (1 Cor. vii. 14,) and who must be dealt with, therefore, as hallowed even from their youngest years. This is so obviously the system of the Church, that no partial alteration could get rid of its declarations. The Hull clergy, ten years ago, thought that they could swallow the Catechism better if they might be allowed to leave out the assertion made by every child, that the Holy Ghost sanctifieth *me*. Omit, they said, the word *me*. But Mr. Jukes truly observes, that the statement that children are in any way members of the Church, is equally incompatible with the tenets of Puritanism; and had he been consistent, he would have seen, also, how idle were his cavils respecting the interrogations addressed to infants at their baptism. Allow them to be baptized at all, and the questions to the sponsors are a natural consequence. For does not the act of bringing children to be baptized, imply an intention to devote them to God's service? Does it not show that they are accepted as members of the Church on the authority of others? The answers of the sponsors, therefore, are but an interpretation of their actions. They do but endow with speech the acted dedication. They are the expression of the otherwise mute language of symbolical representation. And so they are explained in the latter part of the Catechism, added forty years after the customs of the Church had been finally settled; to object, therefore, to them, is to object to the theory of Infant Baptism. This is consistent in Mr. Jukes, who appears to have become an Anabaptist; but it is no new and independent objection, and is altogether idle, therefore, when adduced as a substantial difficulty.

We come back, then, to the main principle of the Church; that men are born in sin, and under God's wrath, and that, till a new principle be introduced into their moral nature, all exhortations to live christian lives are a mockery. Now, as we know not when evil begins to diffuse itself through the infant mind, so neither can we tell when Baptismal grace begins to operate; so much only we are assured, "that as we have borne the image of the earthly, we must also bear the image of the heavenly." And further, this grace comes to us, as we are told, "by the washing of regeneration;" we must be born "of water and the Spirit." "Baptism doth now save us;" like the apostle, we must "be baptized and wash away our sins." Now, since Christ is the second Father and new Adam of the human race, it is by being engrafted into Him, that all this takes its beginning. "By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body." By this mysterious act the image of God is renewed; a re-creation takes place, a re-formation in Him. Why men should refuse to admit this in the case of a child, since it is a process altogether above reason, it seems difficult to discern. Was

not John Baptist filled with the Holy Ghost from the womb? Is a bud harder to engraft than a bough? The truth is, that the real question is not whether children can be regenerate, but whether there be such a thing as regeneration at all in the Scripture sense of it. The Socinian party in the Church have never admitted that, in Christians, is implanted a new nature, superior to that general help of God's Spirit, by which all good men, in any dispensation, are possessed. They do not believe that, great as are many Old Testament saints, "he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than" they. They estimate men by actual height, and not by situation. They esteem nothing of privilege, place, opportunity, favour. They are ignorant of the great mystery of the election of God. And with this heresy, what is called by courtesy the Evangelical party (strange as it may seem) is largely infected. Take this proof, that though predestination and election are so frequently dwelt upon in holy writ, they either say nothing on these momentous subjects, or explain them in such a manner as to be inconsistent with the responsibility of men. Now, all this issues in their representing God's grace as nothing but an auxiliary to the moral powers, by which their proper efficacy is strengthened. Regeneration is as though a light which would burn faintly in common air, was transfused into oxygen. They take it not as the renewing of God's image, as the implanting a Divine seed, as a positive gift of superhuman nature, which may be lost, indeed, as it was by the first man, but for which every baptized Christian is accountable. To enter fully into this subject would require a volume; enough that we enter our protest against the Socinianism of the day.

And so fully has the Church of England entered her protest against it, so completely does the doctrine of grace pervade her formularies, that it is impossible that anything can be more complete than Mr. Jukes's demolition of those who would call themselves Churchmen, and deny it. None of his brethren, as far as we see, have ventured upon the slightest vindication of their position; they feel, probably, how hopeless would be the attempt. Indeed, the only kind of justification which was alleged by the Hull Clergy, if we remember right, ten years ago, was, that the twenty-seventh Article taught that Baptism and Regeneration did not always go together. To this Mr. Jukes refers, observing, that none are regenerated but those who are *rightly* baptized, and that the effect of Baptism is, that "faith is confirmed, not given; grace is increased, not bestowed."

Let us see what this objection amounts to. It is at most but an argument against the Church's consistency—an attempt to destroy their assailants with themselves. If the Baptismal Service, they say, condemns us, so do the Articles condemn you. Now that the Twenty-seventh Article does not expressly assert Baptismal Regeneration, we fully admit; it was formed as a guard against errors, when this doctrine was not denied; any one who observes the casual manner in which Baptismal Regeneration is asserted in the Homilies, as well as the Ninth

Article, where *renatis* is translated “baptized,” will perceive that it was not as yet a point of controversy. But what says the Twenty-seventh Article itself? Does it deny the doctrine? On the contrary, it rather implies it. It states the abstract advantages of Baptism to be increased grace, confirmed faith, and adoption among God’s children. These are admitted to attend the baptism of adults when rightly received. But in the case of children arises a difficulty. It is impossible, after the example of John the Baptist, to deny them the possibility of grace of adoption; but with Faith, *i. e.* in the sense which the term bears in the Article, we see not what they have to do. But lest this peculiarity should lead men to suppose that they are not *right* receivers, the Article concludes with a positive assertion that they ought to be admitted. What possible reason is there here for denying the presence of those gifts which in the Baptismal Service are asserted? There is no reference to the manner how, or time when, these gifts are bestowed. If the Church had enjoined that grace before meat should be said aloud, and added that, unless men publicly returned thanks, they could not expect to be benefited by God’s blessings, and a caution had been added, that, notwithstanding, men who were dumb might partake of food, would it be reasonable to conclude that the general assertion that men who were silent could not be benefited by what they eat, was still applicable? If the objection were valid, it would exclude them, not from nourishment only, but from table; and such an use of the Article is, in like manner, an argument not against infant regeneration, but against infant baptism.

The mistake seems to be, that men do not distinguish between what is not affirmed, and what is positively denied. When Baxter lived at Acton, during the five mile act, a person who asserted that he was five miles distant from London would have said the truth, and he who denied it would have been guilty of falsehood; and yet the first party would have said less than he might, for Acton was then six miles from the Metropolis; even so the assertor of Baptismal Regeneration is not discrepant from the Twenty-seventh Article, though he implies something beyond its assertions, whereas the denier of that doctrine is at variance with the Baptismal Service, in which such additional truth is plainly maintained.

Now, if such be the peculiar blessings of the Christian covenant, it is manifest enough that to be a member of the Church is the greatest of earthly advantages. And here we see the reason why such men as Mr. Jukes are led so readily into schism. They have not so much as heard whether there be such a thing as the Church of God; the blessed company of the redeemed—the earthly fellowship of their Saviour—the exalted band, gathered out of the whole world, for whose sake the universe is spared, with whom dwells God’s Spirit;—they look upon it but as an union bank, or a railroad company, or, at best, but as a charitable association formed by human agents, and gauge it only by the test of a worldly expediency. Duty—

obligation—filial love—godly submission—these enter not into their list of duties to the Bride of Christ. They have been trained to think disobedience a virtue: they know not that against this, just as much as against any other institution of God, rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry. Mr. Jukes gives the five reasons by which his friends at Hull have endeavoured to prevent his apostasy. These reasons are—1st, That other good men have managed to reconcile their consciences to the objectionable language of the Church; 2dly, That all arguments are fallible; 3dly, That those who have left the Church have often done worse; 4thly, That every system has its faults; and 5thly, That he might do more good by remaining where he was.

And is this the kind of language which is fitting towards the disobedient son who is lifting his hand against his parent, and casting off the privileges of his Father's mansion? Either the Church is God's household, or it is not. If not, then every portion of her formularies is erroneous; if she is, this is not the language which should be employed towards her rebels. If she is not Jerusalem which is from above, then why does she excommunicate those who reject her doctrines, and recognise no Christian fold in the country save her own? If she is, why palliate the sin of apostasy?

We are well satisfied that many a man besides Mr. Jukes has forfeited the Church's blessings from this timorous, unfaithful, dishonest poltroonery on the part of her children. How can they possibly defend her, save on her own terms? To what profit is it to disguise her in the tinsel dress of a voluntary society? The lofty language and majestic port of the Mother of Israel will of necessity appear, and put those to shame, who, for a present interest, would conceal her character. There is something in a good man's nature, which asks for the presence among us of a divine system; there is much in Scripture which positively affirms it; and when men will not claim her due place for the Church of Christ, what wonder if they leave the throne open to any chance pretender. If the true Queen will not assume her place, can we marvel that the Titaness Mutability steps forth to challenge the empire.

“ Boldly she bid the goddess down descend,
And let herself into that ivory throne;
For she herself more worthy thereof wend,
And better able it to guide alone;
Whether to men, whose fall she did bemoan,
Or unto gods, whose state she did malign.”

Alas! how many have been the worshippers of this uncertain idol; how has the world been agitated by doubt, debate, change, and division, since the fair unity and majestic glories of the Bride of Christ have been obscured among us! What deep evils have arisen from Romish usurpation and Puritan insubordination! How do they corrupt the very sources of truth, and block up the path of
oration!

at Mr. Jukes is among those who have suffered from this

neglect, we cannot question. There is something in his work which we recognise as an evident homage to truth, as a yearning after those realities of Christ's kingdom, which he has failed to discern.

"O that the Lord's people may be led to understand more of this, and so learn to feel for the Church, as a Church, as well as for themselves as isolated individuals! How soon would this set them free from the union-destroying and spirit-dividing systems of men! But how few do this! It seems sufficient for the majority of Christians to have communion with God for themselves, to seek their own separation from the world, and to desire their own holiness, while the separateness and communion of the Church, as a Church, is wholly forgotten."—P. 73.

Surely the man who thus writes is not far from the kingdom of God. If we may hazard a conjecture, we should say that he had mistaken the true manner of cure; he has forgotten that "he that will do of His will, shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." Now, while he was a member of the Church, he plainly owed her obedience; but did he act on this principle? We do not presume to speak positively respecting his private life, but, so far as this pamphlet leads us, we are compelled to doubt it. We would remind Mr. Jukes, that the Church, to which he owed obedience, as a minister, and of which, while yet a layman, he ought to have been the submissive son, imposes certain duties on its members. It implies the duty of fasting and prayer. On its ministers are these things still more incumbent. A voluntary promise of submission makes their neglect inexcusable. We repeat it, that we do not speak from knowledge; but the list lately published in the papers does not include St. John's, Hull, as a place where this promise of the clergy to obey the Church is fulfilled. We read there of no daily prayers. Nor does Mr. Jukes speak of any attempt to cast out the demon of unbelief by that method which our Lord suggested.

Now, can we wonder that a youth of disobedience should issue in an age of rebellion? Suppose a child to question the legality of some command of its parents, should we not, in the first place, inquire, whether in common he had been docile, child-like, and dutiful? If we found, on the contrary, that he had neglected simple and obvious obligations,—had refused submission in things clearly lawful,—had indicated a contemptuous and ungovernable spirit,—should we not put down his conduct less to the strength of his conscience than the violence of his will, and hint, perhaps, at that weapon with which the law of God has armed parental authority?

We are far from wishing that the Church should have recourse to the same remedy; we wish her to "come not with a rod, but in the spirit of meekness." We have no desire to see persecution revived. We leave the Church's rebellious children to the ultimate judgment of her King. But we would that persons like Mr. Jukes would try the remedy of obedience, rather than cast themselves on that mere exercise of the intellectual faculties, which is often their greatest danger. A young man of decent parts, and Mr. Jukes is really not wanting in cleverness, living in a contracted circle, where

he gives harder blows than he receives, the oracle, probably, of a few simple admirers, is in peculiar danger from the temptations of vanity. Tell him that he is to make out a system for himself by sheer argument, that with such a slight knowledge of our divines as he obviously possesses, he is to set himself down as the test and scale of truth, to allow nothing which he has not fully ascertained, and practise nothing till he understands its value, and unless God's grace especially interferes, you ensure his ruin. But let such a man be contented to practise for a time what he is commanded; let him live in obedience to the Church's rule; let him pray, fast, and study, and we may hope to see the refining influences of her holy system, in the patience, humility, and wisdom, of his advancing years. This is, after all, the only course on which we can count with any confidence. Holiness is the real path to truth. Let us hear the words of the greatest writer of the day, who yet is less distinguished by his profound learning and exalted genius, than by that humility which has enabled him to set one of the highest examples which our memory affords of canonical obedience. His powers and acquirements may be beyond Mr. Jukes's rivalry, but the graces of the greatest Saints are open to the imitation of us all.

"Let us turn from shadows of all kinds—shadows of sense, or shadows of argument and disputation, or shadows addressed to our imagination and tastes. Let us attempt, through God's grace, to advance and sanctify the inward man. We cannot be wrong here; whatever is right, whatever is wrong in this perplexing world, we must be right 'in doing justly, in loving mercy, and walking humbly with our God,' in denying our wills; in ruling our tongues, in softening and sweetening our tempers, in mortifying our lusts; in learning patience, meekness, purity, forgiveness of injuries, and continuance in well-doing."*

Our reason for connecting with Mr. Jukes the able, though anonymous† pamphlet, "Examination of Mr. Close's 'Tendency,'" &c. &c. is to bring out, by way of contrast, the honesty of the Curate of Hull, as compared with the dishonesty of the Incumbent of Cheltenham. Mr. Jukes quits the Church because he cannot accept her teaching: Mr. Close remains in it, only to falsify and contradict her declared principles: what Mr. Jukes could not help seeing, though he hoped not to find, Mr. Close says he is unable to see, because he shuts his eyes: Mr. Close wants couching, where Mr. Jukes asks for blinkers: Mr. Jukes dislikes the conclusion, and therefore rejects the premises; Mr. Close denies that the conclusion follows at all. If Mr. Close is illogical, Mr. Jukes is inflexible: and with the characteristics of either place, at Hull we find our goods thrown in our

* Newman's Sermons.

† The initials, however, are sufficient, we presume, to affix this "Examination" to Mr. Heathcote, of Hackney.

face with a roughness anything but courteous, while, at Cheltenham, we are politely swindled out of our property by flash notes, and bill-discounters. Among the whalers of the Humber we have more homespun, and fewer fine words: in the metropolis of Pump-rooms and Parades, we have the swagger and emptiness which would not discredit the Copper Captain himself.

Indeed, the position of the *extrême gauche** of the Low Church party is daily becoming more critical, because more developed. Both sections of the existing Church of England commenced their opposite reforms with good intentions on either side we frankly own, but without any very decided object, further than the amiable one of improving a debased and corrupted state of the Church, and certainly without much of recognised principle. They snatched fork or goad to repel the instant enemy, if sword and spear were not attainable; their lines of defence were like those Athenian walls which were hastily run up by Themistocles—καὶ εἴλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ᾧτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο. Time develops tendencies, and it is now evident that the school of Romaine and Newton adopted principles which their successors, in our own days, find will compel them either to quit the Church of England, or to have its formularies altered to suit their views. We have already indicated some signs of a partial move in one direction or other. An Evangelical Free Church is on the anvil. Mr. Bird, Mr. Jukes, Mr. Rees, are among the more consistent Evangelicals who find that their principles, if fairly carried out, must land them in dissent; and whether the secession be large or small, will depend much upon the sincerity and earnestness of those who have adopted Calvinism. Honesty cannot retain Mr. Close and Mr. Noel; their preferments may. It has too long been a favourite argument in certain quarters as to the tendency of Catholic views: just now this weapon is employed with irresistible force on the other side; and the evident soreness which is felt by producing counter lists of apostasy from our communion, tells very significantly.

For ourselves, we have never been slow to admit the fact of a very great and widely-diffused tendency Romewards: but we have been hitherto almost singular in accounting for the fact. But of this we are certain, that no stronger weapon can be lent to the partisans of Rome than the existence of the present state of things. We should be wanting in duty to the Church of our baptism, in loyalty to which we yield to none, were we not to express our certainty that the defection of such men as Mr. Seager, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Digby, and Mr. Ambrose Phillippis, is attributable, not to the rise of the Oxford Divines, but—to the uncensured teaching of heresy in the other division in our communion. When associations are formed to circulate tracts, and to procure subscriptions, on the basis of a solemn League

* This is no mere Gallicism: it is becoming quite an European idiom. In Germany there are *left-hand* Hegelians, and *right-hand* Hegelians: i.e. Low-Church rationalists, so to say, and High-Church rationalists.

and Covenant which denies the Articles of the Catholic Faith, and which denounces as heresies such fundamental doctrines as Baptismal Regeneration and the Apostolic Succession—when our Priests are permitted to preach in conventicles, and to make speeches for the last section and schism of a debased Presbyterianism—when Acts of Parliament are passed, at the bidding of our chief Bishops, rather to suppress than to restore discipline—when every effort to impart warmth and energy to our system is met in high quarters, either with cold suspicion, or with open condemnation—these are the things which make the warm-hearted to doubt and the feeble to stumble. Men will not believe that we are what our best divines have always claimed us to be in books, if in intelligible deeds they see us committing ourselves, without a protest, to a debased and debasing system. For one convert which Rome has gained from No. 90, if there be one, we can anticipate hundreds who will be unable to struggle against Protestant Associations, and Calvin Societies, and Free-Kirk Meetings, and Mr. Herbert Marsh undeprived, and Mr. Baptist Noel uncensured. If we desire to retain the obedience of the laity, and the respect and sympathy of Foreign Churches, either across the Tweed, or across the Atlantic—if we desire to be true to the Church of England, it will be by just weights and just measures—it will not prevent, it will rather increase, secession to Rome to encourage Evangelicalism, and to repress Catholicism.

What is now coming to pass has been foreseen by those whom holiness and retirement in past days gifted with a prescience almost intuitive: the distant results of Evangelicalism have been portrayed thirty years ago, long before the present disputes, that is, in their present form, were heard of. In the Correspondence of those gifted brethren—*Ζεύχος φίλιον*—Knox and Jebb, occurs the following remarkable passage, (vol. ii. p. 196, *et seq.*)—

“ When I see a spurious liberality, ready to view as merely subordinate and almost indifferent, the goodly order of the hierarchical institution, I cannot help apprehending that the light is turning into darkness, and the salt is losing its savour. Among Church-of-England men, the diffusion of Evangelical indifference is of too late a growth to give us a complete result; but the tendencies are, in my judgment, by no means equivocal. There is much, of course, to which I strongly object in the Eclectic Review. Yet when I compare the moral tone of the best articles in that publication with the moral tone which pervades the Christian Observer, I am obliged to say that I could far more cordially mingle minds with the avowed dissenter than with the *soi-disant* Churchman. In the Church of England, strictly so called, religion cultivated in the sectarian manner, the forms of the Church retained, but its spirit neglected; the doctrines of the Church (*as they explain them*) strongly asserted, and its orders lightly regarded; constituted authorities moved aside, and self-elected bodies usurping their jurisdiction; the ancient distribution of parishes repealed, and the Clergymen of those parishes bearded by the miscellaneous committee of some newly-apportioned district; swarms of dissenters intruded, and intruded by laymen and Clergymen, and nobility and bishops of the Church of England: all this is a new thing upon earth, and its consequences who can venture to foretell? One thing is certain—that the result cannot be trivial. In one way or other it must produce some great change; and the nature of that change, though sagacity

may shrewdly conjecture, *time alone can thoroughly disclose*. Perhaps a little of persecution, or of somewhat resembling a persecution, may be providentially permitted, to train up men with an attachment towards the Church as a hierarchy; as distinct from the State; and as dignified only by its intrinsic excellence, by its venerable antiquity, and by its apostolic institution."

Thus wrote Bishop Jebb, in 1814, with respect to one party in our present unhappy divisions, long before either they had developed themselves, or before the cloud which has since burst in "somewhat resembling a persecution" had risen above the horizon. And so, two years later, Alexander Knox, in his golden letter, (*Remains*, vol. i. p. 53,) "on the situation and prospects of the Established Church," thus wonderfully fixes, as our greatest need, upon that very doctrine and the use of those very books which are now looked upon with the most jealous, and we must add most senseless, suspicion.

"Hitherto the Church of England, though more temperate in her measures than any other portion of the reformed body, has manifested no sentiment with such unrelenting intensity as dread of whatever could be deemed Popery. I deny not the expediency, perhaps necessity, of this feeling, in such circumstances as have hitherto existed. But it has given safety to the Church of England, *at the expense of perfection*; which last can only be attained by proving all things, and holding fast what is good: and this discrimination can be practised only in the absence of prejudice. As matters are, dread of transubstantiation has made the sacrament a ceremony; and to ward off infallibility, every man has been encouraged to shape a creed for himself. The most certain cure for this extreme will be to experience its fruits. If Popery can be a Charybdis, there is a Scylla on the other side, not less dangerous. It will be still more useful to learn that in the mixed mass of the Roman-Catholic religion, there is gold and silver, and precious stones, as well as wood, hay, and stubble; and that everything of the former nature is to be as carefully preserved as everything of the latter nature is to be wisely rejected. This was the principle on which our Reformation commenced; but, as Dryden remarks, in his preface to the *Religio Laici*, 'it was continued by Edward VI. on other principles than those on which it was begun.' . . . Church-of-England men would reject as much as ever the bondage of the Roman-Catholic Church. But this very firmness would qualify them for an *unprejudiced view* of the system. . . . I would name AVICULAR CONFESSION. Whatever evil consequences may be charged upon this practice, *one undeniable good end has resulted from it*; namely, a more exact and experimental acquaintance with the movements of the human mind in religious matters, than we see attained by any who have wholly abandoned this species of discipline. . . . Here, therefore, we are perhaps more aided and instructed by *judicious Roman Catholic writers*, and those ancient authors to which they introduce us, than by any other means of information. In these we find the interior piety, at which sectaries aim, not only elucidated and exemplified, but learnedly examined and judiciously guarded. What, in too many amongst us, becomes fanaticism, in their more excellent writers, employs, and makes alliance with, philosophy; and at the same time, what ensures sobriety, promotes elevation. The whole mind is provided for and occupied by an adequate extent and depth of principles; and a solid breadth of foundation admits of a lofty superstructure. *The want of this interior learning amongst us has produced lamentable consequences.*"

But on this and kindred subjects, the needs of the Church, we trust to enlarge on some future occasion, accompanied by Mr. Gresley's excellent little book, just published, "*Anglo-Catholicism*:" and lest it might seem that we are exaggerating the danger which as a Church, we are incurring from permitting, without censure

protest, the most flagrant violations of Church order, and this under the permission, if not with the consent, of the very highest rulers of the Church, we will illustrate our position by the present relations of the Church Missionary Society. First, be it premised that some two years ago the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London consented to become patrons of this Society, *because* its managers had consented to adopt, and to enforce, sound principles of ecclesiastical rule. The first occasion upon which the Society was called upon to act out its new professions, was that very significant case of Mr. Humphrey, upon which we have spoken at large : the result of which, to use intelligible words, was a complete victory on the part of the Society ; Mr. Humphrey was dismissed ; the Bishop's protest and remonstrance went for nothing ; the appeal to the Archbishop was hushed up ; Mr. Humphrey was smuggled away without redress ; the Society went on as before ; a few remonstrances here ; a few murmurs there ; a few more "stragglers Romewards" confirmed, *we speak from personal knowledge*, in their meditated defection from the Church ; but this was all. The Church Missionary Society still continued, under the vice-presidency of the Primate of all England, to be an object of the most painful distrust to the sound portion of the Church, and to defy all rule and order, even while it hypocritically and dishonestly claimed to have abandoned for ever all its former laxity. Indeed, we say it without hesitation, that the sole result of the adherence of the excellent prelates just named was to give license to the Church Missionary Society to be irregular upon precedent, and under protection, to assault the Church by the authority of the Bishops themselves, and to defend their own surreptitious tyranny and usurpation, by pleading the connivance, if not the sanction, of those before whom most would be silent, and all respectful, with whatever misgivings and sorrow.

Last year came the Drummond and Dunbar schism ; and with a wonderful and almost judicial proclivity to display their real principles, the governing body of the Church Missionary Society have at length outdone themselves. It is not ours to rebuke—God forbid—the Bishops of the Church ; nay, it is not ours to say that they may not have reasons for their present line, which must, from their very nature, ever remain unknown to the world. But we may, or rather we are bound to, say, how the continued adherence of the Bishops to this Society without a fundamental change in its management will affect sensitive minds. We are not pleading for, we are not justifying even, certain scruples which we are not called upon to detail ; but when so much is yielded to the noisy vulgar pretenders to the character of "weak brethren" on the other side, we have a right to claim some immunity to, at least some gentle and paternal recognition of, the fears and difficulties which beset many tender souls among ourselves. But we suppose that *we* have no right to a conscience ; *we* are not to be allowed the luxury of a doubt : having adopted obedience as our watchword, *we* are to obey, not only to the spoiling of our goods, but

to the robbery of our birthrights, and to the forfeiture of our heritage in the Church, to the stifling of our conscience and duty, as well as to the suppression of our feelings. Protest—remonstrance—boldness for what they think to be the truth—all these rights are to be cheerfully conceded to the sticklers for private judgment, but the obedient sons of the Church alone are to be silenced just because they are obedient; their feelings and sore trials are never to be recognised, far less to be yielded to, only because the Bishops know that they will submit to almost anything to avoid the faintest show of resistance to authority as such. However, as somebody bitterly said, we forget where, “a willing horse may be over-driven:” and it seems that the perilous experiment is now trying how far and how long the galling harness is to be on our shoulders. At any rate, we cannot but express our deep fears that those who least apprehend the results of their tampering, and compromise, and indifference, are ruining the Church of England, under the specious pretence of moderation. It will be of little use to complain of disloyalty to the Church in some quarters, while to be loyal to her true principles is to be proscribed and suspected: when we have repelled and silenced our best and warmest hearted by our icy indifference to zeal; so long as we encourage fanaticism, if it has but a popular and noisy show, reserving the averted look and suspicious jealousy only for those who want but encouragement to spend and to be spent for the Church’s sake; it is vain to ask for more than sullen submission even to episcopal requirements. We shall, it may be, drive out from among us, as we have already reduced to dull indifference, the best spirits of the Church of England, if we are to act henceforth upon a desire to please all parties; we shall fall unpitied if our principle is to be the negation of all principle.

We have some difficulty in presenting a sketch, within moderate limits, of the connexion of the Church Missionary Society with the Scotch schismatics. At the time of their separation from the Church, Mr. Drummond and Sir William Dunbar were secretaries of two branch associations; this office they still retain. The latter was formally, the former virtually, excommunicated by his Bishop; and each becomes the head of a schism. How was the Church Missionary Society to treat them? Mr. Dandeson Coates, the Secretary, a person, we are bound to remark, of singular and serpentine astuteness, tells us,

“These gentlemen, being Clergymen of the Church of England, united themselves with the Scottish Episcopal Church, but have since withdrawn from that union, to minister to their respective congregations upon their English orders; a question has since arisen, in consequence of such withdrawal, respecting their ecclesiastical position in Scotland. Upon this question the Committee conceive that they are neither competent, nor called upon, as a committee, to form any judgment. In conformity with the views above stated, a deputation from the parent committee visiting Scotland will communicate with Mr. Drummond and Sir W. Dunbar in common with the other local officers of associations, and cooperate with them in the business of the Society. But in order to preserve the NEUTRALITY of the Society upon the ecclesiastical question at issue, appears necessary that the deputation should not preach as representatives of the Society in Scotland during the present year.”

The last clause, after a not very sinewy remonstrance from the Bishop of Edinburgh, who, however, openly avowed his intention to draw no distinction between "what the deputation did as representatives of the Society, and what they did in their individual capacity," was subsequently modified into—

"It further appears that the clerical members of the deputation should also abstain from preaching while on this visit to Scotland, even in their individual capacity."

This is the first branch of the history, and the least painful, however in itself shocking; but the proceedings of the Church Missionary Society are to be judged of by a standard of its own. Bishop Terrot thinks that he is adequately severe in "not thanking the Society for their neutrality;" we wish that he had thought proper to speak out. Neutrality! Not only is the Society's own account of the matter the very reverse of neutrality, but neutrality, were it possible, were a sin. To speak of Sir W. Dunbar as "withdrawing from his union with the Episcopal Church," and "ministering to *his congregation* on his English orders," and to mince over his "ecclesiastical position as a question," is to be his advocate, and nothing less; the Dunbarites ask for no more than to leave these points open. "Neutrality!" and "not competent to form any judgment!" What, a Church Society, with Archbishops and Bishops at its head, *neutral* about an excommunicated and schismatical priest! When Hymenæus and Alexander were delivered to Satan, what would St. Paul have said if Aquila and Apollos had "preserved their neutrality?"

But another matter arose during these discussions. Mr. Bickersteth, of Watton, thought proper to volunteer a *deputation of himself* from the Church Missionary Society, to sympathize, after the Canadian fashion, with Dunbar and Drummond, and to preach for the Church Missionary Society at their respective conventicles. This the Society thought proper to decline, that is, as *far as words went*. They appointed a subcommittee to remonstrate with the inexorable Mr. Bickersteth, and disavowed, in smooth set phrase, his self-elected mission. But, curiously enough, when a straightforward proposition was made in the Church Missionary Society to repudiate Mr. Bickersteth by something more practical than fine words, *i. e.* by refusing to accept the collections which he made in the Scotch meeting-houses, from the Drummondites, *this intelligible and decisive motion was rejected*. The Church Missionary Society had not heart enough, nor honesty, to make broad plates for the altar of the offerings of the Scotch Corah and his company. They found it convenient to have an orthodox and schismatical partner at the same time; to come out alternately as occasion required, like the figures in a Dutch weather-house, or like Messrs. Greenhorn and Grinderson in the "Anti-ry." And this was another tolerably intelligible illustration of

Dandeson Coates's *neutrality*. However, to make the briefest tedious story, for it concerns us but little to enter into the erable subterfuges of the London Committee of the Church Missionary Society, or the proceedings of the Edinburgh auxiliary,

or the very questionable propriety of the formation of a new one by Bishop Terrot, which he has thought proper, without consulting his brethren, to designate as the "Episcopal Church of Scotland's Church Missionary Society."

On Sunday, April 21, Mr. Bickersteth, of Watton, preached twice in Sir W. Dunbar's conventicle to overflowing congregations of "free kirk" people and others, declaring "that it was impossible for him to estimate the honour and privilege which he felt in *supporting* Sir W. Dunbar *under his present circumstances*." Need we say what confidence this proceeding has given the adherents of this unhappy man? especially as for the last month he had been preparing his people for the coming of the *eminent* Mr. Bickersteth, who would tell them upon "what footing he was still regarded in England." Nor was this all.

The Church Missionary Society held its anniversary at Aberdeen, about the same time: large bills were circulated, bearing the *Archbishop of Canterbury's* name, as vice-patron of the Church Missionary Society, *in immediate connexion with Sir W. Dunbar as local secretary*; and among all classes, except the insignificant minority of churchmen, this most wicked fraud has succeeded; and the impression has gone forth among the whole society of the north of Scotland, that the Bishop of Aberdeen's excommunication is good for nothing; and that the Archbishop of Canterbury has sent down Mr. Bickersteth, to show the state of feeling in the Church of England in this matter. So much for the *neutrality* of the Church Missionary Society! Indeed, we do not see that the consequence drawn at Aberdeen is quite so absurd as we shall be told; the Archbishop is in full communion with the Church Missionary Society, and the Church Missionary Society *retains, as one of its secretaries*, Sir W. Dunbar, and, therefore, is in full communion with him.

This certainly brings Sir William and his Grace into a connexion rather too close to be summarily disposed of. His Grace is the patron of those who employ an excommunicated man as secretary; and, before these pages are published, the Bishop of London will *preach the anniversary sermon* for this same Church Missionary Society, on April 29th, at St. Bride's, London. Certainly we regret this step, more than we care to say;—its results we are afraid to anticipate, in the way of unsettling men's minds; but if anything *can*, which seems doubtful, excuse us in England, it is the conduct of *some* portion of the Scottish Church. Had Bishop Terrot indignantly disavowed the Church Missionary Society, till it had disavowed Drummond and Dunbar,—had he refrained from tying himself to it by another link, for the same reason,—had he not only "not thanked" the Society for the "neutrality" (which he acknowledged, nevertheless), but had he shown its hollowness and folly, then no Christian bishop could have remained in connexion with the Society. But English responsibility is much lessened, though not destroyed, while the Scotch prelates—certainly the parties most concerned—are

thus temporizing and trimming; until *they* are at least at one, it may be hoped, rather than expected, that our Bishops should take a decided stand. If the collective Scottish college of Bishops had openly renounced the whole Church Missionary Society, and resolutely closed every pulpit in Scotland to every English Clergyman acting on its behalf, till the connexion between its executive and Drummond and Dunbar was at an end, then the English Bishops must have moved, or the Church Missionary Society must have yielded. *We* cannot understand how, as matters now stand, *any* churchman can remain a member of the Church Missionary Society. But we can quite believe that the irresolute conduct of the Scottish Church has not been without its influence on those who are not sorry for any apology for not interfering. Until Scotland understands its own affairs, and acts accordingly, it is premature to call *us* inactive, and other than affectionate towards her. While the Bishop of Edinburgh, by such practical approval, avows his satisfaction with the Society; while the Primus of Aberdeen does not openly and solemnly cut off the Society from communion with his Church,—especially Mr. Bickersteth,—it is too much to expect us to move, as vindicators of the Scottish Church. When she is true to herself, we will be true to her: but we hold it very unreasonable, *as matters stand*, to expect that the English Bishops can, or, without appeal and remonstrance, ought to, fight their battle, which, in truth, is Scotland's rather than our own at present.

Though, after all, the main matter is with ourselves in another way; we have introduced this subject only as an illustration of our old argument, that, if defection in one, or in one hundred instances, is to occur from us, we have only ourselves to blame. We will not so much justify, as point to, the fact of the existence of fears, whether well or ill-founded, in the breasts of those who are neither ignorant, nor idle, nor wanting in the sense of personal responsibility, that, as a Church, we cannot afford, *salvâ essentia*, to move one hair's breadth further in a more Protestant direction; we purposely abstain from alluding to retrograde steps; and yet more, that we are committed to and by the actions and sentiments of our Bishops. If, then, his Diocesan is to exhibit "neutrality" towards Mr. Bickersteth, or if the Church Missionary Society is to be permitted to continue its present standing towards the Scottish Church, we can rather anticipate than describe how this recognised state of things will tell upon the Church of England. Were we, which we are not, friends of Rome, we could desire nothing more heartily than its continuance. Let the new institution of Scripture Readers for London, under the highest auspices, be viewed in the same light.

The Natural History of Man; comprising Inquiries into the Modifying Influence of Physical and Moral Agencies on the different Tribes of the Human Family. By J. C. PRITCHARD, M.D. &c. London: Bailliere. 1843. 1 vol. pp. 556.

THE design of this elegant and able work is to furnish the general reader with a clear and comprehensive, though brief view, of all the physical characteristics of the human race. Its learned and industrious author has here drawn up a sufficiently popular account of the chief varieties in colour, figure, and bodily structure, which distinguish the several classes of men from each other; together with illustrative notices of their moral and intellectual peculiarities. The science of Ethnography is still in its infancy; but, as far as the present state of our knowledge extends, Dr. Pritchard has ably investigated the nature, and traced the causes, of the different phenomena which his subject embraces. Hence he has been carried into historical researches, and has followed the different tribes of people scattered over the world, from their origin, along their several lines of descent. The work is profusely illustrated with coloured engravings and wood cuts; which render it a very handsome volume, suited for the drawing-room table no less than the shelf of the library.

The varieties of the human race are truly astonishing; and indicate extraordinary powers of adaptation to almost every diversity of climate and situation. While man exerts a powerful command over the powers and resources of the material world, that world hardly less powerfully re-acts upon him; moulding his physical organization, and adapting it to even opposite modes of life. "Hence it comes to pass," observes Dr. Pritchard, "that man is a cosmopolite; that while, among the wild inhabitants of the forest, each tribe can exist only on a comparatively small tract of the earth's surface, man, together with those creatures which he has chosen for his immemorial companions, and has led with him in all his wanderings, is capable of living under every clime, from the shores of the Icy Sea, where the frozen soil never softens under his feet, to the burning sands of equatorial plains, where even reptiles perish from heat and drought. . . . How different a being is the Esquimaux, who, in his burrow amid northern ices, gorges himself with the blubber of whales, from the lean and hungry Numidian, who pursues the lion under a vertical sun! And how different, whether compared with the skin-clad and oily fisher of the icebergs, or with the naked hunter of the Sahára, are the luxurious inmates of Eastern harems, or the energetic and intellectual inhabitants of the cities of Europe!"

So numerous are these changes, so strongly marked are

diversities which prevail among the families of men—as we shall abundantly show in the course of our present article—that many, whose faith has not been simply fixed upon the sure records of Revelation, have hastily concluded “that the collective body of mankind is made up of different races, which have differed from each other, in their physical and moral nature, from the beginning of their existence.” The Churchman has no doubt on this point. He knows from an Authority which cannot err, that God “hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth;” nor can he allow this question to be regarded as one still *sub judice*. But while he steadily resists the treatment of this question as a subject of doubtful inquiry, he is ready to listen to, and to appreciate, whatever verified concurrent testimony the infant science of Ethnography may be able to bear to the great truth of our common descent from Adam.

It is due to the eminent author of the work before us, to state that he himself holds fast the right belief on this very vital subject. “The Sacred Scriptures,” he observes, “whose testimony is received by all men of unclouded minds with implicit and reverential assent, declare that it pleased the Almighty Creator to make of one blood all nations of the earth, and that all mankind are the offspring of common parents.” But we must express our dissatisfaction with the tone of the following passage, and our entire dissent from the canon of philosophical inquiry which is implied in it: “I shall not pretend,” says Dr. Pritchard, “that in my own mind I regard the question now to be discussed, as one of which the decision is a matter of indifference, either to religion or humanity. But the strict rule of scientific scrutiny enacts, according to modern philosophers, in matters of inductive reasoning, an exclusive homage. It requires that we should close our eyes against all presumptive and intrinsic evidence, and abstract our minds from all considerations not derived from the matters of fact which bear immediately on the question. The maxim we have to follow in such controversies is ‘*fiat justitia, ruat cælum*.’ In fact, what is actually true, it is always most desirable to know; whatever consequences may arise from its admission.”

Now if the science in question—the science of Ethnography—were in such a state of maturity as to be able to grapple effectually with its proposed problem, we might, perhaps, be more willing to await the solution which it undertakes to give, with regard to the origin of the different sorts of men, and the cause or causes of their so strongly-marked varieties. But we cannot consent to abandon, or to hold in abeyance, any truth we already possess; in order that a science, which, in its present state, is confessedly feeble and inadequate, may try its immature powers in endeavour to extract it from a large miscellaneous mass of imperfectly-digested observations and experiments. We

deny the right of ethnographical science to usurp the place of a teacher of truths, of the reality of which it confesses itself to be at present but imperfectly assured. Even in the mechanical sciences, the inquirer must have some starting-point for his researches; and in the absence of a theory, must have recourse, and that of necessity, to an hypothesis only. Nor does the adoption of this hypothetical method vitiate his conclusions in the least, provided he duly verifies them by adequate observation and experiment. But if even the mechanical philosopher requires a *ποῦ στῶ*, much more is this required by the palæontological student. Specific experience is almost entirely excluded by the nature of the case, and the inquirer must trust considerably to general reasoning. But in the case before us we have no mere unverified hypothesis. We are put into possession of an historical proposition, which is armed with the highest degree of authenticity conceivable: and in addition to the venerable statements of the book of Genesis, we have the whole economy of human redemption, essentially presupposing the original and actual unity of the human race.*

We will now follow Dr. Pritchard into the details of his fascinating researches. In order to clear up the subject to the general reader, it will be necessary to define one or two technical terms of frequent occurrence. The first of these is the word *species*. After commenting on the principal ancient and modern acceptations of this term, Dr. Pritchard expresses his regret that we are compelled, through long-established usage, to retain a word which is partly of hypothetical meaning. For *εἶδος*, *species*, he would substitute *τὸ συγγενὲς*, *kind* or *kindred*, were it possible to make so great a change in our scientific vocabulary. But since the term must be retained, he is careful to define it. "*Species*, then, are simply tribes of plants or of animals which are certainly known, or may be inferred on satisfactory grounds, to have descended from the same stock, or from precisely similar parentage, and in no way distinguished from each other." And he thus distinguishes it from the expression "permanent varieties," which approaches very near to it in meaning. "*Permanent varieties* are races now displaying characteristic peculiarities, which are constantly and permanently transmitted. They differ from species in this circumstance, that the peculiarities in question are not coeval with the tribe, but sprang up in it since the commencement of its existence, and constitute a derivation from its original character."

The object which Dr. Pritchard has principally proposed to himself in the work now under review, is "to point out the most important diversities, by which mankind, or the genus *man*, is distinguished and separated into different races; and to deter-

* See Christian Remembrancer for January, 1844, vol. vii. p. 15.

mine whether these races constitute separate species, or are merely varieties of one species."

In the Divine account of the Creation, contained in the opening chapters of the book of Genesis, we read that the several tribes or species of both the vegetable and animal worlds were to propagate themselves and multiply, each after its own kind. "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit *after his kind*, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, *after their kind*, and every winged fowl *after his kind* And God made the beast of the earth *after his kind*, and cattle *after their kind*, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth *after his kind*: and God saw that it was good." This great physical law remains unbroken. Both in the vegetable and animal worlds, the several tribes are reproduced and perpetuated,—with a few exceptions, which are apparent rather than real,—without becoming intermingled. The law of propagation according to kinds is universal. Were it otherwise, the organized world would long ago have sunk into a state of universal and inextricable confusion. This is a subject of so much importance and interest, that, instead of travelling on immediately with Dr. Pritchard, we shall tarry and dwell upon the fundamental principles which enter into the philosophy of the sciences of classification.

The idea which underlies these sciences is popularly expressed by the word *likeness*. We shall endeavour to trace the successive meanings of this word and its correlatives, from their inexact use in ordinary life, to the precision which they acquire ere they become established in the rigorous vocabulary of science. Now before we can regard things as like and unlike, we must be able to apprehend each thing by itself as *one*. This apprehension is the result, not, as we might hastily conclude, of a sensation only; but requires also, for its formation, a mental operation; an act of thought conferring unity, not, indeed, by any arbitrary process, but by one that is subject to objective as well as to subjective conditions. What, then, is the condition of unity? This is defined by Mr. Whewell, in his "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences," to be that *assertions concerning the object which we apprehend as one, shall be possible*; or, in stricter terms, that the acts of belief which such assertions enunciate shall be possible.

By this mental synthesis we obtain our knowledge of *individual* things; and thus we obtain the necessary pre-requisite for our knowledge of *kinds*; of such classes as are indicated by common names. Now individual objects are distributed and grouped into kinds by means of our idea of likeness. Here, then, arises the question,—Under what conditions does our idea of likeness

operate, so as to classify individuals and distribute them into kinds? Definitions are here of no avail. Important as they are in their right place, they have no power or influence in regulating the use of common language. The condition which regulates the use of language is that general assertions, expressed in that language, shall be possible. "A word," observes Mr. Whewell, "which expressed a mere wanton collection of unconnected attributes could hardly be called a word; for of such a collection of properties no truth could be asserted, and the word would disappear, for want of some occasion on which it could be used. Though much of the fabric of language appears, not unnaturally, fantastical and purely conventional, it is, in fact, otherwise. The associations and distinctions of phraseology are not more fanciful than is requisite to make them correspond to the apparent caprices of nature or of thought; and though much in language may be called conventional, the conventions exist for the sake of expressing some truth or opinion, and not for their own sake. The principle, that *the condition of the use of terms is the possibility of general, intelligible, consistent assertions*, is true in the most complete and extensive sense."

These observations on the apparent conventionality of language appear to us to be peculiarly just and valuable. Arbitrary and capricious as language is, these qualities do not, strictly, belong to language itself, but to the conceptions and feelings of which language is the faithful mirror; so that we may read a nation's character in its current forms of speech, and trace its mental progress or decline in its successive literature.

Although the classificatory sciences proceed ostensibly upon the idea of resemblance as their main foundation, they necessarily take for granted, in the course of their progress, a further idea of natural affinity. The nature of this idea may be thus shown: Classify, say, animals, by means of one of their functions; then classify them by means of another of their functions; and if these two independent classifications coincide, or are consistent, they are natural; in other words, they are constructed upon the general idea of natural affinity. It would, perhaps, be too much to require the rigorous fulfilment of this condition, before we allowed a proposed classification to be a "natural" one; but what we have said will, at least, serve to show what the idea of natural affinity is. "Our idea of affinity," says Mr. Whewell, "involves the conviction of the *coincidence of natural arrangements formed on different functions*; and this, rather than the principle of the subordination of some characters to others, is the true ground of the natural method of classification." This was the doctrine of Cuvier. "The *correspondence of the general forms*," he observes, speaking of the principle of classification for animals, "which results from the arrangement of the motive organs, from the distribution of the nervous masses, and from

the energy of the circulatory system, must form the grounds of the first great sections by which we divide the animal kingdom." Decandolle lays down the same principle for vegetables. "There must be an *equilibrium* of the different functions . . . The natural classes founded on one of the great functions of the vegetable are necessarily the same as those which are founded upon the other function; and I find here a very useful *criterion* to ascertain whether a class is natural: namely, in order to announce that it is so, it must be arrived at by the two roads which vegetable organization presents." In short, the test of all systems that profess to be *natural*, is that the arrangement obtained from one set of characters coincides with the arrangement obtained from another set.

We are now in a condition to proceed with Dr. Pritchard along the line of his argument and history. After a brief consideration of the subject of hybrids, he arrives at the conclusion, that all inquiries into the various tribes of organized beings show that the perpetuation of hybrids, whether of plants or animals, so as to produce new and intermediate tribes, is impossible. "When individual hybrids are produced, it is found impossible to perpetuate from them a new breed. It is only by returning towards one of the parent tribes, that the offspring of these animals is capable of being continued in successive generations." This is the law of nature for animals in their wild state: and the same law holds good for plants: hybrid plants are produced, but there are no hybrid races. Dr. Pritchard applies these facts, and brings them to bear upon his main argument. "Unless all these observations are erroneous, or capable of some explanation that has not yet been pointed out, they lead, with the strongest force of analogical reasoning, to the conclusion that a number of different tribes, such as the various races of men, must either be incapable of intermixing their stock, and thus always fated to remain separate from each other; or, if the contrary should be the fact, that all the races to whom the remark applies are proved by it to belong to the same species."

Mankind, of all races and varieties, are capable of propagating their offspring by means of intermarriages. Of this fact, the rapid increase of the so-called Mulattoes, who result from the intermixture of Negroes and Europeans, and of the mixed race which springs from the Negroes and the Creoles, are striking examples. Further examples are adduced by Dr. Pritchard, more in detail, in evidence of the fact that entirely new and intermediate stocks have been produced by the intermixture of different races of men, and, so far from becoming extinct, have been multiply multiplied. This has been the case with regard to the *Quas* or *Griqua* Hottentots, who are a tribe of mixed origin, descended from the Dutch colonists of South Africa on one side,

and from the aboriginal Hottentots on the other. So, also, the very remarkable race of the Cafresos—as they have been termed by the Portuguese in the Brazils—who sprang originally from a mixture of native Americans with imported African negroes. An additional example is furnished by the Papuas; a race of people spread along the northern coast of New Guinea and the adjacent islands. “It is not improbable,” observes Dr. Pritchard, “that these tribes of the sea-coast may have come to the shore of New Guinea and the adjoining islands, from some distant part of the Indian Archipelago; but, whatever was the quarter whence they spread, they appear to afford an example of a mixed breed of men who retain certain characters derived from their double ancestry. These traits have, however, been transmitted as permanent characteristics through many generations; since, in the time of Dampier, they seem to have been fully developed.”

From these facts it would appear that no impediment whatever exists to the perpetuation of mankind, even when the most dissimilar varieties are blended together. “Hence we derive,” says Dr. Pritchard, “a conclusive proof,—unless there be in the instance of human races an exception to the universally-prevalent law of organized nature,—that all the tribes of men are of one family.” To confirm this conclusion, he has traced the phenomena of variation through several tribes of animals and of plants. We have not room to allow of our following him into the very interesting facts which he has collected for the purpose of illustrating and confirming his position; and must be content to give his general results.

“From the preceding survey of the phenomena of variation in the tribes of animals, and of the circumstances under which these appearances are displayed, we may venture to draw the following general inferences:

“1. That tribes of animals which have been domesticated by man, and carried into regions where the climates are different from those of their native abode, undergo—partly from the agency of climate, and in part from the change of external circumstances connected with the state of domesticity,—great variations.

“2. That these variations extend to considerable modifications in external properties, colour, the nature of the integument, and its covering, whether hair or wool; the structure of limbs, and the proportional size of parts: that they likewise involve certain physiological changes or variations as to the laws of the animal economy; and, lastly, certain psychological alterations or changes in the instincts, habits, and powers of perception and intellect.*

* “Blumenbach, who first observed the tendency to these variations, gave it the term of ‘Bildungstrieb,’ or ‘Nisus Formativus;’ the latter designation has been
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"3. That these last changes are in some cases brought about by training, and that the progeny acquires an aptitude to certain habits which the parents have been taught; their psychical characters, such as new instincts, are developed in breeds by cultivation.

"4. That these varieties are sometimes permanently fixed in the breed so long as it remains unmixed.

"5. That all such variations are possible only to a limited extent, and always with the preservation of a particular type, which is that of the species. Each species has a definite or a definable character, comprising certain undeviating phenomena of external structure, and likewise constant and unchangeable characteristics in the laws of its animal economy and in its psychological nature. It is only within these limits that deviations are produced by external circumstances."

These circumstances possess a far stronger influence and a far wider range, in mankind, than in any other race of earthly being. Civilization is vastly more potent than domestication. Mind, of course, operates infinitely more powerfully upon man, as a modifying agent, than upon brutes. This grand and characteristic difference has been well drawn out by Hooker. "A difference we must observe between those natural agents that work altogether unwittingly, and those which have, though weak, yet some understanding what they do, as fishes, fowls, and beasts have. Beasts are in sensible capacity as ripe even as men themselves, perhaps more ripe. For as stones, though in dignity of nature inferior unto animals, yet exceed them in firmness of strength or durability of being; and plants, though beneath the excellency of creatures endued with sense, yet exceed them in the faculty of vegetation, and of fertility; so beasts, though otherwise behind men, may, notwithstanding, in actions of sense or fancy go beyond them; because the endeavours of nature, when it hath a higher perfection to seek, are in lower the more remiss, not esteeming thereof so much as those things do, which have no better proposed unto them. The soul of man, therefore, being capable of a more divine perfection, hath (besides the faculties of growing unto sensible knowledge, which is common unto us with beasts) a further ability, whereof in them there is no show at all—the ability of reaching higher than

adopted by M. Geoffroy St. Hilaire, and other writers on natural history. It is a vital power, or the result of vital arrangements in living bodies, in virtue of which organization receives a peculiar direction from external circumstances, and sometimes exhibits very remarkable deviations from its general uniformity." Both acclimatization and domestication have great influence in promoting this tendency; especially the latter. "Domestication is not a casual and temporary change effected in an individual, but the modification of a race, by which it becomes fitted to exist under new circumstances. . . . It has been well remarked by Dr. Hancock, in his *Treatise on Instinct*, that dogs appear to have acquired, through long association with man, some ^{parts} of character which can be considered in no other light than as imitations, or ^{as} feeble gleams or scintillations of reason."

unto sensible things." Our profound philosophical theologian, Bishop Butler, has treated the general principles of this subject at greater length. "Every species of creatures is, we see, designed for a particular way of life; to which, the nature, the capacities, temper, and qualifications of each species, are as necessary as their external circumstances The constitution of human creatures, and indeed of all creatures which come under our notice, is such, as that they are capable of naturally becoming qualified for states of life, for which they were once wholly unqualified We are capable, not only of acting, and of having different momentary impressions made upon us; but of getting a new facility in any kind of action, and of settled alterations in our temper or character And thus a new character, in several respects, may be formed; and also many habitudes of life, not given by nature, but which nature directs us to acquire Nature does in nowise qualify us, wholly, much less at once, for this mature state of life. Even maturity of understanding, and bodily strength, are not only arrived to gradually, but are also very much owing to the continued exercise of our powers of body and mind from infancy In these respects, and probably in many more of which we have no particular notion, mankind is left, by nature, an unformed, unfinished creature; utterly deficient and unqualified, before the acquirement of knowledge, experience, and habits, for that mature state of life, which was the end of his creation, considering him as related only to this world."

We are now to apply the above theory of variation to the human race, in order to ascertain whether there is a common specific type preserved amid all the varieties which display themselves; "whether the differences which are found when remote and diversified human races are compared with each other, are such as fall within the limits of the principle of variation."

Differences of structure are those to be first examined: and the first class of facts falling under this head, are those which relate to varieties in the colour and texture of the superficial covering of the body. These differences have generally been regarded as of minor importance in the discrimination of races; but M. Flourens—"a French writer of the present time, well known for the extent and accuracy of his researches in various subjects connected with anatomy and physiology,"—regards the difference of colour as more characteristic than any other. The texture of the body in which all these varieties have their seat is that which is external to the true skin; a structure displaying infinite diversities in colour, constitution and organization; being, indeed, the most variable tissue on the whole body.

The ancient anatomists were acquainted with only two parts of the common integument: the true skin, called the cutis or dermis, and the outer or scarf-skin, called the cuticle c

epidermis. Malpighi was the first to discover a third layer or membrane, interposed between these two. Successive researches, partly extending, partly correcting, these earlier discoveries, were made by Albinus, Cruikshank, Gaultier, and others: but still more minute researches have recently been prosecuted by M. Flourens, who has thought that he has detected four distinct layers interposed between the outer cuticle and the cutis.

"Of these four layers, the second, which is the mucous membrane, underlying the pigment, deserves the most particular attention; more especially as it constitutes," according to M. Flourens, "a distinct organized body, which exists only in men of dark colour, and is entirely wanting in the white races;" or, at least, as M. Flourens says, "could not be detected in them by the ordinary method of maceration." Hence he concludes that the discolorations which take place from various causes, in the skin of white men, are totally different in kind from the blackness of the Negro, and have their seat in a different structure. In the case of the white man, the discolorations are merely temporary changes in the cuticle or scarf-skin; but the colour of the black man arises from a particular membrane which is, in his judgment, entirely wanting in the white races. And he further concludes that this diversity constitutes a really specific distinction; a distinction marking out the Negro and European as separate species of beings.

Dr. Pritchard dissents from this conclusion. "It appears," he says, from many facts, "that a substance giving occasion to various degrees of blackness is sometimes produced in the skins of persons born white: and that, on the other hand, the colouring substance in black persons is capable of disappearing. Such phenomena appear insusceptible of explanation on that view of the structure of the skin which is adopted by M. Flourens; and they are calculated to direct our thoughts to the alternative which seems to be admitted by him; viz., that maceration, and the ordinary methods of examination by the naked eye, afford *insufficient* means of ascertaining the intimate structure of the skin." Microscopical observation must be resorted to; and, accordingly, this more searching and exact method has been pursued, chiefly by German anatomists; among whom Heule, Purkinje, and Schwaun, are named by Dr. Pritchard as the most distinguished.

"By these writers, it has been proved, that the outer integument does not consist at all of continuous membranes, but is of a cellular structure, and is composed of several layers of cells; and that its different parts are not distinguished from each other by such definite lines of separation as they have been supposed to be It thus appears that the idea of a given number of distinctly-organized membranes, continuous, and independent of contiguous structures, must be abandoned: it was formed

from an erroneous and defective view of the nature of the integumentary apparatus." Subsequent researches have been prosecuted by Dr. Gustav Simon, of Berlin; from which we may venture to conclude, that there is no such organic difference between the skin of Europeans and the skins of other races of men, as to warrant the notion of a diversity of species in mankind. On the contrary, that the conditions of structure which characterize one race pass over, to a certain extent, to another race; and that, independently of the agency of climate and other external causes of variation. "It will be worth while," remarks Dr. Pritchard, "before we take leave of this subject, to observe that the epidermis, or horny tissue, corresponding in many tribes of animals to the extra-cutaneous texture which is the seat of variations in the colour and in the hair of human beings, is precisely that part of their organic system which undergoes the most striking and even surprising alterations. It is this tissue which displays the variety of horns, in tribes possessed of such appendages: some races of the same species having a great profusion of frontal antlers, while others are entirely destitute of them; and these variations are known actually to arise within the limits of one stock. The hoofs of animals undergo similar changes: they are parts of the same structure. Perhaps of all instances of such deviation, that of the solid-hoofed swine is most remarkable, as there appears to be, in this case, an imitation of the really specific structure of other tribes of animals. Such a breed is well known; and nobody ever suspected it to constitute a distinct species." The general conclusion from this part of the investigation is, that the different complexions of mankind are not permanent varieties. The instances of changes of complexion,—from white to black, from black to white,—in the undoubted progeny of the same stock, are so numerous and so well authenticated, as to leave no doubt that no argument can be drawn from the varieties of complexion against the unity of the human species.

Dr. Pritchard arrives at a like conclusion, from a consideration of the national differences of the human hair:—its scarcity among the Mongoles and other Northern Asiatics, and all the American nations; its exuberance among the Kurilian race; the lank hair of the Americans and Northern Asiatics; the straight and flowing hair of the Europeans; the so-called "wool" of the Negroes. Dr. Pritchard has an interesting section on the nature of Negro hair; and states, as the result of a comparative examination of it by means of the microscope, that it is "hair properly so termed, and not wool." One chief difference between Negro and European hair consists in the degree of crispation; besides which, there is a greater quantity of pigment in the hair of the Negro: and these two differences are probably in some way connected.

While the more recent ethnographers regard the above differences as among the most characteristic, the older writers attached the principal importance to the differences in the structure of the bony fabric generally, and more especially of the skull. "Accordingly, since the time of Camper and Blumenbach, various attempts have been made by anatomists to divide mankind into groups, by taking the shape of the skull as the chief ground of distinction . . . In one particular, most have erred. It has been generally laid down, as a fundamental principle, that all those nations who are found to resemble each other in the shape of their heads, must needs be more nearly related to each other than they are to tribes of men who differ from them in this particular; and they are accordingly set down as constituting so many different races or families." But since it cannot be proved that all organic differences are absolutely permanent, a mere resemblance in some particular anatomical characters affords no conclusive proof of near relationship.

"If, however, any method of subdividing the human family into groups is likely to be of any particular advantage in elucidating the natural history of the species, it must be one founded on some relation between the physical characteristics of different tribes, and the leading circumstances of their external condition. We shall clearly perceive, in tracing the following outline of ethnography, that the varieties of colour refer themselves, in part to climates, elevations of land, proximity to the sea-coast, or distance from it. It can hardly be doubted that these conditions have, likewise, an effect on the configuration of the human body."

"But there is, perhaps, some truth in the remark, though frequently made on little better foundation than conjecture, that the prevailing form or configuration of the body is more liable to be influenced by the habits of different races and their manner of living, than by the simple agencies of climate. It would be an interesting discovery, could it be shown that there is any apparent connexion between the display of particular forms, or the leading physical characters of human races and their habits of existence. If I may venture to point out any such relation, it would be by remarking, in a very general manner, and without pretending to make the observation as one which holds without many exceptions, that there are in mankind three principal varieties in the form of the head and other physical characters; which are most prevalent respectively in the savage or hunting tribes, in the nomadic or wandering pastoral races, and in the civilized and intellectually-cultivated divisions of the human family."

"Among the rudest tribes of men, hunters and savage inhabitants of forests, dependent for their supply of food on the accidental produce of the soil or on the chase,—among whom

are the most degraded of the African nations and Australian savages,—a form of head is prevalent which is most aptly distinguished by the term *prognathous*, indicating a prolongation or extension forward of the jaws; and with this characteristic, other traits are connected which will be described in the following pages.”

“A second shape of the head, very different from that last mentioned, belongs principally to the nomadic races, who wander with their herds and flocks over vast plains, and to the tribes who creep along the shores of the Icy Sea, and live partly by fishing, and in part on the flesh of their rein-deer. These nations have broad and lozenge-formed faces, and what I have termed pyramidal skulls. The Esquimaux, the Laplanders, Samoiedes, and Kamtschatkans, belong to this department; as well as the Tartar nations, meaning the Mongolians, Tungusians, and nomadic races of Turks. In South Africa, the Hottentots, formerly a nomadic people, who wandered about with herds of cattle over the extensive plains of Kafirland, resembling in their manner of life the Tungusians and the Mongols, have also broad-faced, pyramidal skulls, and in many particulars of their organization resemble the Northern Asiatics. Other tribes in South Africa approximate to the same character, as do many of the native races of the New World.”

“The most civilized races, those who live by agriculture and the arts of cultivated life, all the most intellectually-improved nations of Europe and Asia, have a shape of the head which differs from both the forms above mentioned. The characteristic form of the skull among these nations may be termed oval or elliptical.”

In a former article, to which we have already referred, we have described the two methods of measuring the skull which have been employed and recommended by Camper and Blumenbach respectively. Professor Owen has pointed out the importance of comparing the figures given by the basis of the skull, or the under surface of the cranium, the lower jaw being removed. In order to obtain a complete knowledge of the character of the head, for the purpose of comparing human races, we must have recourse to all three views;—the lateral view of the skull taken by Camper, the vertical configuration according to the method of Blumenbach, and the view of the basis of the skull prescribed by Professor Owen.

The theory of Camper is that most popularly known; according to which, “nature has availed herself,” says that physiologist, “of the facial angle, to mark out the diversities of the animal kingdom, and to establish a sort of scale from the inferior tribes up to the most beautiful forms which are found in the human species.” Thus in one of the simiæ approaching most nearly in figure to mankind, the facial angle contains

exactly fifty degrees: while “that high character of sublime beauty,” continues Camper, “which is so striking in some works of ancient statuary, as in the head of Apollo, and in the Medusa of Sisocles, is given by an angle of two hundred degrees. The theory raised by Camper on these facts, of a gradation of animals in which the Negro forms an intermediate step between the European and the orang, has been entirely overthrown, as far as regards the human skull, by the curious discoveries of Professor Owen. Camper and the earlier anatomists who have investigated the structure of the *simiæ*, made all their observations on *young* orangs. Now, during the immaturity of these animals, when the cranial portion preponderates over the facial and maxillary part, the head of the orang undoubtedly approximates to the human form; so that the skull of the young chimpanzi bears a remarkably close resemblance to the cranium of man: but as the brain of the ape soon attains its full development, the cranium ceases to increase, whereas the facial and maxillary portions continue to expand; thus the relation of the several parts is materially changed, and the cranium becomes merely a small rounded case, altogether posterior to the face. The facial angle of the adult troglodyte* is only thirty-five degrees, and that of the orang, or satyr, thirty degrees. But the facial angle of the Negro skull is at least seventy degrees, according to Camper’s own admeasurements. “Such being the extent of difference manifested between the skulls of those *simiæ* which most approach the human form,—a difference so great that the utmost diversity between human races is quite inconsiderable when compared with it,—it becomes,” as Dr. Pritchard justly observes, “rather a matter of curiosity than importance to the solution of any great question, to know whether the cranium of any human tribe actually makes a slight advance towards the type of the troglodyte or the orang.”

Dr. Pritchard briefly notices and dismisses Blumenbach’s method, which consists in ascertaining the vertical configuration of the skull. He dwells at considerable length on professor Owen’s measurement of the basis of the skull; but here we must refer our readers to the treatise itself; this part of the subject being involved in so many technical details, that we could hardly make the terms we should be obliged to use, intelligible to the general reader. For the same reason, we pass over the very interesting section on the variety in structure, and the proportions of the bones, discovered in different races; the parts of the frame which Dr. Pritchard is more particularly led to notice, being the pelvis and the arm; together with the position of the foramen magnum, which determine the position of the head relatively

* The chimpanzi has been called by Blumenbach, *Simia troglodytes*.

to the vertebral column. Throughout this section, Dr. Pritchard has availed himself of the admirable researches of Professor Owen; and has thus drawn out his general conclusion:

“On surveying the facts which relate to difference in the shape of the body, and the proportions of parts in human races, we may conclude that none of these deviations amount to specific distinctions. We may rest this conclusion on two arguments: first, that none of the differences in question exceed the limits of individual variety, or are greater than the diversities found within the circle of one nation or family; secondly, the varieties of form in human races are by no means so considerable, in many points of view, as the instances of variation which are known to occur in different tribes of animals belonging to the same stock; there being scarcely one domesticated species which does not display much more considerable deviations from the typical character of the tribe.”

Thus far, then, we have learnt that none of the physical peculiarities, separately considered, whether complexion, or hair, or skull, or pelvis, or limb, or any other which distinguish the several families of mankind, from each other, exceed the limit of natural variety. The differences which distinguish the several families of men, however wide, however strongly marked, however strikingly developed, are not greater than those which exist between other animals, which are perfectly well known to belong to the same species or kind; and therefore no conclusion can be drawn from these differences, repugnant to the doctrine we have here undertaken to defend, namely, the doctrine of the original unity of the human race. It now remains for us to contemplate the natural groups into which mankind is distributed.

One great guide to a sound acquaintance with these groups is language. The languages of nations and tribes, observes Dr. Pritchard, are among the most authentic records of our race. These, “of all peculiar endowments, seem to be the most permanently retained, and can be shown, in many cases, to have survived even very considerable changes in physical and moral characters. Glottology, or the history of languages, founded on an accurate analysis of their relations, is almost a new field of inquiry. It has been explored with great success of late, and new discoveries are every day made in it. Our contemporaries are becoming more and more convinced that the history of nations, termed ethnology, must be mainly founded on the relations of their languages. The ultimate object of this investigation is not to trace the history of languages, but of the tribes of men whose affinity they tend to illustrate.” We have already treated briefly of this subject in our number for August, 1843, vol. vi. pp. 167—183, and to that article we refer our readers for further information on this very interesting palæological science.

Dr. Pritchard now enters upon the consideration of the groups

into which the human family is distributed by physical differences, more especially by the three-fold divisions of the forms of the human skull. The passages in which he has considered, generally, the division of nations are so rich in matter, often so appropriate in expression, and, without departing from the main object, furnish so agreeable a variety to dry scientific details, that we must beg to be permitted to make a much longer extract than is our wont: here and there, however, venturing upon an abridgment or an omission.

“The most generally-received distribution of human races in the present day, is that of Baron Cuvier. This system refers different races of men to certain lofty mountain-chains, as the seats of their original existence. The birth-place or primitive station of the race of men who peopled Europe and Western Asia is supposed to have been Mount Caucasus. From this conjecture, Europeans, and many Asiatic nations, and even some Africans, have received the new designation of Caucasians. The nations of Eastern Asia are imagined, in like manner, to originate in the neighbourhood of Mount Atlas; and they are named after the Mongolians, who inhabit the highest region in that vast chain of hills. The African negroes are derived from the southern face of the chain of Mount Atlas. They are, however, named simply the Ethiopian race, from the Ethiopians, who were the only black people known to the ancients in very remote times.

“A mixture of somewhat vague notions, partly connected with physical theories, and in part derived from history, or rather from mythology, has formed the ground-work of this scheme, which refers the origin of human races to high mountainous tracts. The tops of mountains first emerged above the surface of the primeval ocean, and, in the language of some philosophical theorists, first became the scene of the organizing life of nature. From different mountain tops, Wildenow, and other writers on the history of plants, derive the vegetable tribes, which they suppose to have descended from high places into the plains, and to have spread their colonies along the margin of mountain streams. High mountains thus came to be regarded as the birth-places of living races. Geological theories contributed to render these notions popular: not only the late speculations of the Count de Buffon and the learned Bailly, but the opinions of ancient philosophers, who maintained, before the time of Justin and of Pliny, that the mountains of high Asia must have been the part of the world first inhabited by men, inasmuch as that region must have been first refrigerated in the gradual cooling of the surface of our planet, and first raised sufficiently above the level of the ocean.”

Moreover, the poetical traditions of the ancient world designate high mountains as the scenes of the first mythical adven-

tures of gods and men—as the resting-places on which celestial or aerial beings alighted from their cloudy habitations to take up their abode with men, and to become the patriarchs of the human race. Lofty mountains are the points in the geography of our globe, on which the first dawn of historic light casts its early beams: hence the legends of the first ages begin their thread. In the cosmogony of the Hindoos, it was on the summit of the sacred mountain Maha-meru, which rises in the midst of the seven dwipas, or great peninsulas, like the stalk between the expanded petals of a lotus, that Brahma, the creator, sits enthroned on a pillar of gold and gems, adored by Rishis and Grandharbhas; while the regents of the four quarters of the universe hold their stations on the four faces of the mountain. Equally famed in the ancient mythology of Iran and of Zoroaster, is the sacred mountain Albordj; based upon the earth, but raising, through all the spheres of heaven to the region of supernal light, its lofty top, the seat of Ormuzd; whence the bridge Tshinevad conducts the blessed spirits of pious men to Gorodman, the solid vault of heaven, the abode of Feroners and Amshaspands. Even the prosing disciples of Confucius had their sacred mountain of Kuen-lun, where, according to the legends of their forefathers, was the abode of the early patriarchs of their race. The Arabs and the Persian Moslemin had their poetical Kâf. The lofty hills of Phrygia, and of Hellas, Ida, Olympus, Pindus, were, as every one knows, famous in Grecian story. Caucasus came in for a share of the reverence paid to the high places of the earth. Caucasus, however, was not the cradle of the human race, but the dwelling-place of Prometheus, the maker of men, and teacher of astronomy.”

“But all these notions are the poetical but wild dreams of men whose imaginations were excited by the splendid and unexplained meteoric phenomena of mountainous regions. It cannot be proved, nor is the supposition at all probable, that mankind began to exist till long after those physical changes had been completed, which prepared our planet for the present order of creation, and which raised a great part of the earth's surface above the level of the ocean. If we were at liberty to form a conjecture on the subject, it would be that the human race had its beginning in a comparatively late period, in a region abounding with vegetable and animal productions. There is one ancient tradition,” continues Dr. Pritchard, who has here permitted himself, while his meaning is sound, to use language somewhat ambiguous; “there is one ancient tradition which fixes the birth-place of mankind, not on the sides or tops of snow-clad mountains, but on the banks of great rivers, which fertilize one of the most luxuriant regions of the earth. This is the tradition delivered in the sacred Hebrew Scriptures . . . I shall not attempt to trace the history of nations from the early period to which the docu-

ments of patriarchal archæology, contained in the earliest portion of the Pentateuch, refer . . . Those who wish to tread on safe ground, in approaching ancient times, must . . . trace *backwards* the ever more and more evanescent vestiges of events. If in this method we endeavour to gain a distinct glimpse of the state, and even of the local position, of human races in the earliest periods of society, we find men collected in great numbers, not on the high and barren tracts of the earth, but on the banks and estuaries of rivers affording secure havens on the sea and the means of communication with inland countries. The cradles or nurseries of the first nations, of those at least who became populous, and have left a name celebrated in later times, appear to have been extensive plains or valleys traversed by navigable channels, and irrigated by perennial and fertilizing streams.

“Three such regions were the scenes of the earliest civilization of the human race, of the first foundations of cities, of the earliest political institutions, and of the inventions of the arts which embellish human life. In one of these, the Semitic or Syro-Arabian nations exchanged the simple habits of wandering shepherds for the splendour and luxury of Nineveh and Babylon. In a second, the Indo-European or Japhetic people brought to perfection the most elaborate of human dialects, destined to become, in after times and under different modifications, the mother-tongue of the nations of Europe. In a third, the land of Ham, watered by the Nile, were invented hieroglyphical literature, and the arts in which Egypt far surpassed all the rest of the world in the earlier ages of history.”

Here it should be observed, that these three divisions of the ancient civilized world do not correspond to those three divisions which are distinguished by the form of the skull; so that neither of these systems of classification can be regarded as a natural one, and we must, therefore, be content, in the present state of ethnography, with a merely approximate classification or arrangement. The arrangement adopted by Dr. Pritchard is this:—he considers first the Syro-Arabian nation, (regarded by the French anatomist, Baron Larrey, as the prototype of the human family,) then the Egyptians, and thirdly the Indo-Europeans. “After the Egyptians, we proceed to describe the great body of the nations of Africa; and after the Indo-Europeans, the people of High Asia. Among the former are many tribes in the lowest stages of savage life, supporting their existence on the natural fruits of the earth, or on the casual produce of the chase, and dwelling, almost without houses and clothing, amid the forests. The latter were chiefly nomades. The nature of the climate and of the countries which they inhabit, cold and consisting of vast steppes, and affording no spontaneous contribution to the support of human life, precludes the possibility, in those regions, of people reduced below the condition

of wandering shepherds, possessed of some wealth, and exercising some of the simplest arts,—acquainted with the use of clothing, tents, and wagons. Men deprived by indolence or misfortune of such possessions would perish in the wilds of Tartary: on the banks of the Senegal, or Quorra, they would degenerate into the state of savages. After describing the nations of Africa and Northern Asia, we shall proceed to the native tribes of America, and to those of the Austral Seas and the great Southern Ocean.”

The great bond of union between the nations which compose the Syro-Arabian or Semitic race,—nations differing widely in their habits, some being nomadic, others agricultural, and a third class devoted to foreign commerce and domestic manufactures,—is their remarkable language, which is widely different from all other human idioms. It probably consists of four departments: the Aramaean or Syrian, of which the Syriac of the versions, and the Chaldee of the later Scriptures of the Old Testament and of the Targums, are early specimens; the Hebrew, or Canaanitish, or Phœnician, adopted by the Israelites on their entrance into Palestine, and retained until the captivity in Babylon; the Arabic, properly so called, including the Moggrebyn or Western Arabian language; and a fourth, which has lately been discovered in the southern parts of Arabia, and termed by M. Fresnel, who has investigated its forms, Ekhkili, which is, he contends, “the proper national designation of the noble race who inhabit the mountains of Hhacik, Mirbât, and Zhafar, on the southern coast of the Arabian peninsula.”

We have now arrived at the main body of Dr. Pritchard's delightful treatise. This consists of somewhat unconnected notices of the more remarkable races of men, and is copiously illustrated with wood-cuts and coloured engravings, representing different specimens of the human family, from the Grecian type, idealized in the Apollo Belvedere, to a most melancholy representative of degraded humanity, in an Australian of King George's Sound. We can indulge ourselves and our readers with only two or three independent extracts from this portion of Dr. Pritchard's work.

Baron Larrey regards the Syro-Arabian race as the model of perfection. The skull, he says, is the most perfect type of the human head. “Independently of the elevation of the vault of the cranium, and its almost spherical form, the surface of the jaws is of great extent, and on a straight, perpendicular line; the orbits, likewise, are wider than are usually seen in the crania of Europeans, and they are somewhat less inclined backwards; the alveolar arches are of moderate size, and they are well supplied with very white and regular teeth. The convolutions of the brain, whose mass is in proportion to the cavity of the cranium, are more numerous, and the furrows which separate them are deeper, and the matter which forms the organ is

more dense than in other races. The nervous system, proceeding from the *medulla oblongata* and the spinal chord, appears to be composed of nerves more dense in structure than are those of Europeans in general. The heart and the arterial system display the most remarkable regularity, and a very perfect development. The external senses of the Arabs are exquisitely acute and remarkably perfect; their sight is most extensive in its range; they hear at very great distances, and can, through a very extensive region, perceive the most subtle odour. The muscular or locomotive system is strongly marked; the fibres are of a deep red colour, firm, and very elastic; hence the great agility of this people. Upon the whole," concludes Baron Larrey, "I am convinced that the cradle of the human family is to be found in the country of this race."

The Egyptian race is, in many respects, one of the most interesting in the whole family of man. The contrast between this and the Syro-Arabian race is remarkable. They have lived in juxta-position from time immemorial; but while the Syro-Arabian has ever been full of energy, even to an almost morbid extent of restless activity, capable of adapting itself, with apparently equal facility, to a nomadic and to a settled life: at one time feeding its flocks and herds in the oases of the desert, and then wandering on to other spots where the genius of plenty had touched the barren wilderness with her fertilizing wand, and caused it to "rejoice and blossom;" at another, neglecting pasturage for the culture of arable land, constructing villages, building up towns, developing the resources of mural art in the rise and growth of cities, and thence expanding into peaceful colonies, or extending its immediate territories by the stern sword of invasion. While the Syro-Arabian has thus displayed the aggressive element of human nature, the Egyptian has been the type and mould of all that is conservative, "reposing ever in luxurious ease and wealth, on the rich soil watered by their slimy river, never quitting it for a foreign clime, or displaying, unless forced, the least change in their position or habits of life."

"The intellectual character," observes Dr. Pritchard, "the metaphysical belief, and the religious sentiments and practices of the two nations, were equally diverse: one adoring an invisible and eternal Spirit, at whose almighty word the universe started into existence, and 'the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy;' the other adorning splendid temples with costly magnificence in which, with mysterious and grotesque rites, they paid a strange and portentous worship to some foul and grovelling object—a snake, a tortoise, a crocodile, or an ape.

"The destiny of the two races has been equally different; both may be said still to exist, one in their living representa-

tives, their ever-roving, energetic descendants, the other reposing in their own land,—a vast sepulchre, where the successive generations of thirty centuries, all embalmed, men, women, and children, with their domestic animals, lie beneath their dry, preserving soil, expecting vainly the summons to judgment—the fated time for which is to some of them long past—before the tribunal of Sarapis, or in the hall of Asymandyas.”

“The physical characters of these nations are likewise different; instead of the sharp features, the keen, animated, and restless visages, and the lean and active figures of the Arabian, there were to be seen in the land of the Pharaohs (to borrow the words of Dénon,) ‘full, but delicate and voluptuous forms; countenances sedate and placid; round and soft features; with eyes long, almond-shaped, half shut and languishing, and turned up at the outer angles, as if habitually fatigued by the light and heat of the sun; cheeks round; thick lips, full and prominent; mouths large, but cheerful and smiling; complexions dark, ruddy, and coppery; and the whole aspect displaying the genuine African character, of which the negro is the exaggerated and extreme representation.’”

Dr. Pritchard has devoted his eighteenth and nineteenth sections to a consideration of the Arian race; the present Asiatic branch of which includes the Hindoos, the Persians, the Afghans, the Kúrd, the Armenians, and one or two other less-known Oriental tribes; while the occidental colonies have grown into the collective body of the European nations. That these nations are of Arian or Indo-European origin is chiefly proved by a comparison of languages, with regard both to their vocabulary and their grammatical structure. By what path the Eastern colonists originally entered Europe can only be matter of conjecture. It is an interesting but obscure question, whether the Arian settlers found the European soil pre-occupied. Dr. Pritchard is inclined to answer this question in the affirmative. “The Euskaldunes,” he observes, “appear to have possessed Spain before the arrival of the Celtic tribes in that country.” And again, “In the north of Europe, the German nations, or rather the Northmen, found the countries on the Baltic coast already occupied by Jotuns, nations of the Finnish or Ugrian race; a people, like themselves, of Eastern origin, but emigrants of an earlier age, and from a different part of Asia.” These pre-occupying races are termed by Dr. Pritchard, “Allophylian” nations; a name which does not appear to us to be well chosen, being merely relative and negational. He traces the principal points of difference and contrast between them and the subsequent Indo-European or Arian immigrants.

“The Allophylian nations appear to have been spread in the earliest times through all the most remote regions of the old continent,—to the northward, eastward, and westward of the Indo-

European tribes, whom they seem everywhere to have preceded; so that they appear, in comparison with these Indo-European colonies, in the light of aboriginal or native inhabitants, vanquished by these more powerful invading tribes, and often banished into remote and inaccessible tracts. The Indo-European nations seem to have been everywhere superior in mental endowments. Some tribes, indeed, had retained or acquired many characteristics of barbarism and ferocity; but with all these they joined undoubted marks of an earlier intellectual development; particularly a higher culture of language, as an instrument of thought as well as of human intercourse . . . They had national poetry, and a culture of language altogether surprising when compared with their ignorance of the useful arts of life, and their general external condition and habits. They had bards or scalds, *rates*, *αοιδοί*, who were supposed to celebrate, under a divine impulse, the history of ancient times, and to connect them with the future, and with a refined metaphysical system of dogmas, handed down from age to age, from one tribe to another, as the primeval creed and possession of the enlightened race. Among them, in the west as well as in the remote east, the doctrine of metempsychosis held a conspicuous place, implying belief in an after-state of rewards and punishments, and a moral government of the world. With it was connected the notion that the material universe had undergone, and was destined to undergo, a repetition of catastrophes by fire and water; and after each destruction to be renewed in fresh beauty, when a golden age was again to commence, destined in a fated time to corruption and decay . . . Among most of the Indo-European nations the conservation of religious dogmas, patriarchal tradition, and national poetry, was confided not to accidental reminiscences and popular recitations, but to a distinct order of persons, who were venerated as mediators between the invisible powers and their fellow-mortals, as the depositaries of sacred lore, and the interpreters of the will of the gods, expressed of old to the first men, and handed down either orally, in divine poems, or preserved in a sacred literature known only to the initiated. In most instances they were an hereditary caste—Druids, Brahmins, or Magi.

“Among the Allophylian nations, on the other hand, a rude and sensual superstition prevailed, which ascribed life and mysterious powers to inanimate objects. The religion of fetisses, of charms and spells, and talismans, was in the hands, not of a learned caste, the twice-born sons of Brahma, but of shamans, or sorcerers, who, by feigning swoons and convulsions, by horrible cries and yells, by cutting themselves with knives, by whirling and contortions, assumed the appearance of something preternatural and portentous, and impressed the multitude with the belief that they were possessed by demons. Of this latter

description were the wizards of the Finns and Lappes, the Angekoks of the Esquimaux; and even the shamans of all the countries in Northern Asia, where neither Buddhism nor Islâm has yet penetrated."

We now reluctantly pass abruptly from the introductory to the concluding sections of the interesting book before us. In the forty-eighth section, our author proceeds to draw some of the more obvious inferences from the great and various body of facts which he has collected. The grand inference is this: that the different races of men are not distinguished from each other by any strongly-marked, uniform, and permanent distinctions; but that all the diversities which exist are variable, and pass into each other by insensible gradations. The pyramidal head of the Mongol has passed into the oval head of the European: from one identical stock—the Arian—have sprung races exhibiting every variety of colour, "the xanthous Siah-Pôsh of Kaffristan, the yellow-haired and blue-eyed villagers of Jum-notri and Gangotri, and the black Hindoos of Anu-gangam: even as regards the hair, which is, perhaps, one of the most permanent characteristics of different races, no real difference exists; and if we take the African nations, their 'wool' is not wool, but hair; and we may see among them every possible gradation in its texture, from the short close curls of the Kafir to the crisp but bushy locks of the Berberine, and, again, to the flowing hair of the black Tuaryk, or Tibbo."

From a very brief physiological comparison of human races, Dr. Pritchard passes on to a comparison of them with respect to mental endowments. "If it should appear, on inquiry, that one common mind, or physical nature, belongs to the whole human family, a very strong argument would thence arise, on the ground of analogy, for their community of species and origin." The first appearance presented by mankind, in this respect, is certainly one of much contrariety. "Let us imagine, for a moment, a stranger from another planet to visit our globe, and to contemplate and compare the manners of its inhabitants: and let him first witness some brilliant spectacle in one of the highly-civilized countries of Europe,—the coronation of a monarch, the installation of St. Louis on the throne of his ancestors, surrounded by an august assembly of peers, and barons, and mitred abbots, anointed from the cruze of sacred oil brought by an angel to ratify the divine privilege of kings. Let the same person be carried into a hamlet in Negro-land, in the hour when the sable race recreate themselves with dancing and barbarous music;—let him then be transported to the saline plains over which bald and tawny Mongoles roam, differing but little in hue from the yellow soil of their steppes, brightened by the saffron flowers of the iris and tulip;—let him be placed near the solitary den of the Bushman, where the lean and hungry

savage crouches in silence like a beast of prey, watching with fixed eyes the birds which enter his pitfall, or the insects and reptiles which chance brings within his grasp;—let the traveller be carried into the midst of an Australian forest, where the squalid companions of Kangaroos may be seen crawling in procession, in imitation of quadrupeds:—and can it be supposed that such a person would conclude the various groups of beings whom he had surveyed to be of one nation, one tribe, or the offspring of the same original stock?"

This inquiry, continues Dr. Pritchard, leads us to notice one great distinction between the nature of mankind and that of animals. "The Numidian lion and the satyr of the desert, the monarchies of bees, and the republics of African termites, are precisely to-day what they were in the age of *Æsop* and in the kingdom of *Juba*; while the descendants of the tribe who are described by *Tacitus* as living in squalid misery in solitary dens, amid the morasses of the *Vistula*, have built *St. Petersburg* and *Moscow*; and the posterity of cannibals and phthirophagi now feed on pillaus and wheaten bread." Animal nature is stationary, but that of man is capable of continual growth and expansion. "The law of being for the brute creation is one of stationary perfection; but the law of manhood is one of continual enlargement of capacity—a law whose action commences with our earliest infancy, and goes on with sure progression, unless checked by adverse external forces, to the end of life. Look at a child of a year old. The little creature scarcely ventures on its first tottering steps; it brokenly lisps out its first few imperfect words, half-conscious utterances of dawning affection and indefinite desire; its every winning gesture betokens helplessness and dependence; and yet that child has already begun to exercise many of the characteristic prerogatives of human nature, among which its tendency to expand is one of the most remarkable. His young life, no longer concentrated in himself, diffuses itself around; his mind already begins to form those extended relations which will, at no very distant period, place the material world under his dominion; and to throw lines of thought which extend even into the region of the infinite."*

Passing lightly over certain distinctions between the creatures of instinct and the creatures of reason which are sometimes insisted upon in this great argument, Dr. Pritchard affirms, that the most important distinction of all, is to be found in the very different scope towards which the active energies of instinct and of reason are respectively directed. Instinct regards only things material and temporal: reason pierces the veil that overhangs

* Hopwood's "Principles of National Education," p. 86.

the unseen, and, rising above the restless and narrow interests of time,

“Rests and expatiates in a life to come.”

“The rites everywhere performed for the dead, the various ceremonies of sepulture, of embalming, of cremation, funeral processions, and pomps following the deceased, in every age and nation throughout countless ages,—tombs raised over their remains, innumerable tumuli scattered over all the regions of the world, the only memorials of races long extinct—the morais, or houses of the dead, and the gigantic monuments of the Polyne-sians, the magnificent pyramids of Egypt and of Anahuac—the prayers and litanies set up in behalf of the living and the dead, in the churches of Christendom, in the mosques and pagodas of the East, as heretofore in the temples of the pagan world—the power of sacerdotal and consecrated orders, who have caused themselves to be revered as the interpreters of destiny, and as mediators between gods and men,—pontiffs, vicegerents of the Deity, on the banks of the Tiber, of the Brahmaputra, and the Arabian gulf,—sacred wars, desolating empires through zeal for some metaphysical dogma, which the mass of those who fought and perished never understood,—toilsome pilgrimages performed every year during long successive centuries through every region of the earth, by thousands of black and of white men, seeking atonement for guilt at the tombs of prophets and of saints,—immolations of the old and the young, voluntary deaths of the aged, and sacrifices of children by their parents,—the slaughter of animals for the typical or piacular averting of contracted guilt: all these, and other similar phenomena in the history of the barbarous and civilized nations of the world, which lead us to believe that all mankind sympathize in deeply-impressed feelings and sentiments which are as mysterious in their nature as in their origin. These are certainly among the most remarkable of the psychological phenomena which are peculiar to human beings, and which serve to distinguish the habits of men, not in their external aspect, but in their inward nature and originating principles of action, from the whole life and agency of the lower orders of creation.” From these facts Dr. Pritchard draws a conclusion in favour of the common origin of mankind.

Before we enter, with our author, upon an investigation of these phenomena, we must make one or two preliminary observations on the relation of superstition to true religion, its external resemblances, its internal and real contrariety and oppug-nance. We observe, with regret, in the above passage, a certain forgetfulness of the Divine origin of true religion; a certain disposition to regard priesthood, sacrifices, prayers, as of merely human origin: whereas the truths bearing upon the fa- under review, are these: that true religion, while it is of pu

Divine origin—the gift of God through the medium of an express revelation—is so perfectly adapted to the nature and necessities of fallen man, that when any of our race have more or less constructed religions for themselves, they have fashioned superstitious systems which sustain the same relation to the truth that a distorted shadow bears to the object, or a counterfeit to a genuine medal. “No religion,” says Hooker, in a very pregnant sentence in the commencement of the Fifth Book of his Ecclesiastical Polity, “no religion can wholly and only consist of untruths.” “Certain sparks of the light of truth are intermingled with the darkness of error.” “Superstition,” he further observes, “neither knoweth the right *kind*, nor observeth the due *measure*, of actions belonging to the service of God, but is always joined with a wrong opinion touching things divine. Superstition is when things are either abhorred or observed with a jealous, or fearful, but erroneous, relation to God. By means whereof the superstitious do sometimes serve, though the true God, yet with needless offices, and defraud Him of duties necessary; sometimes load others than Him with such honours as are properly His. The one, their oversight who miss in the choice of that wherewith they are affected; the other, theirs who fail in the election of him towards whom they show their devotion: this, the crime of idolatry; that, the fault of voluntary niceness or superfluity in religion.” And once more: “of that which is good, even in evil things, God is author.”

Guided by these principles, we may safely review the various religions of the heathen world; and while our abhorrence of superstition increases, as we examine more closely its nature and effects, we shall yet be able to recognise amid its errors and corruptions much that is good, much that retains the divine impress of the religion of patriarchal times, much that answers to the nature and necessities of our common humanity.

We now proceed, with Dr. Pritchard, to consider, first, the psychological character of the aborigines of the New World. “The indigenous race of the New World,” observes Von Martius—a writer who has devoted much time and thought to the study of American ethnography—“is distinguished from all other nations of the earth, externally, by peculiarities of make, but still more, internally, by their state of mind and intellect. The aboriginal American is at once in the incapacity of infancy and unpliancy of old age,—he unites the opposite poles of intellectual life. . . . The men of red race, it must be confessed, do not appear to feel the blessing of a divine descent, but to have been led, by merely animal instinct and tardy steps, through a dark past, to their actual cheerless present.” To these and some further assertions by this imaginative writer, unfavourable to the original unity of the human race, Dr. Pritchard replies, by showing that the religious dogmas and sentiments of the old nations of America

harmonize with what we discover in other departments of mankind; and he supports his position by citations from Loskiel—an old writer, who resided for many years among the Delaware Indians. A survey of the condition and capacities of the Esquimaux leads to the same conclusion. “The mind of the Esquimaux has the same moral and intellectual constitution as that of other human beings. They have the same elements of moral feeling, the same sympathies and susceptibilities of affection, the same conscience, or internal conviction of accountableness, the same sentiments of guilt and self-condemnation, the same desires of expiation, which are common to so many other nations in almost every degree of mental culture. The most elevated of these principles are only recognised, in the natural or pagan state of these men, as mere rudiments of higher and better understanding, or as scintillations now and then shooting forth. When these doctrines and misrepresentations are opened to them, which have been found, in so many other parts of the world, to be congenial to the human mind, and as such, have been received by the most polished as well as by the most barbarous nations, they have produced their wonted effects upon the Esquimaux. The minds of these people appear to be, as to all essential principles of feeling and understanding, in harmony, and in strict analogy with those of other men. Such a mind can hardly be supposed common to *different* species of organized beings.”

If from America we pass to Africa, we there are met by similar facts, all pointing to the same conclusion. The degraded Bushman,—who has been described, by an infidel and heartless physiologist, as the link between the genus *homo* and the genera of orangs and gibbons,—has vindicated and established his claim to a place in the ascending scale of humanity. So has the Negro of Western Africa. In like manner, the barbarous tribes of Northern Asia and the savage islanders of the great Southern Ocean are further evidence that God “hath made of *one* blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.”

And now we have arrived at the end of Dr. Pritchard's valuable treatise; which he concludes in these terms: “We contemplate among all the diversified tribes, who are endowed with reason and speech, the same internal feelings, appetencies, aversions; the same inward convictions, the same sentiments of subjection to invisible powers, and, more or less developed, of responsibility to unseen avengers of wrong, and agents of retributive justice, from whose tribunal men cannot even by death escape. We find everywhere the same susceptibility—though not always in the same degree of forwardness or ripeness of improvement—of admitting the cultivation of these universal endowments, of opening the eyes of the mind to the more clear and luminous view which Christianity unfolds, of becoming moulded to the institutions of religion and of civilized life: in a

word, the same inward and mental nature is to be recognised in all the races of men.

"When we compare this fact with the observations which have already been fully established, as to the specific instincts and separate psychical endowments of all the distinct tribes of sentient beings in the universe, we are entitled to draw, confidently, the conclusion, that *all human races are of one species and one family.*"

For our own parts, we freely admit that we are not prepared to draw so positive a conclusion from the facts which mere Ethnography has amassed. Long before the very name of this science was invented, the Church was certified that all mankind are the offspring of Adam. If ever she gloried in her catholicity, as understood in its simplest and most obvious meaning—as expressing (not by construction) either her unity or her maintenance of the Truth, but her universality, and nothing more—it was when she beheld, in the prophetic mirror of the Apocalypse, the redeemed out of "*every* kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation,"—the "great multitude, which no man could number, of *all* nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues,"—"them that dwell on the earth, *every* nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people." She read, in the pure light of heaven, with the clear eye of faith, while her heart of love grew warm, and the elastic pinions of anticipating hope expanded for a heaven-ward flight, she read those simple words of the great Apostle of the Gentiles,—"*As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.*" By these she was absolutely assured that all mankind are one:—one in origin, one in nature, one in destiny; although disunited for a while by sin, which has assimilated one portion of our race,—the Australian and the Bushman-Hottentot, to the orang and the chimpanzi; while even those who have been most exalted, betray that fierce independence, and that scornful glance, which stamp the Grecian face with the earthly mark of Paganism.

Then she felt the secret inward stirring of her vast regenerating powers: and while she is well content that a mere inductive philosophy shall refute its own objections, and, like certain of the inferior animals, shelter its offspring, in the hour of danger, by swallowing them; she acknowledges in every human being a "neighbour," and stands prepared to receive him as a "brother." While she leaves feeble science to retrace her steps, or—if science is wise,—to bend them, with the Eastern Magi, towards the cradle of the Son of Man; she herself labours on in the divine work of re-uniting and re-constituting mankind in that Image in which "*there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but CHRIST is all and in all.*"

Family Secrets ; or, Hints to those who would make Home happy.
By Mrs. ELLIS. 3 vols. London : Fisher, Son, and Co.

It is an old saying, that one-half of the world are ignorant what is done by the other half. The delicate beauty knows nothing (but for Mr. Paget) of the half-starved sempstress who labours in her service. The customers of Sheffield, or Manchester, know nothing of the amount of human misery which fills those gloomy ergastula. We ourselves are ignorant respecting the manner of life of those ingenious cooperators, through whose assistance our present thoughts are to find their way to the minds of our readers. As we sit at the window of our lonely study, looking forth upon the freshness of reopening Spring,—on the lofty mountain ridge, which closes our solitary valley,—on the streamlet, which, issuing from its highest gorge, shows itself in occasional glimpses, till it subsides at last into the ample lake which lies before us,—we are as ignorant of the close and stifling receptacles where our words will be transferred from our own careless autograph to the dignity of a printed memorial, as we are of the possible corruptions which the waters of our favourite stream may have to encounter, before they get quit of the town which lies beneath us, and attain their final resting-place in the boundless deep.

These circumstances impress value upon any work, however trivial, which reveals to us the secret life of our companions in this world of sorrow. *Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto.* But much more is this applicable to revelations respecting what touches us most nearly, and most closely borders upon our own path. On this ground it is, then, that Mrs. Ellis's volumes have excited our attention. Though possessing little interest as narratives, they exhibit a phase of human society with which we are but slightly acquainted. An advertisement at the conclusion of the first volume, included within the limit of the gilded leaves, which we owe either to Mrs. Ellis's taste, or to that of her publishers, assures us that "the scenes and characters are, it is believed, portraits." The *Autobiography of a Dissenting Minister*, with all its strong internal marks of credibility, is of disputed authenticity ; but in these volumes, we have a disclosure of "*Family Secrets*" by a lady, who openly avows her situation and origin, and whose discrimination and fidelity are attested by the circle in which she moves.

Mrs. Ellis, formerly Miss Stickney, the daughter of a Quaker, and wife of a Dissenting teacher, cannot be unacquainted with the life and manners of a large and important portion of the community. Though not possessing the wit of Hannah More, nor the truthfulness of Sarah Austin, she is the accredited authoress of her party. The exhortations to wives and widows, to daughters and mothers, chase one another, in rapid succession, through the advertising pages of every Dissenting magazine. Though she is likely to know little,

therefore, of that larger and more liberal portion of Society, to which her connexions would not introduce her, yet for "Life among the Dissenters," she must be considered as the standard authority.

The tale she unfolds, we regret to say, is singularly painful. Such an amount of gross coarseness, and unredeemed brutality, such total want of refinement, such lack of control over the lower portions of our animal nature, we were altogether unprepared to expect. That this should be the mode of life among those whose alienation from Christ's Church we were wont, indeed, to deplore, but to whom we gave credit for a certain average decency of conduct, is a most painful surprise to us. Yet how can we meet the evidence of a witness whose opportunity of judging has been so abundant? As new ourselves to the circle in which Mrs. Ellis has moved, as she is to the mode of life among Church-people, surprise and commiseration are the only arguments which we can oppose to her positive testimony to the "Family Secrets" of her associates. The matter comes upon us as much by surprise as the confession of the Thuggs upon those who had been living for years in unconscious proximity with this band of murderers; but as it was justly asked from whom but a Thugg could you derive such disclosures, so we must fairly confess that Mrs. Ellis is a better witness than any Churchman can pretend to be, of what passes in the domicile of a Quaker, or round the fireside of a teacher of Dissent.

The painful confessions, then, to which we proceed to introduce our readers, and which our authoress, somewhat in the manner of the celebrated Genevieve, states herself to make "as a duty," reveal the humiliating fact of an universal prevalence of the crime of drunkenness throughout the families of which Mrs. Ellis can speak from personal knowledge. Nor is the vice confined to one age or sex. Young and old, wives and virgins, farmers and apothecaries, all are tainted with this damning sin. The only cure for the Dissenting world lies in Total Abstinence; we had vainly fancied that it was only for the brutalized and ignorant Paddy that such a remedy was needed, but it seems that the Dissenting circles in our borough towns, and the respectable families of what Mrs. Ellis calls "Ministers of the Gospel," would afford as large a field for the exertions of Father Mathew. The opinion which this lady entertains of those among whom she moves, our limited acquaintance with the parties does not enable us to controvert. We observe, indeed, that she occasionally assigns her characters to other classes, and that her language is applicable to a wider sphere. This may result from her natural unacquaintance with those ranks which are removed from her own observation, or it may be designed to render her advice more palatable to her immediate connexions. In the first case, it will be a real gratification to a person of her benevolent mind, to be assured that, though faithfully derived, no doubt, from her own associates, the pictures she has drawn are as inapplicable to any

other class of the community, as the advice which she has derived from them is superfluous. But we rather incline to give our authoress credit for greater penetration. We believe her to be fully aware of what must strike every one else, that her historical pieces, like those of other painters, must be peopled with such characters as she meets in the intercourse of life. The poor madman who maintained that his table was furnished with a variety of sumptuous dishes, could not help whispering that, some how or another, they all had a villainous twang of water-gruel; and though Mrs. Ellis occasionally travesties her friends in the costume of Knights and Ladies, of Curates and Rectors; yet since we are assured that all are portraits, we know well enough that everything must at bottom be of home composition,—that we must in reality be conversant only with the expectants of the silent meeting, or the frequenters of the Tabernacle. And no doubt it is considerate in this lady, while revealing their “Family Secrets,” to disguise a little the parties she exposes; for though she tells us, in her preface, that she does it for their good; yet, like an experienced instructress, she wields the rod in a manner which those whom she undertakes to instruct will find more salutary than agreeable. It is only the extent of the evil which can justify her proceedings. And wherever such manners are to be found as she sets before us, their exposure is no doubt a duty. That our readers then may understand in detail the notions of life, which this lady has gained from her accurate observation of one portion of mankind, we will cite a description of a scene, illustrative of the dangers of dining out, adding only, that a grave sort of female Mentor, a Ulysses in petticoats, by whom Mrs. Ellis manifestly means to describe herself, tells us, that the occurrence was “not worthy of a thought, still less of a tear; that such things were perpetually occurring, and that when gentlemen dined together, they must of necessity occur.”—Vol. i. p. 18.

Mr. Bond, a respectable person of the middle class, gives a party to some friends of his own sex. His young wife waits long in the drawing-room. At length the gentlemen begin to appear. The first is a philosopher, of whom nothing special is related.

“The next outlet from the dining-room was of a very different description. It was a complete explosion. Amongst the screams of the maid-servants, the laughter of the footmen, and the dérangment of all the furniture in the hall, in shot the little gentleman, the terror of all nervous ladies, the delight of all stable-boys and grooms.

“The sister of Mrs. Bond was a sweet-looking girl of sixteen; gentle and timid as a young dove, she was exactly the kind of subject the little gentleman was wont to choose for his boisterous and absurd attentions.

“Eleanor [Mrs. Bond] looked on with astonishment equalled only by her indignation. The maternal feelings of an elder sister rose in her heart, and glowed upon her cheeks, as she saw the poor girl struggling, almost in tears, beneath his familiar and insulting treatment. One of her attempts to escape had rent her white muslin frock from the top to the bottom, and her hair, which she usually wore arranged around her brow with classic order, was torn from its bandage, and lay loose and flowing upon her neck.”

Mrs. Bond, to whom, like ourselves, this was a new view of life, remonstrates ; but

"The little gentleman, not in the slightest degree daunted by her authoritative manner, let go his former prize, and, seizing both her hands, compelled her to perform various rapid evolutions round the drawing-room ; during which, notwithstanding the giddiness of her brain, and the agony of her vexation, Eleanor retained the power of perceiving that, through the partial opening of the door, the footmen and servant-maids were peeping and giggling," &c.—P. 17.

All this, we repeat it, seems as strange to us as it could do to Mrs. Bond ; as unlike anything which passes among persons with whom Church-people of any rank in life are accustomed to associate. We sometimes hear it imputed to those of our religious creed that they are too exclusive ; but if this be the average manners to which a more enlarged view of life would introduce us, we can only assert our ignorance to be bliss. However, we cannot dispute Mrs. Ellis's veracity : she draws portraits, as she assures us, from the life : "every man," as Gibbon reminds us, "expresses himself in the dialect the most congenial to his temper and inclination, the most familiar to the company in which he has lived, and to the authors with whom he is conversant." And when we find this lady exhibiting the same truth in a dozen different stories, producing as many respectable men and accomplished women whose health is destroyed, and their character blasted, by their excess in drink ; when she sets forth this as a just picture of that portion of English life with which she is acquainted, we cannot deny, remembering that fiction is more philosophical than history, that it exhibits the results of a more ample induction, and a more comprehensive outline of the state of manners, than others could give, and that the circle which gave birth to Miss Stickney, and is illustrated by the pen of Mrs. Ellis,—the Quaker-Methodistical intercourse of England,—is in grievous want of social reform.

But we must not be so unfair to our valued guide as to overlook her account of that which no one probably of our readers has witnessed, the fire-side of "the Minister." But here we must take leave to find fault with Mrs. Ellis for some sly strokes of literary quackery. The volumes before us are manifestly *got up* with the hope of their being foisted into a circle very different from that from which they were drawn. If any books ever thoroughly eschewed the simple drab of Miss Stickney's ancestors it is the ones before us. The sides flowered, carved, and ornamented, the backs and leaves "besmeared with gold," are so overdone as to make us think at once of the overdressiness of a wet-Quaker. No doubt it was hoped that these volumes might be smuggled into the circulating library or the boudoir with "Pelham," or the "Recollections of a Chaperone." Now, it would have been fatal to this hope, if the Rev. Joseph Middleton had been set forth as the mere oracle of a Meeting-house. There are still elderly ladies enough who stick to the Church notwithstanding the terror of Dr. Pusey ; and "Family Secrets" might have run the chance of being excluded as a downright dissenting publication.

Besides, had the Rev. Joseph Middleton been depicted with any explicitness, while one band of sectaries would have been pleased, fifty would have been dissatisfied; the Independent would not have cared for what befel the Anabaptist, nor would the Methodist have mourned over the fortunes of the Presbyterian. This danger Mrs. Ellis has evaded with characteristic, we were going to say with hereditary, address. "The Rev. Joseph Middleton" was "the respected and worthy minister of a religion whose principles of order, peace, and harmony, were exemplified by his whole household." Truly our authoress is not deficient in the adroitness of her race. We might as well solve the old question, "given the height of the mast, and the length of the Captain's nose, to find his name." The description is true of the religion of Smith the Mormonite, whose principles are as discordant as his household; and to most systems, from that of Nauvoo to that of Anabaptism, would it equally adapt itself.

This is but a specimen of that spirit of puffing which is grievously apparent in the writings of our authoress. Her volumes are prefaced by an advertisement of Mrs. Ellis's "*Juvenile Scrap-book, the only annual for young people*;" and we cannot help supposing that the unusual omission of any date on the title-page is intended to keep *Family Secrets* fresh for two or three years, that it may be a sort of exaggerated annual for more than a single season. We have heard great disappointment expressed by an agricultural friend who had been led by a flattering advertisement to make trial of a "gigantic Stickney clover," and we anticipate as much dissatisfaction if the gay outside of these volumes should induce any persons, except the student of Dissenting life, to open them either for instruction or amusement.

But our present object is with the family of "the Minister." We are not going to weary our readers with the tale; but the picture which accompanies it is sufficiently instructive. The family circle is gathered round a gentleman to the clerical neatness of whose attire the artist does full justice. To judge by their portraits, nothing can be more punctilious in this respect than our "dear Dissenting Brethren;" the elegance of their neckcloths, the propriety and glossiness of their black clothes, are perfectly bewitching. But we must draw attention to the table which stands at the "Minister's" right hand. It supports a large book, probably a family Bible, flanked by such a set of cruets as our readers may have seen employed at any small inn which is resorted to for the purchase of brandy and water. From this "the Minister" has replenished his glass, which a little boy who stands before him is watching with deep interest; while the residuum of a formidable tumbler, which is in his wife's hands, is to be enjoyed by another child who is seated on her lap. This, then, it seems, is Dissenting life! Sure we are that it was in no Parsonage-house that this domestic group was depicted. Nor can we wonder if this family grew up such determined toppers as Mrs. Ellis's experience of life informs her that all persons will be, sooner or later, who are not Teetotallers.

We really have not patience to argue seriously, as we had at one time designed to do, with the authoress of these absurd volumes. But, like other unscriptural delusions, her extravagant notions are fraught with mischief to society. Though we can give her credit for having lived in a low and coarse school, yet no doubt the faults of her associates must be exaggerated by her pen. She seems totally ignorant that there is such a thing as the Christian duty of temperance;—she forgets that any other creature of God may be as much abused as strong drink;—she falls into the Gnostic heresy, of denying the abstract lawfulness of what God has created;—she forgets the example of our Lord, and mistakes that of the Apostles. S. Paul's willingness to abstain from meat respected a particular superstition which he wished to cure, and did not deny the lawfulness of God's creatures. Yet were Total Abstinence a duty now, why was it not the same in the days of the Apostles? The early Christians might be, indeed, and no doubt were, superior in all points to the associates of Mrs. Ellis; but even at that day there were low and dissipated classes in the heathen world, whom she can hardly think so much better than the friends whose "family secrets" she has published. Why did not S. Paul reclaim them by taking the pledge? Why does he expressly charge Timothy to act in a contrary manner? Was his inspired wisdom inferior to the attainments of modern experience? Had he looked less closely into the nature of men in this state? Was he less conversant with the secrets of the world to come?

We heartily hope that none of our fair readers will be beguiled by the taking title of any works of this authoress into giving her a moment's attention. She may, for aught we know, give a fair estimate of Dissenting nature, and guard her sister sectaries against their besetting sins; but for the daughters of the Church, who are conscious that their temptations are not to drunkenness, to whom the sipping of brandy and water is no usual employment when their children assemble before the evening fire, whose homes are not outraged by such scenes as we have quoted,—let them not defile their minds, nor lower their tastes, by the admission of any such humiliating associations.

Sermons on the Duties of Daily Life. By FRANCIS E. PAGET, M.A. Rector of Elford. Rugeley: Walters. London: Burns. 1844.

Sermons preached to the British Congregation at Florence. By their late Chaplain, the Rev. R. J. TENNANT, M.A. Trin. Coll. London: Fellowes. 1844.

IN a late article we opened the question of English Preaching,—the question which, strange to say, is by no means a settled

one amongst us, how best to preach? We treated it as one to which the English Priesthood is far, as a body, from affording that practical reply which one could wish; we obviously indicated our opinion that as a body the accomplishment of Preaching is one which they are far from possessing. We are glad to see our opinion confirmed by a brilliant writer in the "Foreign and Colonial Review," who qualifies a favourable and sanguine judgment of our religious condition by mentioning the art of Preaching as one which still remains to be learned by us.

Some of our friends may, perhaps, censure us for bestowing two articles on what they deem a very subordinate institution of the Church, and one mischievously overrated by the popular religionists of the day. That it is so we are far from denying; but we are sure that it is easy equally to underrate it, and we think that we have observed such a tendency amongst those who have set their face against Puritan sentiment and practice; albeit from their school have come forth some of the most splendid exceptions to the mediocre character of modern English preaching. Our readers, doubtless, remember the following passage in "Mr. Froude's Remains."

"Next, the Tracts talk a great deal about the Clergy 'teaching authoritatively.' Do you think that, on any fair principles of interpretation, the texts which claim authority for the teaching of inspired persons, and those in immediate communication with them, can be applied to the teaching of those who have no access to any source of information which is not equally open to all mankind? Surely no teaching now-a-days is authoritative in the sense in which the Apostles' was, except that of the Bible; nor any in the sense in which Timothy's was except that of primitive tradition. To find a sense in which the teaching of the modern clergy is authoritative, I confess baffles me. Do you mean that if his lordship of —, taught one way, and Pascal or Robert Nelson another, the former would be entitled to most consideration? Or do you only give the preference to ordained persons, *ceteris paribus*? The former assertion would be startling, the latter does not come to much."—Vol. i. p. 403.

"Preaching and reading the Scriptures is what a layman can do as well as a clergyman. And it is no wonder the people should forget the difference between ordained and unordained persons, when those who are ordained do nothing for them, but what they could have done just as well without Ordination."—*Ibid.* p. 372.

Of course these, being said in a letter to a friend, cannot be viewed as more than the writer's *first impression* of the case; and had Mr. Froude considered the ground which we now mean to go hastily over, we dare say he would have greatly modified, if not altered that opinion.

We affirm, then, that this disparagement of Preaching is adverse to the sentiment of the whole Catholic Church. Although we are in the habit of laughing at that popular interpretation, which, whenever it encounters the words *Preach* or *Preaching* in

the New Testament, understands by them the public delivery of sermons; though we admit that nothing can be more ludicrous than such a notion of St. Paul's meaning when he speaks of "the foolishness of Preaching," yet we do think, on the other hand, that the Puritan doctrine on this subject was far from so indefensible as Hooker and the contemporary Church writers imagined, and that, in fact, it was an exaggeration and distortion, instead of an abandonment of Primitive sentiment. Their doctrine, as is well known, was—that a peculiar Virtue resides in the *Publicly uttered Word*, over and above what that Word possesses if communicated in any other way. This doctrine is embodied in the Westminster Catechism as follows: "The Spirit of God maketh the reading, *but especially the Preaching* of the Word an effectual means, &c." To what extent this doctrine was pushed, and with what figures illustrated, may be seen from Hooker's Eccl. Pol. b. v. especially as illustrated by Mr. Keble's notes.

That all this, however free from what was commonly termed Popery, was but the substitution of one form of Carnality and Superstition for another may safely be conceded. To consider its glorious incompatibility with the *Bibliolatry* of modern Puritanism would be highly interesting, but at present would lead us too far from the question before us. Hooker's replies seem to us, we own, anything but satisfactory. He flies off to the other extreme, and seems to consider the sermon as having no other merit or value than what the *wit*, i.e. intellect, of the Preacher can give it. Mr. Froude's estimate seemed no higher at the time he wrote the letters from which we have quoted; indeed, he seemed disinclined to rank Preaching among the peculiar prerogatives conferred by ordination—an error, surely, if the Catholic Church be right.

The Church, as the earthly Representative and Manifestation of her Divine Head, must exercise His three especial functions of Prophet, Priest, and King. In fulfilment of the first named, she has ever recognised a peculiar authoritative ministration of the Word, each several application of which forms the especially appointed portion of the souls to whom it is legitimately made. Doubtless such ministration is not confined to the preaching of sermons; doubtless the ordinance of Catechising is one, and not the least important, of its branches; doubtless, too, the private instructions of a Priest to a single member of his flock ought to fall under its range, and to partake of its character. But notwithstanding all this, there seems to have been from the beginning a highest and most dignified form of it designed for the faithful in common, which was therefore public, and looked on as, in its way, *liturgic*. Such an ordinance was, doubtless, bequeathed to us from the Synagogue; and our Lord's use of it

in the most solemn Ritual He ever observed, that during which He instituted the blessed Eucharist, may well warrant the high value and especial dignity which the Church has ever assigned to it. St. Paul, too, (Acts xx. 7,) seems to have accompanied the Lord's Supper with it; and his remarkable words, (Rom. xvi. 16,) according to their most generally received interpretation, invest it with a liturgic aspect. Justin Martyr testifies to the Eucharist having been, in his days, accompanied by a sermon, and that delivered by one of the Priesthood. The Apostolical Constitutions consider preaching as one of the especial functions of the Priesthood; as does the Council of Ancyra, an authority of about the same date, which reckons it among the marked features of the Sacred Liturgy, forbidding the Presbyter who, having been, in certain more excusable circumstances, betrayed into *Sacrificing*, might on his repentance be restored to his former rank, to consecrate the Eucharist, *to preach or discharge any other part of the Divine offices*. The same thing is attested by those ancient definitions of the Ministerial Grades, which stated the office of the Presbyter thus: "Sacerdotem oportet offerre, et benedicere, et bene præsesse, *prædicare*, et baptizare." *Vide* Martene de Ritibus, I. viii. 11.

These considerations may, perhaps, suffice to show that if the religionists of the day attach an exaggerated value to preaching, other parties may easily underrate it, and that in so doing they run counter to Catholic sentiment, the Church having ever ranked the public ministration of God's holy Word among the high and distinctive powers which are conveyed to her Priesthood by their Apostolical ordination.

And, if Mr. Froude's difficulty be alleged, that while nearly all parties would, on their first impressions, except against the proposition that every man may administer Sacraments, no one can see anything in the composition or delivery of a Sermon which, with reference to the power of doing either, seems to require an especial ordination; and that, except as matter of discipline and obedience, no man of Catholic sentiment could by possibility attach the same value to the sentence of certain living Bishops and the opinion of Robert Nelson; we are furnished with a ready answer in the Post-Communion Collect of our own Service for the Ordering of Priests. The Bishop there prays in the following terms:—"Most merciful Father, we beseech Thee to send upon these Thy servants Thy heavenly blessing: that they may be clothed with righteousness, and that Thy Word spoken by their mouths may have such success, that it may never be spoken in vain. Grant, also, that we may have grace to hear and receive what they shall deliver out of Thy most holy Word, or agreeable to the same, as *the means of our Salvation*, &c." This is the gracious peculiarity of the Word rightly spoken by God's commissioned ambassador, that it is

spoken by appointment; that it shares in the great ministerial Charter, "Lo, I am with you always;" that we are to value it, not merely for its intrinsic Truth, Solemnity, or Comfort, but as the especially designed provision for the wants of our souls at the time and on the occasion when we legitimately hear it. This consideration makes it easy to understand why an especial *charisma* conveyed by ordination should be requisite for the ministry of it; for, while we see no presumption in a man's expecting the grace of his orders, rightly cherished and used, to give him a more accurate and penetrating insight into Divine things than he could otherwise have had; it is obvious that the selection of particular portions, the *right division*, of the Word of Truth, the especial aspects under which, on each especial occasion, it is to be presented, and the estimate of the spiritual wants around us involved in all this, are matters on which he must need continual guidance; in which it is most comforting to be told that they whose duties impose such need, have an especial ordination to which they can look as insuring its supply, and that the knowledge of this by themselves and their flocks, gives a totally different character to their ministerial words from that possessed by the discussions or persuasions of unordained men, however accurate, or however forcible, these latter may be.

Nor can the cases of Origen and others, who were allowed to preach while laymen, be fairly alleged against what we have been laying down. For they were but exceptions that in a very marked way proved the rule, the objections raised, and the answers given to such practice, attesting what that rule really was. In fact, that a layman has preached by permission, is a fact in no way perplexing to the Catholic thinker, who recognises in Baptism the root of all spiritual prerogative whatsoever—the general capacity of all that every other ordinance can specially confer,—the *lay priesthood* which Tertullian and others after him have considered to hold in solution all other grades and developments of Priesthood. And whether they have been right or wrong in thinking this, no orthodox man will deny that such Lay Priesthood is a reality, and that it is conferred in Baptism; no thinking man will fail to see that the Church has never yet measured or limited the developments whereof it may be susceptible; and that if even the administration of Baptism has been thought, and by large branches of the Church *ruled*, to come within its range, much more may that of Preaching, which, whatever be the authority that it implies in the administrator, from its nature can give rise to no questions of *validity*, no questions of whether iteration be or be not necessary, as regards the receiver—an ordinance which on no one occasion has any directly judicial effects, such as follow Baptism, Absolution, Confirmation, or Orders. Consequently, no one would

think of blaming such conduct as that of Frumentius in Ethiopia; no one would doubt a lay Christian's right to preach Christ to the Heathen, in the absence of any ordained ambassador to them; nor would any one feel such authority, so exercised, as at all interfering with the ordinary sacerdotal character of preaching. There is all the difference in the world between a gifted man being allowed to speak seasonable words on some one occasion or more, and a standing authority to speak, so as to be entitled to claim obedient attention for all that one says in virtue of such authority.

If, then, Preaching be an ordinance of such ancient and inherent dignity, it seems needless to contend for the necessity of administering it as well as we can. Independently of the considerations that we have been urging, an earnest man will always seek to do well whatever he has to do at all, and as a fact our "working clergy" have nearly all got to preach at least one Sermon every week. But if the right exercise of this institution be one of the objects, and the requisite power one of the gifts, of Apostolical Ordination, then, beyond question, there is a still higher necessity for bestowing on it all the attention and energy of which we are capable. In our last article we considered mainly the tone of authority and dogmatic teaching with which the preacher ought to arm himself—our arguments for which are reinforced by the ground that we have now taken; but, at present, we propose looking at the subject mainly in its literary aspect.

Doubtless, no man ought to demand that each Sermon he hears should afford him literary gratification; and, doubtless, a Sermon may answer all the requisite conditions of excellence in its kind with but a small amount of literary pretension. Nevertheless, we think the average of intellect put forth in the Sermons of the day rather humbling. There are men set apart, among other duties, to speak magisterially on certain subjects, with every possible advantage of position, every inclination on the part of those around them to be respectful listeners. The subjects are at once the most awful and the most universally concerning; the authority with which they are treated the most commanding known on earth. Now, as we have already hinted, we do not demand that Preachers generally should be great orators,—we even think that on the whole they are better otherwise. Neither do we insist on their separate compositions having separate literary value. But we conceive that we have a right to expect that they should in no case whatever be *weak*. Our Judges cannot be possessed of equal intellectual power; nobody pretends to say that all their decisions are of the same stamp as a Stowell's or a Lyndhurst's; yet we fancy that in giving judgment they one and all speak tolerably to the purpose, that their words are reasonably charged with meaning, that they are seldom

weak. So we fancy of commercial arbitrators, and so of business letters of any sort. Throughout English society, the various classes and professions do their respective parts very creditably, with the exception, perhaps, of country justices, and certainly of senators and preachers. With the faults, however, of justices and senators we have nothing to do at present, nor, however gladly we should perceive their amendment, can we think them so much to be deplored as those of the clergy. But it is matter of serious regret, that, amid the thousands of Sermons delivered every week from the pulpits of our Church, so very small a proportion should rise above mediocrity: so very many, pronounced, too, by sensible and strong-minded men, should be wretchedly weak; while another large proportion should be rife with vulgarity and offensive qualities; and of the remainder so few comparatively should be characterised by any air of reality, anything like definite drift or purpose, anything like practical approach to the idea of the institution. Now, how is this to be mended? Everybody knows the remedy urged in the Spectator, which has been largely adopted among us, that of preaching other people's Sermons; availing oneself, as the phrase is, of the composition of a judicious divine. Without utterly condemning and railing at this practice, as do our dissenting neighbours, we think it liable to serious objection, and on the whole rejoice to learn that the young clergy are taking pains to write their own Sermons. For if they copy, their choice must be from our standard or our mediocre Sermons. If the former be chosen, their literary merit will demand that the theft be acknowledged, which, as matters are, would be far from expedient: if the latter, the people will be used unfairly, who have, we think, a right to demand that they shall not be served with mediocrity on system, and who would, any how, prefer the preacher's own mediocrity to another man's; to say nothing of the fact that those who have been weak enough to publish Sermons of little literary value, have seldom been good divines; so that the people who listen, if *listen* they do, to their lucubrations at second-hand, are served with sorry doctrine. Again, the copyist can scarcely be exercising the solemn duty to which he was ordained of "rightly dividing the Word of Truth," administering it to his hearers in such parts and proportions as are dictated by his knowledge of their special situation and needs. At least, if he succeeds in adapting other men's writing to this, he performs a task much more difficult than would be involved in a similar exercise of meditation and judgment employed on the same subject, and aided, it may be, from the same sources, but issuing in words of his own; and is, therefore, chargeable with a waste of time and strength. The changes, too, which take place on language render it scarcely possible that the style of one age should be fit for the pulpit in another, where beyond all other

places and occasions, it behoves us that our words should not be abstract, but living and real, free from technicality, and charged each with its own distinct and well-known meaning. Any how, the fact that our parishioners believe them to be our own, and that we could not safely undeceive them if it were otherwise, must always constitute a very serious objection to the use of another man's Sermons.

And further, if, as we have urged, the Power of Preaching be one of our ordination Graces, it surely behoves those who have received it to show their faith in its reality, by sedulously cultivating it. Such ought not to distrust their capability in this respect. Though they may rank themselves low in the intellectual scale, though they may attach no literary value to their Sermons, they ought by no means to doubt that, in virtue of God's appointment, those Sermons can be made most efficacious to those who hear them. They may be no orators (how very few of any order ever can be!), and they may have taken no pains to become rhetoricians, whose art—a poor substitute for oratory anywhere—is an offensive one in the pulpit; but, for all that, they can take care that their words be living and true ones, instinct with the Holy Ghost and with power. There is nothing in the preacher's art, difficult in one point of view as is its discharge anywhere, which need be beyond the reach of any man who is fit for the priestly office at all. His great aim must be to see that he have something to say,—that he be furnished with a real adequate meaning for his words, and then that his words be as far as possible faithful and exact representatives of that meaning;—in a word, he must desire and strive to be *real*. In doing this, doubtless, are involved much labour, much meditation, much scrutiny of Scripture, much *general* acquaintance with the voice and sentiment, the *Common Law* of the Church, much knowledge of the daily life, the governing thoughts, the habitual persuasions of his flock; above all, much acquaintance with the intimate recesses of that human heart which is his as well as theirs, and is naturally the same in all essentials in him as in them. Doubtless, the doing all this is no easy burden or light yoke; but a burden and a yoke, notwithstanding, which the man on whom rest the vows of a Priest has no right to decline. And we are quite sure that the effect of regarding the personal composition of Sermons as one of the duties imposed by that vow, would be most salutary on the whole body of the clergy; that their efforts at discharging that duty conscientiously on which, taking them as they now are, we have good warrant for counting, would lead to their cultivating habits of closer prayer, and more earnest scrutiny of Scripture, than characterise them at present; that without adding to their merely *literary* ambition, nay, by dint of calming and tempering their whole estimate of themselves and their circumstances,

many instances greatly abating it, such efforts would issue in their becoming better practical theologians, fitter to impart the right portion of the Word at the right season, more qualified to advise in difficult cases, abler to guide precarious tendencies, and rightly to develope the religious zeal and inquiry with which they may come into contact, and for the right issue of which, as far as in them lies, they must hold themselves responsible. No man can fairly say that the English clergy are as yet adequate to their position in these respects: when we consider how few of them are qualified to catechise in any powerful or instructive way, we see how far off they are from the character of the "faithful and wise steward," who is able to give the Lord's household "their portion of meat in due season."

But the efforts and the use of human means required for this are no light matter. There never was a greater mistake than to suppose that we may bestow little pains on that which is to aim at no literary excellence, and to be addressed to the plain and the uneducated. The late Mr. Rose, in his admirable work on "the Commission and Consequent Duties of the Clergy," has some judicious observations on this subject, bearing, perhaps, on the literary, but certainly, also on the practical, aspect of the question, from which we now extract what follows, being a note on a remark of the present Bishop of Chester.

"There are some very excellent and sensible remarks on the style of Parochial preaching, in Mr. Sumner's work, called 'Apostolical Preaching,' p. 9, 5th edit. But Mr. Sumner appears to me to make parochial preaching a much easier thing than it really is. In stating his opinion to that effect, he says that the preacher 'must descend from the high and lofty tone of language to which he is accustomed, to walk in the humble terms of Scripture; he must limit his rounded periods to the extent of vulgar comprehension; he must abound in interrogations and addresses which the rules of composition condemn.' This is perfectly true; but this very limitation of rounded periods, so that dulness shall not be mistaken for simplicity, appears to require great study and pains; and the interrogations and addresses, of which Mr. S. speaks, effective as they assuredly are, will become offensive and wearisome, when not regulated by a just taste and knowledge of the best models. Mr. Sumner would, I fear, think the assertion extravagant; but I am well convinced that the village preacher, of good sense, might be much benefited by the study of Demosthenes, or of any other of those great masters, who, to mighty eloquence, have added a profound knowledge of the human heart. South, after inculcating with great force the necessity of plain preaching, says, 'Those two stand best by mutual support and communication; elocution without wisdom being empty and irrational, and wisdom without elocution, barren and unprofitable.'—Sermons, vol. v. p. 465."—*Commission and Consequent Duties of the Clergy*, pp. 168, 169.

The main point here considered seems to be style; and undoubtedly, next to doctrine, to acute perception of states of heart, and to a command and skilful application of Scripture, come a mastery over words, a constant habit of regarding and using them as real phenomena of thought, instead of mere counters to be taken instead of it, a regard to their primary as seldom rightly excluded by any secondary meaning which

may be annexed to them, and above all a facility in applying the laws of syntax, composition, and rhythm, to the common vocabulary of all orders. This last is the village preacher's consummate art, and the one of all others most hardly attained; for in the present day, scarcely any educated man finds it difficult to mould his sentences into some sort of structure, provided he may avail himself of whatever abstract words and terms of art he may be master of; but enforce the exclusion of such, and his difficulties at once begin. On the other hand, if the sentences be not so moulded, no meaning can come clearly out; nay, it may be questionable whether any presents itself clearly to the speaker or the writer; for we need scarcely tell our readers that the laws of good composition are entirely grounded on the logical relations of the things to be expressed; and that by consequence their observance or neglect will be in proportion as those relations are felt and made distinct.

This, then, must be constantly kept in mind by the Priest who would preach with effect on the common sense of his parishioners; that whilst he must avoid all slovenliness of syntax, whilst he must compose carefully, his vocabulary must be that with which they are familiar. And when he has learned to observe both these conditions, he will find that few difficulties but moral ones stand in his way. Our readers may, perhaps, be aware of Horsley's *dictum*, that so long as we do not transgress their vocabulary, we may lead the minds of the lower orders to the apprehension of any religious truth whatever wherein we have succeeded in interesting them; a *dictum* the soundness of which Heber declared to be attested by his own experience.

But first to be master, and then to have ascertained the limits, of the common vocabulary, is no easy attainment. It is hardly to be gained, of course, without much intercourse with the lower orders; but such intercourse alone will seldom, if ever, be sufficient; for no good whatever would be got by *copying* their talk. What we have been recommending is as far as possible from the adoption of vulgarisms. What we want is, that our words be lively with meaning, and the very essence of *vulgarisms* is to have no meaning, or but indirectly to express one. To those who have not narrowly watched the conversation of those around them, it may seem strange to talk of using words with real meaning as a comparative rarity; but a little reflective observation will convince us that it is only in proportion as men's minds are freed from vulgarity that they do so. The poor are often less vulgar than the class immediately above them, and just as they are so, do they speak with distincter meaning. But the lower end of the middling classes is unhappily all but universally vulgar; and let any man mark the talk he hears in an omnibus or a short stage coach, in or near

London, and he will be astonished, not only at the small amount of significance that goes to a great many words, but at the singular want of relation between that significance and those words. It is not very long since we heard the following in such a situation as those to which we have referred. "What I complain of him is, sir, that he has got a way with him, as if he thought you beneath him, and *I*, for one, don't like that; *I* don't like that, sir. It may be *acquired*, I know nothing about that; I won't say that it is not *acquired*, but *I* don't like it." Then *da Capo*, we were favoured again with the original statement, of hauteur in the party, the expression of aversion spoken of as something singular and idiosyncratic on the part of our friend, the hypothetical allowance that the hauteur might be *acquired*, and the aversion remaining notwithstanding, all in the same, or nearly the same, words as at first; and we see no reason to doubt that our fellow-traveller, if nothing *has happened* to him meanwhile, has since repeated the same sentence many hundred times. And let any one think over the vulgarisms which pain him, the trite self-complacent offensive phrases, for gestation, *accouchement*, lactation, death, money, success, and he will see that his dislike to them arises from their being perversions of words from their true meaning, and a mode of employing them by which they become mere counters.

Mimicry of common talk, therefore, will not serve the purpose we have in view. The first and most essential condition of its attainment will be to have something distinct to say, and to be thoroughly in earnest about the saying of it. People seldom express themselves ill when they unite these two conditions. And next, simple as the object seems, it will be desirable, if possible, to become, what is far too uncommon, a good *English* scholar. We should have much greater hopes of a Preacher addressing us in a really simple style, if we knew that he was intimate, in addition to his English Bible and Prayer-Book, with Chaucer, Shakespere, and Bacon; that he had earnestly inspected the instrument of English speech on which they played so beautifully; that he had traced its essential rules, and discerned its great principles as obeyed by them, than from any other intellectual or non-intellectual fact about him of which we might be apprised. Thus familiar with what Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls the *common* style, as distinguished from the *austere* and the *ornate*, which common style is always that of the greatest writers, and fulfilling the higher moral conditions of which we have spoken, we think he might address the most rustic audience, in language simpler, and therefore more real, than their own, and yet dignified withal, and such an elevate them above the level of their ordinary thoughts and associations.

But this last condition must be carefully attended to. Beau-

tiful as are many things in the Parochial Sermons of Archdeacon Hare and his lamented brother, and excellent hints as they supply, we observe in them, with regret, the error of too much condescension. This is a subject on which we have spoken our mind before now. We do not believe that the lower orders at all relish such condescension, which they are perfectly able to see through. They are prepared to expect greater dignity in the pulpit than anywhere else, and they ought to find it. They should not hear a word, or be presented with an image, which can make other than solemn impressions. We believe that, apart from directly religious benefit, the Service and the Sermon are the common man's *literature*, the instruments of refining and raising him; and therefore, we think that the Sermon should be like the Prayers, above, but not beyond him; simple, yet lofty as may be; above all, must it be really in earnest, with no visible condescension to him, such as shall make him feel dealt with *economically*, such as shall make him feel that the Preacher is saying something very different to him from what he would say to people of his own condition.

Let us now briefly consider some of the different types of preaching which are presented to us by those who have really excelled in the administration of this ordinance.

Much as we might wish it, we must content ourselves without any specimens of Apostolical preaching; for we cannot regard the one or two addresses of SS. Peter and Paul, which are preserved in the Book of the Acts, as *Sermons*. They are never addressed *ad fideles*, nor connected with the ritual of the Church. In the age immediately succeeding, although we doubt not that the preaching was most effective, it is equally lost to us, and probably possessed no element of literary endurance. In the third century it was probably rising into more prominence in this respect. The rhetorical styles of Tertullian and Cyprian, so different from the writers who went before them, may, perhaps, argue a habit, either in themselves or those around them, of addressing large assemblies; and we know the estimation in which Origen was held in respect of his preaching, some of whose works, indeed, have been preserved to us in the form of Homilies. In the succeeding age the rise of Arianism, as is well known, was connected with the Sermons of its author; a circumstance which led to a prejudice against generally permitting Presbyters to preach. After this the ordinance breaks out upon us clearly and full, and runs down to ourselves in a continuous and copious literary stream. We need scarcely point to SS. Chrysostom and Augustine as the great preachers in the Eastern and Western Churches respectively, to whom we shall have occasion by and by to refer as the models of two different methods, between which, in preference to all others, we think lies our choice. St. Bernard,

great ornament of the middle ages, must be considered as very much in the same mould as Augustine, though with some important points of diversity.

The Reformation was, of course, the very age of preaching, and, beyond all doubt, much of it must have had great power at the time, though probably but little of it was possessed of literary value; and nearly all of it too occupied with particular engrossing topics to serve as models in the present day. The seventeenth century is usually appealed to as the age of English wealth in this kind; and undoubtedly the literary and theological value of its homiletic remains can hardly be overrated. On their Sermons, the divines of those days expended all the energy and opulence of their full and mighty minds; and in those Sermons may be found nearly every beauty of which the English tongue is susceptible. Yet nobody, we think, would wish to hear, were he at all likely to hear, a man now-a-days preach at all like either Andrewes, Donne, Taylor, or Barrow, or any of their compeers. Not only would their pedantry be insufferable in our day, but the whole scholastic attitude into which they threw themselves is not only unsuitable to the mass of parishioners, but, except under peculiar circumstances, to the ordinance of Preaching altogether,—to its high real dignity, and its liturgic solemnity. It is incompatible with the dogmatic character which ought generally to characterise the sacerdotal ministration of God's Holy Word. The only situations in which it is tolerable, and indeed frequently desirable, are the University Pulpits, Visitation Sermons, and other occasions when the Preacher is speaking, if not exclusively *ad clerum*, yet at least *ad scholas*, and moreover, must often say all that he has to say on one single occasion. Then, indeed, the Sermon may take the character of an Essay, and be a complete treatise on its subject. But the parochial Sermon, we think, need never aim at such literary completeness, as it will almost fulfil its ends better without it, and is any how debarred by its necessary limits from the general possibility of attaining it. And here, by the way, we may remark, on the unnatural and hurtful fetters which our clergy, especially in towns, think fit to impose on themselves in respect of time. There is a general sense of being bound to preach at least half an hour, and an almost as general sense of its being very injudicious materially to exceed that duration. A better and a surer way to produce, what is the great fault of English preaching, unreality, we can hardly imagine. From the moment a man either writes or speaks to fill time and not to illustrate a subject, he becomes a sham, and that which he says, is of no more inherent value than sounding brass. He says it, *because he has it to say*, not because he is constrained to say it, not because it is the thing which those before him should have said to them, but to avoid a charge, no very ignominious

one, we think, of being briefer than his neighbours. But a man who feels his position will never, either in the pulpit or elsewhere, use words for any other purpose than to convey a meaning which they alone will convey as he wishes; and if our preachers would but cultivate this reality of end and aim, they would begin, we feel sure, to discover that their present limits are for the most part either too long or too short for a Sermon on one single subject; frequently too long if their intention be to present some one view, bring out some one thought, make some one main impression, or exhibit some one solemn truth; and nearly always too short, if they mean to deliver a complete essay, which shall handle every main feature, and answer every important question awakened by the subject. This latter can seldom be done much *within the hour*; a duration most unfitted for the length of the rest of our Morning Service, even without Communion; a circumstance the less to be regretted, in that, as we have already said, such an aim ought not to be that of the Parish Priest in general. The other, the exhibition of some one view, seems the safer and more eligible plan, except when circumstances render the exposition of Scripture practicable; and for such exhibition, though we may sometimes require half-an-hour, we shall often find twenty minutes quite enough. The exuberant mind of Augustine could often be contented with much less. People seldom think how much can be said in twenty minutes. Given but weighty words on the part of the preacher, and an attentive mind on that of the hearer, what a body of thought, what rich reflection, what various illustration, what edifying and comforting truth may not pass from one to the other within that time! What an addition to every man's responsibility,—what accession to the true believer's comfort, what enlargement of his views, what strengthening of his hold on Truth, may not be furnished within those limits! But, of course, more time may be requisite; nor have we any intention to prescribe the precise length in any case. All that we would enforce is, the uselessness and evil of saying a word more than one really has to say, for the sake of such a conventional point as filling up a certain space.

We rejoice to think that this exhibition of one prominent view seems to be the end aimed at by our most powerful preachers at present. It characterises the Sermons of Arnold, Newman, Maurice, Manning, and others, as well as the two volumes placed at the head of this article. In proportion to its prevalence, do we see the old-fashioned model, of formally dividing the subject, in great measure cast aside. Of course such formal division is sometimes requisite; and should be employed whenever the subject requires it. Only let the divisions be real divisions; which they cannot always, or generally, be, when the Preacher introduces them into every Sermon, no

matter what its subject, or what the light wherein he means to view it. We have a dim recollection of once hearing Isaiah lv. 1, handled somewhat as follows:—The invitation of the text was announced, and undertaken to be treated as,

1st. A free invitation,

2dly. A gracious invitation,

3dly. An undeserved invitation,

4thly. An invitation with which it is at once our bounden duty, and highest interest, at once to close.

When sermons of this sort are printed, the heads are usually dignified with capitals, and the notion entertained of them is, that they are singularly clear; the fact being that this, their apparent clearness, is but a substitute for thought and matter, a mechanical trick, which can be learned by a month's practice, and, in many cases, instead of promoting, hindering the advance and order of Thought. When it is desirable, when the subject itself suggests or demands such formal division, it will be often advisable to devote a separate discourse to each head. People always forget the incapacity of average minds to carry away a number of Thoughts and Truths on any single occasion. This it is which makes many excellent Sermons unsuitable, even after real simplicity of language has been attained. This, too, is nearly fatal to Leighton's works as reading for the family services of the Sunday. We remember having recourse to some of them for that purpose, firmly relying on their freedom from technicality, or any serious difficulty; but it was in vain; too much ground, we discovered, was gone over for the attention of our servants,—a variety of matter was presented, too great for either their retentive, or even their receptive powers. We think some admirable guidance in the composition of this kind of Sermons, may be found in the Homilies of Augustine. Not that they are all of this kind; for much of his Homiletic Remains, like those of Chrysostom, consist of exposition of Scripture; and at other times, he, as well as other fathers, wanders from one subject to another, following beautiful conceits, such as his first topic in no way led us to expect. This, in a different way, illustrates one of our points, that the Sermon is not required to be a complete Essay, a systematic treatise. But when he does develope one main thought, nothing can well be more simply impressive than his way of doing so. And, be it carefully observed that, by his abstinence and reserve, by confining himself to the day's work, by giving but "the portion of meat in due season," he succeeded in conveying to his flock a far richer body of Truth, and awakening their minds to profounder thoughts, generally very subtle and remote ones, than have often passed from the pulpit since.

Finally, the main body of Augustine's Sermons is addressed, *as we think, with us*, the Morning Sermon ought always to be, *ad fideles*. We say the *Morning* Sermon, because that is part of

the Communion Office, being, along with the Epistle and Gospel, the administration of God's Holy Word proper to that office. It should never, therefore, take a missionary character: it is altogether inconsistent to summon people to join in the prayers and other services, which have preceded the Sermon, and the moment that has commenced, to treat them as barely Christians, as having not yet come to Christ, as having not yet repented unto life. Our object should be to add to their knowledge of Heavenly Truth, and to clear and strengthen their apprehensions of what they already know; not, indeed, to forget their conscience, but to appeal to it, as the conscience of believers, not of heathens. The Evening Discourse, when there is one, being no part of the Communion Office, or even of the ritual of the Church, may take a different character; and, provided there be no denial or forgetfulness of Baptismal benefit, we may then speak to the prodigal of returning, to the guilty of repenting, to the asleep of awaking, to the dead, of arising and receiving light and life.

So much at present must suffice for the former of the two legitimate types of parish preaching, that wherein the preacher, laying aside the thought of literary completeness, tries to present and impress his flock with some one main feature of Truth. The latter—exposition of Scripture—would, if well done, be very valuable; though circumstances do not always admit of it. The several Sundays of our Christian year have very often their own claims on our attention too imperative to be compatible with a protracted course of Sermons, at least in the morning.* Exposition will be more practicable in the Evening, especially the week-day evening, lecture. Its management will, however, prove an art not to be attained in a day. After the needful preliminary of sound Biblical knowledge has been secured, the Preacher must learn the accomplishment, of arresting and detaining the attention, of giving neither too little nor too much. Here he will often have to expose his hearers to what we have spoken of as their greatest difficulty, being carried over a variety of ground on one occasion; and in order that this may not be too much for them, he must do violence to his literary feelings, by repeating the same thing again and again, by parting with no one point till, by dint of such repetition, he shall have fairly lodged it in their minds. Chrysostom will be his best guide in this department, than whom no man ever possessed more tact and method in carrying the mind over varied matter, in saying neither too little nor too much; in keeping himself above the average level of thought and feeling, so as to elevate those who listened to them, and yet not removing himself

* The best style of expository preaching in the morning, would be to comment on the Gospel, Epistle, and Lessons, and if possible to connect them together.

so far from the common track as to become in the smallest degree unpractical. It would be an interesting task, did our limits permit, to compare and contrast these two great preachers of antiquity, especially with a reference to our present subject. Seldom indeed do we encounter two minds more unlike without being contrary; presenting so much difference with so little discordance. At present we must confine ourselves to the remark, that Chrysostom's audiences seem to have answered more to such as the modern preacher in populous places may count on having before him than Augustine's, and that so far he is a better guide for us. The African Church, in Augustine's time, was undergoing sharp discipline, and was in a numerical minority in its contest with the Donatist enemy. This may have kept its members purer and more consistent than elsewhere; whereas, Antioch, the scene of Chrysostom's earlier labours, had indeed been rent by dissension, but of a different kind, and less directly conducive to such a result. Hence Austin speaks not only *ad fideles*, but frequently to the very best of these; and his homilies bear a *devotional* character, scarcely characterising Chrysostom's; and scarcely fit perhaps for ordinary cases. Each, for example, has bequeathed to us a Homily on Psalm cxlv. (cxliv. according to their reckoning,) and each Homily is a more than ordinarily beautiful work of its author. Of each, the subject is necessarily the same, the loving kindness of the Lord; but how differently do they treat it! The golden mouthed preacher of the East pours forth his soul in an enumeration of the great things God has done for Christians—the ministration to our wants of the things around us, the form and constitution of our bodies, the grandeur of the human soul, the dispensation to us day by day, of signs, and laws, and corrections—the varied and incomprehensible Providence which is over us, last and chief of all, the not sparing the Only Begotten for our sakes, the good things given us now in Baptism, and the Mysteries, the unutterably good things to be given hereafter—the Kingdom, the Resurrection, the Inheritance that is full of all Blessedness. (Chrysost. ed. Paris, 1835, tom. v. p. 564.) Nor does he, indeed, forget to add, in the spirit of the Evening Hymn of the East, that we owe God thanks for Himself and “His great Glory.” “For this too,” he goes on to say, “we owe Him, Praise, and Blessing, and ceaseless Thanksgiving, and Worship, and persevering Service.” But this, to which Chrysostom only comes after a long enumeration of other things, and on which he only pauses for two sentences, is the sustained pitch of St. Augustine's Homily; not, indeed, the way of direct propositions, but of general sentiment. He habitually passes from the works and gifts of God, to God Himself, His Glory, His Beauty, Truth, Goodness, and Love. And this, many of our readers may well know, was the whole habit of his mind, and the informing spirit of all

his Theology. Doctrine, orthodoxy, Catholic zeal are, with him, but outgrowths of the great Truth in the light of which he lived, that God is the Supreme—the only Good, that union with Him is Light and life,—separation from Him is Darkness and Death;—that He is Love towards all, and that they only miss the healing beams of that Love, who turn their backs on it, and reject and spurn it. But this high and heavenly pitch, those wings of ripened Faith and Love on which, in common with Bernard and Leighton, St. Austin continually soared, we are almost deterred from attempting; we feel as if they would neither suit us, nor those to whom we speak.

We must hasten to our own Homiletic Literature, on which however, we cannot pause, as we would wish. Though no clergyman should be ignorant of the Homilies, nor should allow those about him, if he can help it, to be ignorant of them either, we imagine there will be no controversy about their unsuitability to our present wants. And the Sermons of Hooker, full as they are of beauties, are in the same predicament. We have already said as much of those bequeathed to us by the great divines of the seventeenth century, profoundly as we admire them, and necessary as we consider an acquaintance with them to every competent English Priest. Of those with which we are familiar, Bull's seem to us the most practical and *purpose like*; though even they are far from the unscholastic living utterances which we desiderate. We have no need to denounce the preaching of the eighteenth century now. Horne, amid almost effeminate prettinesses, has left us the best Sermons, as regards doctrine, unction, feeling, and fancy, of any divine within the period; Paley and Horsley, widely differing as they did in their drift and purpose, the most vigorous and manly ones, and moulded too on the best and most natural model, being free from conventionality, either as to length or form. Of course we do not speak of Butler's, which are not parochial, and scarcely pastoral; though they are such as make us long to know of what character his parochial and pastoral Sermons were. By the way, we once heard that about a hundred of these were in existence at the beginning of this century, having somehow come into the possession of a country clergyman, after whose death, his widow, supposing them to be only her husband's, burnt them all!

In the present day, we hope we do not deceive ourselves by believing that preaching has taken a fresh start, and become more living and powerful. Of those living ornaments of our Church, who have given us really valuable Sermons, we have often had occasion to speak. The two volumes now before us are well worthy of being named in their company. Everybody who has encountered, as most of us have, Mr. Paget in his livelier vein, must rejoice to find that his voice gains in power as it speaks in graver tones; to speak plainly, that his Sermons,

better than the best things in his tales; indeed, they well answer to the conditions we have been laying down, every word has a meaning, every sentence occurs because Mr. Paget had occasion to utter it; and the English is uncommonly pure and excellent. We need not tell our readers whether the doctrine be sound.

The other volume is a legacy from one of the most powerful minds with which we ever came in contact. Mr. Robert Tennant was but little known to Fame, and his early death has prevented the possibility of his ever being more so now. But Fame has been given in reward of merit far inferior to that which is to be found in this volume, which is full of admirable matter. The doctrine is, we think, more than commonly deep, and the eloquence of a rare and high pitch. The spirit too is most wise, gentle, and loving; and we will run the risk of being charged with an indelicate reference to former years, rather than deny ourselves the expression of our satisfaction, that a powerful and richly-endowed, but long tempest-tost, mind, did at length reach the Catholic anchorage, and repose on the still waters of Heavenly Truth, a fact so abundantly testified here. Florence, we believe, contains the remains both of Mr. Tennant and Mr. Rose, and we imagine it was the former's privilege, to minister to the latter's dying needs. May the spirit of both of them influence the English of that place! And may our fellow-Christians there, and over the other regions of Christendom, from whose communion we are unhappily separated at present, see more and more Englishmen of the like stamp; so that, our Church being better understood by them, and her principles better exemplified in the practice of her sons, the way to reconciliation may be smoothed, and the long-severed brethren unite in penitence for the guilty past; in the recognition of a common Faith, and a common Inheritance, in a generous and loving imparting each to the other, and a docile and thankful reception each from the other of whatever each can teach the other, and in that brotherly love which has power to glorify the Church anew, and to reinvest her with that might whereby of old she was "terrible as an army with banners," and went forth "conquering and to conquer."

Note to the Article on Plain-Tune, (Christian Remembrancer, April No.) p. 439, &c.

WE are bound to add something to certain remarks, which appeared in our last number, with respect to ritual observances at York Minster. And first, as regards the altar ornaments:

we do not hesitate to afford willing insertion to the following statement, which, in justice to our very respected informant, we give in his own words.

"The Minster possesses two pairs of silver gilt candlesticks, one presented by Archbishop Sancroft, when he was Dean of York, the other by a Lady Beaumont, both shortly after the Restoration. These, with *wax* candles in them, not *tin* ones, were usually placed on the Altar 'on Communion-days.' On other days, in order to guard against danger of theft, when the Minster was open at all hours, a pair of brass candlesticks with false candles was to be seen there. Since the fire which destroyed the choir, these brass candlesticks, by common consent, (without any debate whatever) have been disused. The only debate, if a conversation ought to be called so, has been about the restoration of the Sancroft and Beaumont candlesticks on Communion-days: which possibly some of the Canons Residentiary may have had restored during their residence, while others have not restored them. As the omission was in the first instance accidental, it is probable that the use will be restored."

Which we are very glad to hear. In fairness, however, to the author of the article on Plain-Tune, while we willingly abandon the imaginary conversation,—so far as the words spoken are concerned,—yet the *fact*, as we then stated it, or the *possibility*, as we now phrase it, of the use of candlesticks being contingent upon the views, or it may be the taste, of the different Residentiaries, still remains; and the inference which we drew was not very unnatural.

With respect to the ritual irregularities in York Cathedral, our article has also been complained of. And here we are bound to be explicit. We cheerfully admit that there are those among the capitular body who are most anxious and willing to perform their duties; to them our censure was not meant to apply. We sympathize with their regrets too much to add to them. And, as to venturing to throw any blame upon the Venerable Primate, that is out of the question: we remember well his Injunctions for the restoration of weekly communion, and for the general regulation of service, although how far these injunctions are obeyed does not yet seem clear; nor have we forgotten his Grace's honest endeavour to enforce Ecclesiastical discipline in a case, where the common law alone interfered to prevent, as many think, an act of public justice. But neither Primate nor Chapter have much power in the regulations of the service: their good intentions may always be thwarted by the interference of that official who has the almost uncontrolled ordering of the Church. The influence of good wishes and feelings on the part of the capitular body is but negative; while the practical effect of the Dean's disregard of Ecclesiastical order is but too apparent to any who have attended the service at York. Of course, it is something that many connected with the Minster regret, that the Dean will not permit the Litany to be chanted—or that they are scandalized to find that one half of their colleagues do not turn to the East when the Creeds are

said, or that as many think it unnecessary to kneel during prayers. We make no doubt that they are similarly vexed that the Offertory prayer is omitted after the sermon, or that a Psalm-tune is substituted for the Anthem. We can quite understand that they really think it indecorous that the stalls of the clergy should be filled by ladies on a Sunday. We do not disparage the value of the protests, silent or otherwise, of the better portion of the clergy of York, against the painful, yet innumerable sights which indicate how little right-mindedness there is in the ruling spirit of the service at York. But all this does not change facts. Good wishes and feelings are one thing—results are another. These appear; the others do not. Abuses prevail and are glaring; men may deliver their own souls by protesting against them: but this does not remove them. All may wish it otherwise—but while it is *not* otherwise blame rests somewhere. And the cause of all this is not far to seek, if our readers will be good enough to recall certain “Remarks addressed to the Bishop of London, on his late Charge to the Clergy: by Wm. Cockburn, D.D. Dean of York,” which we took the liberty to review in January, 1843. And here we take leave of the matter, desirous as for the truth, so also, as they say, for saddling the right horse, as we trust to have shown: and while we own our regret at having, upon incorrect information, mis-stated, or over-stated, the matter of the candlesticks, because such involved personal charges, which we are glad to retract, we leave our readers, and our friends, (among the best of whom we reckon our censor in this question,) to settle whether we had not ample grounds for our complaint about the conduct of Divine Service in the Northern Metropolis.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mores Catholici, or Ages of Faith. Book X. London: Booker and Dolman. 1840.

AMONG the many debts of gratitude which we owe, if we would but acknowledge them, to the Monastic institutions, is the fostering care which they extended from the earliest times to our literature. The holiness attached to the buildings of the Church, marked out ecclesiastical edifices, from the first, as repositories of archives and writings; and, as early as the fifth century, a separate place had been set apart, attached to the great church at Nola, as a depository of MSS. under its librarian and chancellor. St. Jerome, at the close of the fourth century, makes the first mention of such a collection of MSS. as may with justice be designated, a Church Library; and not many years afterwards, St. Augustine alludes to his library at his church at Hippo. The Bishop of Rome was the greatest possessor

of books in the early days of the Church; and, by the time of Gregory the Great, the custom had arisen of applying to his stores for any work required by Churches more remote and less favoured than that of Rome.

From their first foundations, the Monks had acted on the French maxim of later days, that a cloister without a library, was a camp without an armoury; and from such small beginnings as a solitary life of St. Anthony, which Augustine found at Treves, cloisters became the great school for manuscripts, their inhabitants choosing, like the followers of St. Bruno, "to live in great poverty, so that they should collect a rich library." Men of all classes assisted in the formation of these collections, labouring in amassing these literary treasures, under the hope of enjoying the peace that results from study, learning in leisure and occupation much that they knew not of, and fortifying their contempt for the treacheries of the world and its pleasures. "Nothing is pleasanter, nothing more delightful, than reading," says an old monkish collector; "I have past nights without sleep, studying the Scriptures, and omitted to take my meals, in order to save time for reading."

"But," says the enthusiastic author of the *Mores Catholici*, "it is Richard of Burg who, above all, reveals what was in the minds of the monks, when they applied with such diligence to form libraries. 'In books,' says this great Churchman, 'every one who seeketh wisdom findeth it. In these, cherubim exhibit their wings, and excite the intelligence of the students, and they look from pole to pole, and from the rising to the setting sun. In these, the Most High God, incomprehensible, is contained apprehensibly and adored. In these, lies open the nature of celestial, terrestrial, and internal things. In these, are revealed laws by which all policies are ruled, the offices of the celestial hierarchy distinguished, and the tyrannies of demons described. In books, I find the dead, as if alive; in books, I foresee the future; in books, are manifested the laws of peace; all things else fail with time. Satan ceases not to devour his offspring; for oblivion covereth the glory of the world. But God hath provided a remedy for us in books, without which all that were ever great, would have been without a memory. Towers fall to the earth, triumphal cities perish, nor can any king or pope confer a lasting privilege, unless by books.'"

The few succeeding paragraphs deserve to be inscribed in letters of gold, over the entrance of every library of any resources.

"'Finally, think what convenience of learning there is in books; how easily, how secretly, how securely, we may lay bare without shame to books, the poverty of human ignorance. These are the masters who instruct us without rods, without anger, and without money. If you approach, they sleep not; if you interrogate them, they do not hide themselves; if you mistake, they do not murmur or laugh. O Books! alone liberal, and making liberal, who give to all who ask, and emancipate all who serve you,—the tree of life you are, and the river of Paradise, with which the human intelligence is irrigated and made fruitful.'"

As the means of rendering the contemplation of truth more perfect, and as the immediate instruments of speculative happiness, the old Churchman readily defends the giving any price for books, and being hindered in the obtaining "the infinite treasure of wisdom," by the malice of the seller alone, or the need of waiting some more convenient time: the seventy-two thousand sesterces that Aristotle gave for the few books of Spéusippus, were justified in the opinion of Richard of Bury. The author of *Philobiblion* goes on thus:—

"'The monks, who are so venerable, are accustomed to be solicitous in regard of books, and to be delighted in their company, as with all riches; and hence it is that we find in most monasteries such splendid treasures of erudition, giving a delectable

light to the path of laics. O that devout labour of their hands in writing books; how preferable to all georgic care! O devout solitude, by means of which neither Martha nor Mary can be corrupted. Truly the love of books is the love of wisdom, and a sensual or avaricious life cannot be combined with it. Therefore, some one says:—

“ Nulla libris erit apta manus ferrugine tincta,

Nec nummata queunt corda vacare libris:

Nummipetæ cum libricolis nequeunt simul esse,

Ambos crede mihi non tenet una domus.”

No one can serve books and mammon, for the former reveal God. Truly an image of future beatitude is the contemplation of sacred letters, in which one time the Creator, in another the creature, is seen; and from a perpetual torrent of delight faith is drawn. How admirable is the power of books, while, by them, we behold the universe, and as if, in a certain mirror of eternity, the things which are not, as if they were!—we ascend mountains, we dive into abysses, we see creatures of all kinds, we distinguish the properties of earthly bodies, and we even pass to contemplate those that are heavenly. So thus, by books, we attain the reward of beatitude, while we are as yet only travellers journeying towards it.”—*Mores Catholici*, X. 223-4.

Clerics, as well as laymen, vied with each other in contributing books to the Monastic Libraries. In some convents, every novice signalized his admission to the society by the present of some useful and valuable MS. Others, as Simon Langham, Abbot of St. Alban's, commemorated his departure from that abbey, where he had so long lived, to higher promotion abroad, by a present of books, valued, in those days, at above eight hundred pounds. The house of Corby, in Saxony, received into its stores folios from Pannonia of Arabic learning, and MSS. in Hebrew, taken in the war in Hungary. St. Louis left his library between the Franciscans and Dominicans, whilst Malatesta Novello, of Rimini, endowed and furnished the library of the Franciscan convent of Cesena. The Abbey of Tagersne, the scene of many a devout meditation of Henry the Third of Bavaria, received a noble library from its Archducal Visitor, as a memorial of the happy days he had passed within its walls. The monks, too, hesitated not to expend a great portion of their possessions in the purchase of books. In the middle ages, Paris was the great book-mart of the world; and thither the monks resorted, ready “to untie their purse-strings, and open their treasures, dispersing money with a joyful heart, and ransoming, with *dirt*, books that are beyond all price.” The quaint old Monkish Philobiblist assigns no bad reason for such an expenditure of the conventual revenues in “that Paradise of the world, where there are libraries more redolent of delight than all the shops of aromatics; and flowering meadows of all volumes that can be found anywhere. But lo,” continues Richard of Bury, “how good and pleasant a thing it is to gather together into one, the arms of clerical warfare, that there may be a supply of them for us to use against heretics, if ever they should rise up against us.”

Every year some great and good man departs from among us; some one famous for his researches, or his writings, who has lived a life among the works in his library, and leaves the carefully-collected weapons of his disputations, or his writings, to be scattered piecemeal. Of how many is it not now daily lamented among us, as it was in past times, by Picus of Mirandula, on the death of his learned uncle, “It is not yet known what is to be done with his rich library.” The private collectors of the middle ages, for the most part, obviated this ever-recurring question, by collecting, not so much

for themselves, as for some monastery. With such sources, it is not to be wondered that the libraries of the monasteries of St. Fulda, Corby, or Gembloux, became so famous in their day. That of St. Fulda dated from the Carolingians, and was destroyed in the thirty years' war; Gembloux, rich in the antiquities of the Low Countries, lasted seven centuries; that of Corby was transferred to Wolfenbuttel, during the wars of the sixteenth century. The Library of St. Gall was in its embryo in the eighth century, rose and fell with the monastic discipline, and, at last, after six hundred years of variation, warranted the title of "*Bibliotheca illa Solemnis.*" When the reformers visited St. Gall, the treasures of the library were left a prey to plunderers and children. Some, indeed, the magistrates did rescue from the ignorant persons who threw them about the streets, and laid them up in the council-chamber of the municipality.

"In France," says our author, "the monasteries were very rich in books. Stephen Pasquier cannot sufficiently express his admiration of them. 'Though much,' he says, 'has been lost through the length of years, and the misfortunes of our time, one may still gather out of the libraries of our monasteries *plusieurs beaux brins dont l'on peut embellir le public.*' 'I cannot omit mentioning,' says Paradin, 'that, at St. John, in Lyons, there are certain very ancient books, written of the bark of trees, of which one is legible, and contains a commentary on the Psalms; but the other, which is unbound and torn, is written in old characters, which, to confess the simple truth, cannot be read, though the letters are fine and clear. To many who are not skilled in such matters, they seem to be Greek characters, but they are Latin letters, of which the form only is unlike ours; so that, however clever a man may be, he would find it hard to read a page in a week. These are, in fact, the works of St. Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne. Some think that they are written on linen, others that it is on the junk of the Nile, others that it is on little pieces of wood glued together. It is impossible to divine exactly what they are. Certainly, they are venerable, and worthy of being preserved, through reverence for antiquity.' The library of the Abbey of Cluney, before the Protestants pillaged and burnt it in the sixteenth century, was deemed one of the wonders of the world; and, in fact, it equalled that of the emperors at Constantinople. The literary treasures of the Abbeys of St. Remy, at Rheims, of St. Benedict, on the Loire, of St. Victor and St. Germain, at Paris, and of St. Denis, after its discipline had been reformed by Suger, were immense. The most important MSS. of the Petavian Library, collected by Paul Petau, and afterwards purchased by Vossius, from his son, Alexander, for 40,000 livres, which forms the kernel of the present Alexandrine Library in the Vatican, came, in 1562, out of the plundered Abbey of St. Benoit-sur-le-Loire. Frequently original MSS. of the great men who had rendered particular abbeys illustrious, were preserved in them. In the Dominican Library of SS. John and Paul, at Venice, was a Thucydides of the tenth century; and works by Gulielmus Pastrengicus, who, from being a Turk, became a monk of that house, and enriched it with many oriental manuscripts. In Bobbio, of which the library was already celebrated, in 823, Mabillon found a *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* of the seventh century."—*Mores Catholici*, pp. 229—231.

But it were hardly possible to make the most succinct catalogue of all the famous libraries of the middle age monasteries, were but a line apiece devoted to the agricultural collection of Bobbio, the Ambrosian autographs of the Camaldolese Convent of St. Michael, in Venice, or the MS. autographs of nearly all the Greek fathers that adorned the great Archimandrian Monastery of St. Saviour, at Messina. The glories and wonders of the libraries of Aleobaca, Oviedo, Sahagun, Barcelona, and the treasures and curiosities of Palamos, Lesbos, Andros, and Mount Athos, cannot here find one tithe of the space they do of right demand.

These gifts of the rich and learned were not closed up in the monastic libraries from the eyes of strangers, or devoted to the perusal of

a favoured few. "*Publicæ et maxime pauperum utilitate,*" was not only the inscription over the library at Florence, but the practical rule by which these collections were amassed and preserved. The monastic libraries were open to every one. That of St. Francis, at Padua, was free to every one for six hours in summer, and five in winter. Before the great revolution in Paris, nineteen libraries were daily open to the researches of the students of that capital; since that epoch of liberty, learning, and freedom, the libraries have sunk to eight, and the year has been shortened by six months of closed doors. Nor, indeed, were strangers prevented from taking books to their homes. In some libraries, they could be borrowed for life; in most for a fair space of time, under due precaution. Books likely to be in great request, were chained to the wall, lest any evil-disposed person should lay violent hands on them. Such chains may even now be seen, not only in the libraries of the continent, but also in some of those of our English colleges, such as that of Jesus College, Cambridge, where three books still retain their old covers, and iron chains. Some clerics, as a certain arch-prelate of Palermo, kept several chained volumes in his hall of reception, that those who came on business might not pass the time of waiting in idleness. Thus speaks the monk of Bury:—

"Moved by Him who alone granteth and perfecteth a good will to men, I diligently inquired, what among all the offices of piety would most please the Almighty, and most profit the Church Militant. Then before the eye of our mind there came a flock of chosen scholars, or rather of the elect, in whom God, the Artificer, and Nature, his handmaiden, had planted the roots of the best manners and sciences, but whom penury so oppressed that they were dried up; because these fruitful seeds, in consequence of want, were watered with no dew in the uncultivated soil of youth, so that their virtue lay hidden and buried. So the crop withered away, and the corn degenerated into tares; and they who might have grown up into strong columns of the Church, by the capacity of a subile genius, were obliged to renounce studies. Thus they are repelled violently from the nectarian cup of philosophy, for which they thirst the more for having tasted it; and being deprived of the writings and helps necessary for contemplation, as if through a kind of apostasy, they return, for the sake of bread, to mechanical arts, to the loss of the Church, and the scandal of the whole clergy. So Mother Church cannot bring forth sons for the want of the few and little things with which nature is contented: she loses pupils that would afterwards have become champions of the faith. What can a pious man behold more deplorable?—what can more excite his compassion?—what can more easily dissolve into drops a congealed heart? Therefore, we consider how much it would profit the Christian republic to bear assistance to the poor, and nourish students, not with the delights of Sardanapalus, or the riches of Cræsus, but with scholastic mediocrity. How many have we seen conspicuous by no lustre of birth, and no hereditary succession, but only assisted by the piety of good men, who have deserved apostolic chairs; in which they have served the faithful, subjected the proud, and procured the liberty of the Church? Therefore the result of our meditation was pity for this obscure race of men, who might render such service to the Church, and a resolution to assist them, not only with means of subsistence, but with books for their studies; and to this end, our intention ever watched before our Lord. Truly, this extatic love so moved us, that, renouncing all other earthly things, we applied ourselves to collect books."—*Mores Catholici*, pp. 232, 233.

Libraries are still being collected, though hardly for the reasons so eloquently put by the monk of Bury. Books, indeed, are no longer bound by iron chains, but are they more unfettered than of old; more open, not to the learned and the rich, but to the poor and the unlearned? The corn-factor of Amiens cares more for the price of the markets, in which he is deeply interested in that phase of his existence,

than he does for the relics of the Monastic Library of Corby, of which he is guardian, as librarian of his city. It is not in Amiens, or in France alone, that we may regret that the monks of old are no longer the guardians of their libraries, or that the Benedictine has been replaced by the learned modern librarian, or the mere subaltern handler of volumes, or the grenadier of the Bourbon Library, at Naples. In the middle ages, the readers, indeed, were perhaps few, when compared with these days, but books were fewer, and more valuable. Still, not only were most of the libraries open to the poorest student, but, to a most liberal extent, the system of lending libraries was constituted. Such was the case at Venice, where the bounds of the city alone confined the loan of the books from the library of St. Mark. In those days, when a MS. was indeed a treasure, and a book was the result of as patient transcription on the part of the scribe, as of mental labour on that of its author, the temptation of loans from the various monastic repositories became too great; and in France, the Council, in 1212, deemed it of so much more importance that knowledge should be spread abroad than that a MS. or so should be lost to a monastery, that they forbade the abbots from restricting their loans, "*quum commodare inter præcipua misericordiæ opera computetur.*" It was a source of pleasure to the monks, when some brother from another convent came and visited their library. "It was gratifying," says Wibald, Abbot of New Corby, to the Archbishop of Bremen, in 1151, "that you visited our brethren, and consoled them. But I wish you would return and remain longer; and as you promised that you would return, and turn over, and search, not alone the volumes of our shelves, but also the schedules, I wish that we may have this delight together, in peace, and quiet, and leisure; for what greater happiness in life?" Their common studies formed the bond that united many a brother in distant lands with those from whose society he had been sent forth on the long and dangerous service, in friendship and common prayers.

The monks were by no means negligent in the care of their books, however willing they might be to open their libraries to the student. According to one monastic rule, no brother was to be negligent of the book he had taken from the library, nor leave it open in his cell, when himself absent. That of Cîteaux directs that, "if it be necessary to go anywhere, the person to whom the book was entrusted, should place it back in the drawer; or if he wished to leave it on his seat, should give a signal to the nearest brother to guard it during his absence." The author of the *Philobiblion*, who may well be said to have sat like Cato in the library of Lucullus, inhaling, not reading books, gives no unamusing sketch of the scholastic manners of his day, in his curious and minute instructions for the proper preservation of his darling books.

"Not alone," says the Monk of Bury. "do we serve God by preparing volumes of new books, but also by preserving and treating with great care those we already have. Truly, after the vestments and vessels dedicated to our Lord's body, sacred books deserve to be treated with most reverence by clerks; in shutting and opening volumes, they should observe a mature modesty, not too hastily loosing the clasps, nor failing to shut them when they have finished reading; for it is far more important to preserve a book than a shoe."

The old Philobiblist then goes on to reprove the race of youthful scholars who require to be bridled by the rules of elders; men who act with petulance and presumption, and knowing little of the value of the things they ill treat, exhibit in their conduct their ignorance, inexperience, and gross presumption.

"You will see," says Richard, "one youth lazily reclining over his studies, and in the winter season, when suffering from a sorry rheum, permitting drops from his nose to fall upon their pages. I wish that such a scholar, instead of a book, may have to sit over leather with a shoemaker. He has a nail, too, like a giant's, with which he marks the margins of the passages that please him. He has besides innumerable straws, which he puts between the leaves, to help his memory; these accumulate, so as to swell the junctures of the binding, and there they are forgotten, and left to rot. He scruples not to eat cheese and fruit, too, over the open book, and to pass the plate dissolutely over it; and, because he has no bag provided for alms, he commits the fragments to the book. What more shall I add? Leaning on his two elbows, he rests upon the book, invites sleep, and doubles down the corners of the leaves, to their no small detriment. Then, when the showers are past, and the flowers have appeared in our land, this scholar, whom we describe, rather a neglecter, than inspector of books, stuffs his book with the first violets and roses he can find, and turns over the leaves with hot hands, never thinking for a month to close the book, so that insects penetrate, and eat into it."

It might be supposed that the indignant Philobiblist had completed his catalogue of the enormities committed by manifold markers, readers at meals, flower-gatherers, and dog's-earing scholars. Far from closing his list, he has reserved the worst to the conclusion. In his days there were those who loved to show their own learning, or ignorance, by marginal remarks; to parade their powers as draftsmen by marginal caricatures, or their economy in paper by applying the borders of pages to practising alphabets. Nor were there wanting those "sacrilegious thieves, who cut out leaves, or letters," to whom our guardian of illuminations and MSS. scruples not to award the punishment of an anathema. Our good monk was no patron of the dear little damp-fingered darlings of the nursery; impressed with a love of books amounting almost to idolatry, or unwilling that the child, the future scholar, peradventure, should be too early initiated into the juvenile recreations, at which they are so *au fait*, he was hard-hearted enough to forbid the little imps to admire the capital letters, lest admiration should provoke feeling, and feeling should render damp and dim the gold and colours of the MS. Laics, old Richard thought but little of, as to their learning; prone to sit wisely looking on the inverted pages of a book, drawing as much instruction from its letters upside down, as when properly directed. The monk's concluding appeal is according to the spirit of the age. To our ears, it appears more than strange to hear the Saviour's conduct set forth as our example in so apparently trivial and every-day actions as handling of books; but to the monks of old He was an ensample, even in the least of things; and the men of the middle age could rightly estimate the appeal of this Monk of Bury. In fine, all negligence with regard to books is excluded by the example of our Saviour; for when He had read from the book, which was delivered to Him, we read, that He did not return it to the minister until He had closed it with His sacred hands; from which students ought to take example, never to commit the least negligence with regard to

It was sometimes the custom to insert in the volumes a few lines of warning to those by whom they would chance to be used. The following are from the library of the Abbey of Richenau, which, commencing by stating by and under which abbot the books were procured, proceeded thus :—

“ Adjurat cunctos Domini per amabile nomen,
Hoc ut nullus opus cuiquam concesserit extra;
Ni prius ille fidem dederit, vel denique pignus,
Donec ad has ædes quæ accepit salva remittat.
Dulcis amice gravem scribendi attende laborem;
Tolle, aperi, recita, ne lædas, claude, reponè.”

When we read of the readiness with which the libraries of the middle ages were thrown open to the students of the day, not to say the anxiety with which, in many cases, the abbots of convents pressed the followers of knowledge to drink of the Biblical founts of their conventual libraries, we are naturally led to consider how we fare in these enlightened days—whether the student can now have free access to the stores of knowledge with which our land abounds. One great public library is open to the students of the metropolis; three or four more, partly the relics of old ecclesiastical foundations, partly shareholding speculations, open their doors to certain privileged classes. In our universities, even if, in theory, the public libraries are open to their members, who will not admit that, in practice, they are closed, save to a privileged class? There are few colleges that do not boast their old library; and, in many, as in the venerable fabric within whose walls we were enclosed for three academical years, a yearly sum as a donation, on matriculation, is demanded of the poor students—the *pauperes scholares*—for the use of the library, from the interior of which they are excluded, except as a sight for some friend, or until their half-finished labours have raised them to that class, which, according to college rule, can be trusted with the contents of the college library. Can there be any reason for believing in the stories of skeletons of sundry domestic animals discovered in college libraries? poor luckless creatures, with misplaced confidence in the reading habits of their masters, seduced into abiding in the library, in the hopes of having countless opportunities of escape, through countless applications of eager students to the treasures of the place; day after day, week after week, month after month, passes away; the supply of mice and rats is not equal to the demand, and ere the dean, with the head and sub-librarian, return to pay their semi-annual visit to the library, poor pussy has fallen a victim to her misplaced confidence in the intelligence of the nineteenth century.

The cases and coverings for their MSS. were carefully provided by the monks of the middle ages, and insects and age were alike rendered harmless by the strong odour of the ointment of the resin of the cedar-tree, and the stout covers which the deer's hide contributed. When the prohibition against hunting was so rigorously enforced against the monks, while used for relaxation, or the loading of the festal board, Charlemagne removed it from the monks of SS. Bertin, Omer, and Denis, on the condition of their confining their courses to the procuring of skins for the covers of their books; whilst the Count of Anjou, in 1047, gave the tithe of deer to his newly-founded monastery at

Saintes for a similar purpose. There are still some few specimens of the stout deer-hide bindings in existence. Sad, indeed, was the destruction which oftentimes fell upon the literary, as well as other treasures of the convents. Sometimes, on the near approach of the enemy, the church treasure and the library were buried, or concealed, in some secret place; death fell upon the depositaries of the secret; and when, years after, accident revealed the place of hiding, time and damp had gone far to destroy the contents. Sometimes the convent library fared worse than that of Colonel Mannerling, and had no Dominie Sampson to lament over its battered contents, and pick the bullets from its thick volumes. The great Medicæan Library was formed from the ruins of a greater one, of the convent of St. Salvator de Settimo, in Florence. "I remember," says the composer of the history of the Cistercian houses, "that when living in that house, I used to wonder on seeing how many volumes were covered with mud, and torn, and defaced; but an old monk told me what he had heard from the ancient Fathers, that it was Florentine soldiers that caused that destruction; for being placed in ambush in the monastery, and sallying forth to repel the enemy from the walls, they had scarcely proceeded beyond the ditch, when the substructure failed; and there being a great confusion, in order to facilitate the return of those who were without, and who would otherwise have been slain in the trench, they took a quantity of books, and made a bridge across with them, on which they passed back."

Pass we now to the small retired room whence these MS. treasures issued, the scriptorium of the convent, where the ready scribes sat ceaselessly at that monotonous labour of transcription. Over the door of this room might well be inscribed the lines that were to be read over that of St. Fulda:—

"Hic sedeant sacræ scribentes lumina legis
 Nec non sanctorum dicta sacrata fratrum.
 Hic inter sese caveant sua frivola verbiis,
 Frivola quæ propter erret et ipsa manus.
 Correctosque sibi quærant studiose libellos
 Tramite quo recto penna volantis eat.
 Est labor egregios sacros jam scribere libros,
 Nec mercede sua scriptor et ipse caret."

The ninth and tenth centuries were the most remarkable for the labours of the monastic scribes; transcribing flourished, indeed, until the fourteenth century, but the difference between MSS. of that date and four hundred years before, is as marked as the correctness of those of the fourteenth century from the corruption of the transcriptions immediately preceding the discovery of printing. It is not too much to affirm, that every year the transcribers were becoming more negligent, and that printing was discovered but just in time to save our MS. treasures from irremediable incorrectness and utter corruption. To the beauty of the tenth century writing, every one at all conversant with MSS. of that date will most readily bear witness, though they may not be inclined to admit that art as a sufficient refutation of the old title of "barbarous ages," or quite agree with the historian of the Black Forest in estimating the beautiful writing and embellishing of

the books of that age, as "apparently the produce not of human but angelic hands."

To such of the abbots of that era as followed the example of St. Bernard in establishing and encouraging monastic scriptoria, we are mainly indebted for our present MS. collections. In that age, and in the century immediately preceding and subsequent to it, we find a well-spread desire of multiplying copies of books. Scriptoria, supported by ample revenues, and worked in, not by humble brothers alone, but by such men as Abbot Frederic of Hirschau, were in full operation, and men began to be proud of the multitude of works they produced by their ceaseless labours with the reed. The task was no easy one: "as the sick man desires health, so does the scribe sigh for the last page of the book," writes one scribe: "Written with great trouble," is the complaint of another; whilst a third expresses the joy of the transcriber on the completion of his work in the following rhyming hexameter:—

"Libro completo saltat scriptor pede lato."

"Writing books," says our author, "was the main employment of the Monks of St. Gall, in the ninth and tenth centuries, to collate which they brought manuscripts from Italy and France; and this was the object of most of their epistolary correspondence. They wrote only on parchment, which, out of the hides of wild beasts, they manufactured with such skill, that it is often whiter and finer than the finest post paper. In the beginning of the ninth century, their writing was obscured by many Merovingian and Lombardish signs; but from 820, this cursive writing was generally laid aside for the Carolingian Roman character. The great antiquarians, Mabillon, Baluze, Basnage, Calmet, and Gerbert, found few MSS. to equal those of St. Gall. Some made the parchment; others drew the lines; others wrote the books; others put in the gold and initial letters; others painted them; others compared the text with the original; which work was generally done by night, in the Scriptorium, between matins and lauds; and the last hands were employed in binding them within thick boards, cramped with iron, lead, or ivory. Writing was learned by the verse, everywhere known, containing nearly all the letters of the alphabet—

'Adnexique globum zephyrique kanna eecabant.'

"The labour was great, and Eadbert complains of it, saying, 'He that is ignorant of writing, is unconscious of labour; three fingers, indeed, write, but the whole body works.'"—*Mores Catholicæ*, pp. 241, 242.

Not content with delineating letters in ink and various other pigments, the monks of St. Gall endeavoured to engrave the letters on parchment with a style. Sintram, one of the most noted of their scribes, left records of his penmanship in most parts of the world, so numerous were his writings; yet, though with a writing most delicate in style, "you will scarcely find," says Ekkehard, "that he had to erase one word in a page through any mistake." There were but few monasteries in Germany that could not show one or more of the hand-works of Sintram, the "beautiful scribe." So prodigious is the number of books,—many of them far from small,—stated by every authority to have been transcribed by some of the great monkish scribes, that we receive, with unconcealed incredulity, the recorded labours of Harduin, Maurus Lapi and his thousand MSS., and the mass of service books assigned to the pen of the half-blind Gerhard of Monte Serrano.

It was in no bad spirit that many of the monks addicted themselves to the labours of the scriptorium, or expended their resources in the collection of books. Far better was their spirit than that which

actuates so many a bibliomaniac in these days; the pride of having a unique edition, of numbering his volumes by tens of thousands, of contrasting his row of unopened Elzivirs, Alduses, or Caxtons, with the scantier array of his equally bibliomaniacal but poorer rival.

Some could say with the monk of the abbey of Morigni. "May God reward all constructors, enlargers, and protectors of this place, and have mercy on them, and on me also, who have written these things, and who know not whether I have done it any service, excepting that I have, to the best of my power, corrected and accented the whole Bible, from Genesis to the last epistle of St. Paul; St. Augustine, from his book 'De Trinitate Dei,' till that of John, the morals of Gregory, and other works." The monk then laments his inability in his temporary exercise of the office of prior; "partly through ignorance, partly through infirmity, not of body, but of manners;" and he then concludes with this appeal to his readers:—"You who read this, I beseech, by the sweet name of my Lord Jesus Christ, to say, with all the affection you can, 'O God, merciful by nature, who shoudest mercy and hast pity upon all, show mercy, I pray, to Teulfus, unworthy of thy mercy.' But if you shut your bowels against me, and turn a deaf ear to my prayer, you will sin, both against God, who is charity, and against me." The thought, that by the labour of their pens they might disseminate religious knowledge, was a source of joy to some of the monastic writers.

"Happy intention," says Cassiodorus to his monks, alluding to those who transcribed the ancient books, "praiseworthy assiduity, by the hand to preach to men, by the fingers to open the lips, in silence to give salvation to men, and with the pen to fight against the unlawful suggestions of Satan; for the devil receives as many wounds as the writer puts down words of the Lord. Resting in one place, he goes, by means of the dissemination of his book, through different provinces; his labour is read in holy places; the people may learn from it how they may be converted from an evil, to serve God with a clean heart."—*Mores Catholici*, p. 245.

We are almost afraid of expressing our regret that not now, as of old, pious hands alone are employed in the multiplication of the Holy Word, lest we should be set down as wishing for the abolition of the fourth estate of the realm, the much belauded origin of the Reformation. But surely it is far from gratifying to remember the manner and the means by which the Scriptures are multiplied in our printing offices; composed, corrected, hurried through the machine, thrown from one part of the office to another with no more respect than the sheets of a book of ballads or a Newgate novel; without further recollecting the oftentimes unhallowed and heretical hands to whose labours we are indebted for our copies of the Word of Life. Of course, in us it is rank superstition to claim any outward respect for the corporal form of the Scriptures. Be it so; we can bear to be called superstitious in this matter; and fear not to ascribe the present inconsiderateness, not to use a stronger term, with which the Bible, as a book, is treated among us, as to other causes, so also to its rapid multiplication by novel aids, which have taken away from it that external reverence with which it was treated in earlier times.

We must here conclude. Let no one think that we are insensible to the advantages which we and our predecessors have derived from the discovery of printing and the labours of the printers, or consider that we would recall the days of slow transcription, of few books. All that

we contemplated in this slight sketch was, to vindicate for the monks of old some claim among bibliopilists, and to add one more argument against the now almost defeated dictum, that the middle and the dark ages are convertible terms.

1. *Practical Remarks on the Minor; Accessories to the Services of the Church.* By GILBERT J. FRENCH. Leeds: Green. London: Rivingtons.
2. *Church Needlework; with Practical Remarks on its Arrangement and Preparation.* By Miss LAMBERT, Authoress of the *Hand-Book of Needlework.* London: Murray.

THESE works have peculiarities which, as they represent a class, we may as well distinguish with critical care. They are curious, then, in their several aspects: that is, both externally and internally, and in the way of their final cause: so, as our worthy ancestors would have said, we will examine our present teachers of Ecclesiastical æsthetics, in their moral nature, their physical nature, and their intellectual nature. Body, mind, and soul of each are alike noticeable.

And first, morally, which would not be at first so apparent, Mr. French and Miss Lambert are really discoverers in the ocean of literature. Columbus-like, they have fallen upon the Fortunate Islands of Trade. Formerly, and we speak from sorrowful experience, one of the greatest drawbacks from the luxury of authorship, was that inconvenient item in a Publisher's Bill—"Paid in advertisements, £ s. d." It has been a *crux* then to authors, and to tradesmen, hitherto, how to make advertising profitable: the greatest masters in the art have not attained more than a balanced account. Was it Moses' revolving clothes-cart, or Painter's "When you Marry," or the *affiche* of Mr. Montgomery's next Charity Sermon, advertising in every conceivable case had to be paid for. In the long-run it might pay its own expenses, but, *pro re natâ*, every advertisement was money out of pocket. All honour, then, to French and Lambert! not only do they not pay for advertising, but they get paid for it: they publish elaborate puffs of their own wares and shops, to the tune, one of a half-guinea 8vo., and the other in the costly guise of a gilt-edged 12mo. The antiquarian and tradesman are thus amusingly interchanged: at first you would imagine that you were reading a Cardinal Bona, or an Ottley, or a Way at the least: maniple and albe, corporas and *aire*, are discussed with edifying accuracy; when, presto!—enter the linendraper—exit the antiquarian—"I have prepared, &c., &c. a beautiful article, 15s. each!" But, seriously, to find on p. 76, an elaborate quotation from St. Optatus Milevitanus, and on p. 75, a list of Mr. French's prices of worsted fringe and shabby printed flannel, is extremely offensive. Miss Lambert—which, by-the-bye, is not the lady's name, she having exchanged the maid for the matron—manages matters much more discreetly; and were we not aware that she is proprietress of a high-priced "establishment," for the sale of Berlin wool and embroidery frames, in Burlington-street, we should really have been disposed to rank her with—Mrs. Somerville, for aught we know. However, as it is becoming quite the fashion for girls to work for our churches

a custom which we should be the last to discourage—we have not the slightest objection to their buying silks and needles of Miss Lambert, only we wish that she had taken a more straightforward way of announcing what she is pleased to call her “avocation;” for her book is, on the whole, not a bad one, though it is full of blunders.

Next, as to the external aspect of these books. They are simply distressing. We think it was the *Times* which complained of the present Gothomania. It is perfectly frightful. Why half the children who are born are not crimped and jagged with tracery and foliation puzzles us not a little. We cannot draw a line but it shifts into string-course and mouldings: our dots become ball-flowers: our jelly-moulds are all but lanterns and pinnacles: our pies are encrusted with Tudor pannelling: ribbons begin to look mediæval and severe: and Westminster Abbey steals out in pipkins and pocket handkerchiefs. Flowing or solid, wet or dry, substance or accident, all shapes itself into some monstrous misapplication of diaper and quatre-foil. Thus; if Miss L. wishes to inscribe the title of her book on its cover, it must be under a canopied tomb: if Mr. F. has the same object, he must “adopt” an angel with a background semée of stars—holding what? a shield with the emblems of the Sacred Passion? no—a dirty rag with some nonsense of a bookseller’s title. We instinctively condemn, as shallow pretenders, each and all of these abominable and irreverent perversions, and the sooner we have done with mock frescoes, and mock illuminations, and mock brasses, and bits of finials for head-pieces, and distorted arcades and wheel-windows for stamped bindings, the better.

Last of all: neither of these books is to be trusted: with much of good, which their respective authors could scarcely have missed, with the Ecclesiologist, and Markland, and Bloxam, and Pugin at hand, there is much to object to. Miss Lambert, for example, blunders egregiously when she recommends *any* relief or shadow in embroidery, as she does in many of her borders and monograms. No. XII., for example, at p. 118. and those figured at p. 90: her evangelistic symbols—the Agnus Dei, the sacred Dove, the peacock, and others, are very bad. What suits stone, or even wood, where there is relief, does not suit embroidery where there is none—pendents and wheat-cars are not to be mixed up, except in that most detestable of pseudo-styles, the *renaissance*, as at p. 66. In a word, it must be with the greatest caution that our lady-readers attempt any of Miss Lambert’s patterns. The most curious and valuable illustration in her volume, is that of a pall belonging to the Fishmongers’ Company, which has been traced back to the fourteenth century. As to Mr. French, he meddles with so many things which he does not understand, that we can only wish him a little less business, and then he may become qualified, by study, for the work which he has taken up: the linendraper and the ecclesiologist are at present incompatible. He thinks proper to suggest that the altar should not be placed against the east wall; he condemns Latin inscriptions; he introduces the “maniple” only of a shape and pattern and use totally different from any known ancient examples; he tells us that the Piscina, p. 125, is not now required; although he is right in objecting to our scarfs, he is wrong in the size which he gives to the ancient stole, p. 150; he is still more decidedly incorrect in saying that the

surplice should *not* be close up the front; and his patterns, both for linen and altar cloths, have no authority whatever. He has moved, however, in the right direction; and for this we thank him.

In a word, while we would thankfully see every church in England as beautiful as Solomon's temple, we are afraid of decoration without taste and knowledge; of attention to mere æsthetics apart from the "weightier matters of the law;" and above all, of mere speculations and adventures in holy things.

Mr. E. C. Kemp is, in one respect, a remarkable person: he has delivered a "Lecture on Transubstantiation," (Bell,) before a Protestant Association, which, though unsound, is neither indecent nor abusive. And yet he is one of those to whom the good Dean of Hereford's rebuke, addressed to Mr. Venn, on his recent unseemly exhibition, would apply: viz., as neither qualified by his studies, nor called upon from his position as a Parish Priest to conduct so serious a dispute. The acme of wickedness in one of these lecturers, was once exhibited in a London church, where the preacher, on the *segnius irritant* plan, was shameless enough, to produce in the pulpit from his pocket what he said was the consecrated host in a bottle, and to display it with oratorical gestures and words, which we care not to repeat.

Mr. Kemp, also, has hit upon a novel mode of refuting Dissenters: he goes to "Mr. Kinghorn's Baptist Meeting-house" and then publishes his "Reflections on the Discourse," &c. (Bell,) which he heard on this occasion. Did he do this in the former case? Because we claim "equal justice" for Papist and Puritan.

"The Churches of Yorkshire," (Green,)—and the "Churches of Cambridgeshire," (Stevenson,)—(the last under the auspices of the Camden Society,) are going on, we trust, in a satisfactory way. They are beautiful and authentic works. How very slow the Oxford Society is in its publications: some promises are better than performances.

Looking Westward, we find a second edition of Bishop Doane's Sermon on "Ancient Charity," (Burlington, U. S.) in which he first announced his intention of instituting the weekly offertory: as this took place three years since, we should be glad to know how it has worked. Appended is a Pastoral in behalf of Missions, ordering a general collection at the offertory: this wholesome practice is gradually making way. Here we have to thank the Bishop of London for an example which, if followed out, will, in the end, relieve the Church from the perplexities inseparable from Societies.

"A Pastoral for the season of Confirmation," (Burlington, U. S.) from the same quarter, is simple in the expository portion, and with something more than the good Bishop's warmth in the hortatory part. The glow of Transatlantic Sermons is so universal, that it is a question of national temper rather than literary taste.

"Worldly and Christian Education Compared" (Rivington,) we introduce here, because it is a Sermon preached by an American Divine, Dr. Jarvis of Connecticut, of high standing and reputation, who is at present in England, with the view we hear of publishing a learned work on New Testament Chronology. The Sermon was preached at South Hackney, and published by request: and a very interesting one it is. Dr. Jarvis it seems has been in England before; and his testimony to our improved state is very cheering. At the same time we suspect, what the Doctor is too good and gentle to tell us, that the recent act—one, let us say, of the most tardy and incomplete justice—which admits our American brethren to stand as priests at our common altar, has, it may be unconsciously, prejudiced him to take an over favourable view of our present ecclesiastical state. We welcome Dr. Jarvis heartily and respectfully, both as a stranger, and a writer. The English Church yet owes a long arrear of duties to America: and we are quite sure that we shall lose in self-respect, if we fail to pay some of them in the person of the Historiographer of the American Church: a more engaging and worthy representative our daughter could not have sent us.

"Mariolatry," &c. by Mr. Hartwell Horne, has been dignified with an American reprint by Dr. Jarvis (Hartford, Parsons). This is an honour quite equal to its deserts: too much of the details which Mr. Horne has collected, is, we are afraid, undeniable: but this writer has a hard, technical, unloving way of stating faults and sins. He jots down with the cold precision of a catalogue-maker. We cannot understand how any Christian can quote Conyers Middleton with other feelings than loathing; and it is not a *fact*—we say nothing whether the phrase is or is not justifiable—that the Church of England refuses the title of "our Lady" to the B. V. M. (See the Lessons proper for Holy Days.)

"Bibliotheca Sacra" and "Theological Review," No. 1., (Andover, W. S. Allen; London, Wiley and Putman,) completes our American list. Of its principles we shall not be expected to approve, conducted as it is by Dr. Robinson and Professor Stuart: it is of the German and Rationalizing school. But we are not sure that the plan, already very successful in Germany, of a Quarterly, composed entirely of original Dissertations and Essays, avowed by the Authors, and on other than subjects of local controversy, might not be tried among ourselves.

Speaking of new periodicals reminds us of the "Archæological Journal," No. 1. (Longman,) published under the auspices of the British Archæological Association, for the preservation and illustration of ancient monuments, buildings, &c. As the Institution, which, with the Journal, promises exceedingly well, has special reference to Churches and all branches of Christian art, we recommend them unconditionally; only, let the conductors remember that *reverence* which is due to such subjects: we thought that we detected an over-spicing of mere Antiquarianism.

"Zoological Sketches" (S. P. C. K.) is a beautiful book. It consists of reduced copies of the fine single prints of Animals, published with so much success by the Literature and Education Committee; accompanied by pleasing and right-minded anecdotes of the different creatures. Mr. Secretary Murray, the author, has shown himself a worthy follower of Derham and Gilbert White; higher praise we could not award; and it is well deserved. At present, the monthly meetings of the Society are anything but "the happy family" which all Londoners must have been delighted with in Trafalgar Square, and which Mr. Murray so genially describes, p. 52. We are quite sure that Mr. M.—at least we can answer for ourselves,—would be much more at home with the cats and rats, hawks, owls, and guinea-pigs, all lying down in peace and silence, in their "large cage" by the National Gallery, than with their theological congeners biting and tearing one another once a month in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

"Percy's Reliques" (Washbourne,) is republishing in Numbers, in a pleasing form and guise. Never was so sweet a companion with which to

—"loiter long days by Shawford brook,"

which to an Editor is rather matter of hope than anticipation.

The Cambridge Camden Society has published a very interesting account (Stevenson,) of the repairs of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge—interesting both as a record of one of the most important restorations of the day, as well as an historical document. We regret to hear that the Society is in debt for the Restoration fund, and is in trouble from the ignorant puritanism of a non-resident incumbent: we trust that they will as readily get out of the former trouble as they will dispose of the mischievous folly of Mr. Faulkner. Is there not some blunder at p. 10, where the "Old Jewry in London" is said "to derive its name from the church of St. Sepulchre being in it?" St. Lawrence is the *present* church in the Old Jewry: was there a St. Sepulchre's before the Fire?

A most instructive and interesting collection of "Documents relative to the Erection and Endowment of Colonial Bishoprics" (Rivington, &c.) has appeared, enriched by the very best History of the several attempts to expand the Anglican Episcopate, which we possess. It is from the pen of one of the most useful men in England, the Secretary of the S. P. G.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[*The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed in this department.*]

MAURICE'S KINGDOM OF CHRIST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

SIR,—The letter which appeared in your last number, on the subject of my "Kingdom of Christ," has released me from an obligation which I felt to be very painful. I was sure that the flattering opinion of me which was expressed in a former article in the CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, could only have proceeded from the partiality of personal friendship. For this reason I valued it; on every other ground I much regretted it. I felt that it was, in itself, extravagant; that it must be disagreeable to nearly all the readers of your work who happened to be acquainted with what I have written; and that it far too kindly and liberally permitted me to take rank as the honorary or correspondent member of a school, the members of which would very eagerly disclaim my alliance, if I were ambitious to force it upon them. I must, therefore, at whatever sacrifice of feeling, have rejected compliments so undeserved, if your correspondent had not saved me the trouble of stripping off my own laurels, by taking the task upon himself.

I owe him still greater gratitude on another ground. I have heard many discussions lately on the subject of anonymous criticism upon books and persons. I am so far convinced by the arguments of those who denounce them, that I trust I shall never myself venture to speak of any man, or any body of men, without making myself formally responsible for my words. But this is entirely a rule for individual conduct. Persons of more self-government, more sure of always walking by a higher guidance, more confident, from past experience, that they will not be tempted to substitute personalities for principles, may, I doubt not, dispense with it. For my own sake, I should be very sorry if all conformed to my practice: one would miss many useful reproofs which, under other circumstances, would certainly not be heard. It would be a serious loss to me, for instance, if your correspondent had not told me that I was the most conceited man alive. I must needs bless the mask through which words so profitable, so helpful to my self-knowledge, could be spoken. There is only one correction which I wish to make upon your correspondent's statements on this point. He supposes that I have somewhere attempted to show that the charge is unfounded, and he remarks, (very sensibly, I think,) that my eager denial is a strong presumption of guilt. But he will find, I believe, if he will take the trouble to reconsider the passage which he has quoted, that my object in it was not in the least to show that self-conceit was not one of my most besetting sins. The more conscious any of us are of that sin, the more we feel how it has hindered all our struggles after truth, how it has led us to glorify our own opinion, how it has set us at war with the thoughts and opinions of other men, the more earnest shall we be to discover any help which

God may have provided for overcoming this tendency, for leading us, in spite of it, to a knowledge of Himself, to fellowship with our brethren. The object of my book was to show that such helps have been provided; that we can be led out of the conceits of our individual minds, from which conceits no one had ever suffered more than myself, into the knowledge of that which is fixed, and eternal, and true; and that if we will walk in the path which God has marked out for us, we shall, at last, obtain this victory, let the strife within and without be as hard and as long as it may. One means of obtaining the victory I believe to be the observance of the precept, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." A desire to sit in judgment upon the thoughts and feelings of other men, I have felt to be one of the greatest and sorest temptations which my self-conceit has presented to me. By resisting that temptation, by endeavouring to act upon the belief that there is something true and holy in the thoughts and feelings of all men, and that it is their pride which leads them to set up their own truth against that of other men, and so to become schismatics and heretics, I have found that I mortify my self-conceit more effectually than by any other method. In the preface, from which your correspondent has quoted, I maintained that this *method* was not a self-conceited method; that it was a humble method, and one which a more humble person than I am would understand and follow far more effectually than I have done. To this belief I still adhere; and the more of self-conceit I discover in myself, or others discover in me, the more necessary do I feel it. Again I thank your correspondent for his plain-spoken admonitions: I hope they will lead me to greater personal watchfulness. They certainly make me desire to act more strictly upon the principles which I have recommended to others.

I have dwelt somewhat too long upon this question about my self-conceit, which, interesting as it is to myself, cannot, I imagine, be very particularly so to your readers. A far graver subject is touched upon by your correspondent, when he quotes (with a few alterations) a passage from my book, in which I speak of the *High-Church school* amongst us as only maintaining a certain side or portion of truth, and thereupon grounds the charge, that I look upon the *Catholic Church* as upon a level with, or only raised a little above, the different sects and heresies, in each of which I have contended that some important principle is contained. In this statement the question between us is brought to a fair issue. I maintain, that to confound a school professing any doctrine whatsoever with the Church, is the very principle of heresy: he thinks that whatever is affirmed for or against a certain school professing Catholic opinions, must be affirmed for or against the Church. There is nothing new in his opinion. The sect of the Pharisees believed that adherence to it was identical to adherence to the Jewish Commonwealth. Because it held that opinion, it became the most contemptuous, godless, and wicked of all sects. The principle passed from the elect nation into the universal Church. There it has continually existed, and still exists, only in more direct and monstrous contradiction to the character of the body which it professes to glorify. The principle which is opposed to this—the principle which recognises the Church as a universal and living family,

in one living and ever-present Head; and constituted in that name into which we are baptized; and not united as a school or sect, in the profession of certain opinions or notions about the Church, or about any thing else—is also not new. It has maintained a hard fight with the other principle for the last 1800 years; it has stood its ground: it will prevail at last. But the time, I believe, is come when those principles will be brought into more manifest conflict than ever before; when every man must take his stand upon one or upon the other. Those who bind themselves to a school, and make that their church, will doubtless have their reward. They will have much present sympathy, “many organs,” much pleasure in denouncing and insulting those who differ from them. They who acknowledge the Church, and repudiate all sects and parties, as such, must prepare themselves for a slow, sad warfare with the spirit which dwells in all parties, and which dwells in themselves; must look to be more and more misunderstood by all about them; must deny themselves (unless they would undergo a bitter repentance hereafter) the use of those poisoned weapons which the others consider useful and commendable; must content themselves with the friendly greeting of some one here and there, and those whom they have cheered with the hope that truth is not unattainable, or charity impossible, even upon this earth; must look for their chief comfort to the day of final manifestation. To those who have wished to take this narrow path, the most grievous reflection of all is, that they have walked in it so unsteadily, that they have so often deviated into the party line which they have nominally abandoned, that they have allowed so much of the self-conceit, which is the proper native characteristic of the party man, to mingle with the churchmanship, of which the groundwork and the consummation is humility. Had it not been for these shameful inconsistencies, they would have been far more odious and more dangerous to the organs of party than they are now. Civil sneers, and occasional complaints, would have been exchanged for undisguised hatred. But God will yet raise up true and faithful witnesses for him; he will prepare them, by his own discipline, for the foes they must encounter; he will himself provide them with the only armour which can make mockery of the assaults of those foes.

You have invited me, Sir, to defend myself against your correspondent, but you have expressed a fear that I may make some demands upon your editorial courtesy which it will not be possible to grant. I have not unreasonably trespassed upon it in this letter: I shall not task it any further. My opponent is perfectly welcome to the last word; and I hope that my friends, if I still have any amongst your readers, will do me the very great personal favour of not saying more in my justification than I have thought it necessary to say myself.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

P. D. MAURICE.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

BP. OF LONDON, *June 2.*
 BP. OF CHICHESTER, *June 2.*
 BP. OF EXETER, *June 2.*
 BP. OF HEREFORD, *June 2.*
 BP. OF LICHFIELD, *June 2.*
 BP. OF LINCOLN, *June 2.*
 BP. OF PETERBOROUGH, *June 2.*

BP. OF SALISBURY (for B. & W.) *June 2.*
 ABP. OF YORK, *June 9.*
 BP. OF ELY, *June 9.*
 BP. OF DURHAM, *June 30.*
 BP. OF WINCHESTER, *June 30.*
 BP. OF WORCESTER, *July 21.*
 BP. OF NORWICH, *Aug. 25.*

ORDINATIONS.

By the LD. BP. OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL, on Sunday, April 14, at Gloucester.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—T. R. J. Langhorne, B.A. Jesus; S. W. Mangin, B.A. Wad.; H. Turner, B.A. Queen's; S. H. Archer, B.A. Exet. (*i. d.* Bp. of Exeter.)

Of Cambridge.—W. C. Badger, B.A. Queen's; E. Gilpin, B.A. Trin.; H. L. Nelthropp, B.A. Trin.; J. Richards, B.A. Trin.; H. T. Lee, B.A. Trin.; H. Lister, B.A. Cath. H. (*i. d.* Bp. of Ripon); R. M'Niell, M.A. Trin. (*i. d.* Abp. of York); G. Babb, B.A. St. John's (*i. d.* Bp. of Worcester).

Of Dublin.—R. Halpin, B.A. Trin. (*i. d.* Bp. of Clogher.)

Of Lampeter.—S. Appleby, St. David's (*i. d.* Bp. of Llandaff.)

Literate.—J. Griffiths (*i. d.* Bp. of Llandaff.)

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—L. Carden, B.A. Univ.; M. H.

Estcourt, B.A. Exet.; T. C. Griffiths, B.A. Wad.; W. Hughes, B.A. Jesus; E. Huntingdon, B.C.L. New Coll.; E. Mansfield, B.A. Exet. H. T. Mills, B.A. St. Mary Magd.; G. Prothero, B.A. Brasen.; W. Wiggins, B.A. Exet.; T. Jackson, M.A. Brasen. (*i. d.* Abp. of York.)

Of Cambridge.—J. Grote, M.A. Trin.

By the LORD BP. OF ROCHESTER, at Rochester, on Sunday, April 14.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—C. R. Harrison, B.C.L. All Souls; W. A. B. Cator, B.A. Mert.

Of Cambridge.—G. Y. Boddy, B.A. St. John's.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—S. Holmes, B.A. Magd. H.

Of Cambridge.—W. E. Light, B.A. St. John's; J. L. Allan, B.A. Trin.

PREFERRMENTS.

Name.	Preferment.	Diocese.	Patron.	Val.	Pop.
Barnes, R.	Bampton, v.	Oxford	D. & C. of Exeter	...	...
Bates, M.	Ch. Ch., Hougham	Canterbury	...	...	...
Bellairs, C.	Ch. Ch., Coventry, p.c.	Worcester	Vicar of St. Michael	£179	...
Bisset, C.	Upholland, p.c.	Chester	Rector of Wigan	165	3113
Bruce, K.	Abbotsham, v.	Exeter	Lord Chancellor	159	414
Burgh, De, R. L.	{ Harmondsworth, v. { ex West Drayton	London	H. De Burgh, Esq.	530	{ 1330 802
Cardall, W.	{ Trinity Church, West { Bromwich, p.c.	Lichfield	...	...	...
Carter, T. T.	Clewer, R.	Oxford	Eton College	460	3075
Coffin, R. A.	{ St. Mary Magdalen, { Oxford, v.	Oxford	Ch. Ch. Coll., Oxford ..	115	2600
Cooke, C.	Withycombe, R.	B. & W.	T. Hutton, Esq.	203	318
Crofts, J.	St. Saviour's, York, R.	York	Lord Chancellor	133	2623
Deck, J.	St. Stephen's, Hull, p.c.	York	...	...	...
Deedes, C.	Chilton Canteloe, R.	B. & W.	John Bragge, Esq.	260	134
Dudley, W. M.	Whitchurch, R.	Winchester	Bishop of Winchester ..	140	1741
Eade, T. F.	Thrandestone, R.	Norwich ...	Sir E. Kerrison	391	373
Fortescue, H. R.	East Allington, R.	Exeter	Mrs. Fortescue	345	729
Goodwin, W.	{ St. Benedict, p.c. { Norwich	Norwich ...	Parishioners	95	1519
Grueber, C.	{ St. James-the-Less, { p.c. Hambridge	...	...	...	...
Gwyther, J.	Fewston, v.	Ripon	Lord Chancellor	150	2118
Halliewell, J.	Chillenden, R.	Canterbury	Lord Chancellor	130	137
Halliwel, T.	Christ Ch., p.c. Redhill	Winchester	...	...	...
Johnson, J. B.	Welbourne, R.	Norwich ...	Mrs. J. Johnson	250	234
Kent, C.	Elton, p.c.	Hereford ...	Lord Chancellor	50	99
Kirkham, J. W.	Llandysilio, p.c.	Bangor	...	...	...
Lamb, T.	St. Mary, Preston, p.c.	Chester	Trustees	...	...
Lowe, N.	Colliton Rawleigh, v.	...	Dean of Exeter	...	...
Meller, T. W.	Woodbridge, p.c.	Norwich ...	T. W. Meller, Esq.	500	4954
Metcalf, W.	St. Mary's, Ramsgill	Ripon	Vicar of Masham	...	...
Molesworth, W. N.	{ St. Clement's, Spot- { land, p.c.	Chester	Vicar of Rochdale	...	...
Nihill, D.	{ Bridgewater cum Chil- { ton, R.	B. & W.	Lord Chancellor	312	{ 10436 74
Ormerod, T. J.	Framlingham Pigot, p.c.	Norwich ...	Bishop of Norwich	...	289
Overton, J. G.	Rothwell, R.	Lincoln	Earl of Yarborough	250	290

PREFERMENTS—Continued.

Name.	Preferment.	Diocese.	Patron.	Val.	Pop.
Pakes, H. A. A...	Newton, R.....	Ely	Marquis of Bristol	£314	443
Ramsden, W.....	Buslingthorpe, R.....	Lincoln	Govs. of Charter House	244	50
Rowell, T. J.....	St. Peter's, Stepney, r.c.	London.....	Brazen. Coll., Oxford...	400	...
Scott, E. D.....	Enham Knights, R.....	Winchester	Queen's Coll., Oxford...	208	92
Skipsey, R.....	{ St. Thomas, Bishop- { wearmouth, r.c. ... }	Durham.....	.....	...	...
Smith, H.....	Butler's Marston, v.	Worcester..	Ch. Ch., Oxford	88	313
Smith, S. L.....	Church Brampton, R.....	Peterboro'..	Corp. Ch. Coll., Oxford	346	169
Stephenson, J. H..	Lympsham, R.....	B. & W.....	Rev. J. Stephenson	503	567
Stuart, —	Cottesmore, R.....	Peterboro'..	Earl of Gainsborough...	893	670
Ward, H.....	{ St. Nicholas, East } { Grafton	Sarum.....	.....	...	...
Whish, M. H.....	St. Peter, Bishport, r.c.	.....	.....	...	...
Wilson, T. D. H...	Redgrave, R.....	Norwich	G. St. V. Wilson, Esq..	777	1352

APPOINTMENTS.

Bellairs, H. W..	H. M. Inspector of Schools.	Gleig, G. R.....	Principal Chap. to the Forces.
Bond, H.	Stall in Wells Cathedral.	Knight, T. H....	Lecturer in Exeter Cathedral.
Browne, R. W..	Chaplain to Troops in London.	Lampen, R.....	Canonry in Exeter Cathedral.
Burton, C.	{ Clerk in Orders at the Parish { Church, Leeds.	Morgan, H. H..	{ Warden of St. Catherine's { Hospital, Ledbury.
Butterfield, J. ...	{ Head Master of the Free Sch., { Catterick, Yorkshire.	Twistleton, F....	Master of St. Ethelred's Hosp.
Dakeyne, J. O..	{ Inspector of Schools for Lin- {coln & the neighbourhood.	Watkins, F.....	H. M. Inspector of Schools.
Fletcher, J.....	H. M. Inspector of Schools.	Wood, P. A. Le	Stall in the Collegiate Church, Heup..... Middleham.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Allen, J. T., Rec. of Shobdon, Herefordshire.	Jones, J., LL.B., Rector of Llanvymach and Penrieth, Pembrokeshire.
Bainbridge, T., Rec. of Adlethorpe, Lincolnsh.	Jones, J. W., Rec. of Hubberstone, nr. Milford.
Baker, W., Rector of Gerra's in Roseland.	Leach, R., Rector of Manorbeer.
Barnett, J., at the Cloughs, near Newcastle-under-Lyme.	Powley, R., at Legbourn, Lincolnshire.
Bass, R., Vicar of Austrey.	Quarrington, J., Vicar of Shopland, Essex.
Best, F., Rector of South Dalton.	Revely, E., late Curate of Little Whitley.
Bigge, E., Archdeacon of Lindisfarne, and Vic. of Eggleingham, county of Northumberland.	Ricketts, W., Rector of Kibworth.
Boon, R., Rector of Ulford.	Story, Dr., Chancellor of the diocese of Clogher.
Boyton, C., D.D., Rector of Tullygnish, county Donegal, Ireland, and Vicar-General of the Diocese of Raphoe.	Walter, W., Rector of Bideford.
Bush, C., B.A., at Weston-Point, Runcorn, Ches.	Wheelton, J., Minister of St. John's Chapel, Market-street, Hertfordshire.
Byron, S., M.A., Vicar of Keelby, Lincolnshire.	White, H., Rector of Cloughton.
Cobbold, F., Rector of Hemley.	Wodsworth, C., Vic. of Audley and Prebendary of St. Paul's.
Heathcote, E., at Chesterfield.	Woodcock, G., M.A., at the Rectory, Caythorpe, Lincolnshire.
Hewlett, J., D.D., Rec. of Hilgay, and formerly Preacher at the Foundling.	Worsley, H., D.D., Rector of Gatecombe, Isle of Wight.
Hows, F., Rector of Framingham Pigott.	

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

[As we formerly noticed Mr. Alexander's comforting proposals to build a new church in Edinburgh, for the use of the poorer members of the Church in the Old Town, with a school, &c. attached: we are glad to announce that the scheme, though for some reasons withdrawn, has been revived under the best auspices of success. The Scotch laity have at length begun to move, as we learn from the following prospectus]:—

"DIOCESE OF EDINBURGH.

"*Proposal for Building a New Church in Edinburgh, for the accommodation of the Poor, with a School-house attached, to be situated in the Old Town.*

"A number of laymen, members of the Church of Scotland, have had for some time under their consideration the spiritual and educational wants of their

poorer brethren in the Old Town; and, from inquiries which have been made, it is manifest that the state of church accommodation for the poorer classes of the community in that locality, who belong to the Church, and the means of instruction for their children, are wholly unsuitable and insufficient.

"In these circumstances, it is felt to be a duty incumbent on all churchmen, forthwith to endeavour to supply these deficiencies, by providing, as soon as the requisite sum is subscribed, an edifice, in a convenient situation in the Old Town, for the worship of God according to the Ritual of the Church; and, in connexion therewith, a school-house, for the instruction of the children of the poor.

"It is a source of much satisfaction to reflect, that, under the sanction of the Bishop, a great deal has already been

done in Edinburgh to rescue the children of the poor from the deplorable state of ignorance and irreligion in which, from the absence of the requisite means of instruction, they were so long suffered to remain. In particular, it may be mentioned that, besides the scholars attending the other Church schools, there are at present about one hundred and seventy children, whose parents are for the most part natives of either England or Ireland, assembled for daily instruction in a small hired room in the Lawn-market, under the personal superintendence of one of the Clergy of the Diocese; and there is every reason to believe that, if proper encouragement be afforded to this interesting department of ministerial duty, the happiest results may be expected.

"It is considered desirable that the proposed church should accommodate not less than 600 persons, and that the school-house should be sufficient for at least 200 pupils, who will attend church regularly. The expense of both buildings cannot be estimated at less than 3,000*l.*, including the site. It is intended that at least one-half of the sittings shall be free; but it is anxiously wished that all of them should be so; and if such a further sum shall be raised as to admit of a requisite endowment for the clergyman, that arrangement will be carried into effect.

"The following gentlemen, whose names are appended, have consented to act as a committee, for carrying out the above proposal; and they confidently appeal to members of the Church everywhere, to aid, by their benevolence, the promotion of this most desirable object. A considerable portion of the sum required has already been obtained; and the additional offers of support they have received from various quarters are such as to warrant the expectation that the

reproach will be speedily wiped away, with which the members of the Church in Edinburgh have been so long charged, on account of the indifference with which the claims of their poorer brethren on their sympathies have been regarded.

- E. D. SANDFORD, Esq., Advocate, 11, Randolph-crescent, *Chairman*.
 W. BRAND, Esq., W.S., 4, Queen-st.
 ROBT. CAMPBELL, Esq., Advocate, 11, Walker-st.
 C. COLT, Esq., 15, Regent-terrace.
 Sir WM. DUNBAR, Bart. of Mochrum, 7, Alva-st.
 W. FORBES, Esq., Advocate, 9, Coates-crescent.
 EDW. FRASER, Esq., Advocate, 46, Albany-st.
 R. R. GLASGOW, Esq., Advocate, 15, Rutland-street.
 W. GOLDIE, Esq., W.S., 34, Melville-st.
 J. GORDON, Esq. of Cairnbulg, Advocate, 60, Great King-st.
 A. F. IRVINE, Esq., Advocate, York-pl.
 J. MUIR, Esq., 6, Royal-terrace.
 C. G. REID, Esq., W.S., 68, George-st.
 C. F. SHAND, Esq., Advocate, 5, India-st.
 R. STUART, Esq., Advocate, 23, Great King-st.
 W. C. TREVELYAN, Esq., Wallington, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 ADAM URQUHART, Esq., Advocate, 5, St. Colme-street.
 W. S. WALKER, Esq., Advocate, 7, St. Colme-st.
 The Hon. HENRY WALPOLE, Wolterton-park, Norfolk.

"Subscriptions will be received by the Treasurer, or by any of the Members of Committee; and also by JAMES BURNS, 17, Portman-st., Portman-sq., London; J. H. PARKER, Oxford; GALLIE & BAYLEY, 69, George-street, Edinburgh; and BROS & Co., Aberdeen.

"CHAS. G. REID, *Sec. & Treas.*"

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE have received the following—

"London, April 22, 1844.

"SIR,—I was not aware until this evening that you had spoken of the Preface to my papers on the Dark Ages, as written 'in reference to what has appeared in the *Christian Remembrancer*.' As I do not know how my remarks may appear when viewed in that light, I beg to assure you that they were written and printed without my having the least suspicion that a single word on the subject had appeared in your work.—I am, Sir, your obedient Servant, "S. R. MAITLAND."

With reference to the last clause of his letter, (see p. 631.) we can assure Mr. Maurice that he has, we believe, many friends among the readers of the *Christian Remembrancer*, and that it is only from deference to his wish that we have suppressed—though in type—a letter on the subject of his "Kingdom of Christ," from the author of "Signs of Hope," as well as an interesting communication from "Hiberno-Catholicus," who, formerly a Quaker, says, "that this book was mercifully made the instrument of removing every lingering doubt, and of enabling him with confidence to take the decided step of seeking for admission, by baptism, into the body of Christ's Catholic Church."

The correspondence relative to the Union of the Sees of Gloucester and Bristol, as illustrating the proposed Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, arrived too late (*i. e.*, April 27) for the present month.

We have received a letter from Mr. Newman, disavowing the authorship of the life of St. Stephen Harding, reviewed in our last number. It is allowed that the prefatory advertisement is, of course unintentionally, misleading. Our mistake is, perhaps, cheaply purchased by the announcement.

THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

JUNE, 1844.

History of Scotland. By PATRICK FRAZER TYTLER. Vol. 9. A.D. 1587-1603. W. Tait, Edinburgh. 1843.

The Episcopal Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution. By JOHN PARKER LAWSON, M.A. London: James Burns. 1844.

SUCH of our readers, if there be any such, as have remembered the former articles we have put forward on the previous volumes of Mr. Tytler's valuable history, will not have forgotten that we have already delineated, in short, consecutive sketches, the religious state of Scotland from the Reformation to the death of the unfortunate Mary. The appearance of the learned historian's concluding volume, and also of that on the Episcopal Church of Scotland, which we have placed at the head of this article, will enable us to complete our long-intended and continued series of the religious history of the Scotch, by connecting our *résumés* of Tytler with that in which we digested the most important facts in Mr. Lawson's previous volume. Much as our system of "*resúmenes*" on this as well as other subjects have been called in question by some able critics, we cannot but think that in and by them, we have been at once digesting information for those who cannot, or care not, to seek its original sources, and instigating others to apply to the works from which we have so largely drawn, and from which we have selected such tasty morsels as best set forth the various qualities of the authors, and best fitted into the mosaic of our histories. The gap which we now propose to fill up, is that from the death of Mary to the Revolution; laying, indeed, our main stress on the various phases assumed by Religion during that eventful

period; and at the same time working in with our narrative such secular facts and events as are necessary to a clear understanding of the real motive-causes of many a religious effect.

Crafty and provident as was Elizabeth, she could neither prevent the Scottish king from hearing of his mother's execution before the explanations of her executioner, nor persuade the continental powers that she was innocent of Mary's death. It was in vain that she persecuted Davison, that she feigned to be ignorant of the great rejoicings and blazing fires that followed on the arrival of young Talbot from the death-scene at Fotheringhay; she was equally unsuccessful in misleading the Europe of her own day, as the unprejudiced of the present time. Seven days after the execution, Ashton rode into the palace yard of Edinburgh, the bearer of the tidings of Mary's death. Loud, and universal as loud, were the execrations and the threats of revenge with which the sad news was received; aye, so loud, so universal, that the crafty king himself could not refrain from chiming in with the feelings of his people, and in the apparent bitterness of his heart summoned his ablest border-chieftains to counsel revenge, whilst his invectives showed the large supply in his treasury of abuse.

The position of James was highly embarrassing: the few feelings that he possessed carried him with the hearty violence of his people; and, whilst he feared to alienate his warlike nobles, to whose prowess and power he might be compelled, ere long, to appeal as his best argument for the English crown, and therefore dared not to treat with coldness their universal musterings to revenge his mother's death; he, at the same time, could not but remember that there was another powerful party in his own kingdom little disposed to revenge the death of her for whom they had refused to pray, and on whose head they had boldly and publicly heaped the terms "apostate," "traitoress," "adulteress," "Jezebel," and that while he was conciliating the nobles by prospects of revenge, he was rendering the Kirk, its preachers and its burgher-followers, his more than ever determined enemies. Could he trust to Spanish aid in his contest with Elizabeth, or look to France for help against England? Religion rendered the one as unlikely as policy did the other. It was as little likely that the Spanish bigot would aid in consolidating the Protestant powers of England, as that France would place, by its aid, under one sway, the political strength of our Island. Lastly, could he hope to be welcomed as Elizabeth's successor by the nobility of her realm, as the first that had revived the ancient and almost forgotten enmity between the nations? James weighed all these arguments, and acted with his usual craft. He determined to play one party against the other, and set off his close coalition with Elizabeth in 1588, against his acquiescence—if not encouragement—of the devastating forays

which swept over the English borders, and reduced the land to a desert throughout the previous year.

It was, however, rather an erroneous calculation of his power over the potent Roman Catholic Lords Huntley, Errol, Angus, and Maxwell, than premeditated apostasy that drove James to so sudden a coalition with Elizabeth. He deemed them so much in his power that he feared not to encourage their secret plottings with Spain. But the scorpion that he was encouraging to sting his enemies, soon threatened himself, and the Roman Catholic lords, backed by the wealth of Spain and aided by the ceaseless efforts of their missionary priests, whom the king had permitted to come into the realm *sub rosa* to keep up the feeling against Elizabeth, feared not to plot the seizure of James, the overthrow of the Kirk, and the re-establishment of their own faith in the realm. The Kirk—a power by no means to be ridden over as yet—soon let the King know their feelings on this point. “It was an exceeding great grief,” they said, in their long document of the “Griefs of the Kirk,” which they presented to James in the February of 1588, “an exceeding great grief to all such as have any spunk of the love of God, and his Kirk, to see Jesuits, seminary priests, and other teachers of papistry and error, so long suffered to pollute this land with idolatry, corrupt and seduce the people, and spread abroad their poisonable doctrine.” They complained that these persons “were in special favour, credit, and furtherance at Court;” whilst on the other hand they beheld “the true word of God contemptuously despised by the great multitude; his holy Sacraments profaned by private, corrupt, and unlawful persons; the discipline of the Kirk disregarded; the ministers and office-bearers within the same invaded, struck, menaced, and shamefully abused; themselves beggared, and their families shamefully hungered.” What with the superstitious riotousnesses, at Yule and Christmas, of the southern counties—the fearful state of Huntley’s territory in the north—the town and vicinity of Aberdeen so full of Romanists that “few or no decent people are in the place,” and the pilgrimages and keeping of holy-days in Berwickshire,—the bonfires, girdles, fastings, festives, and carols of Stirlingshire, and the general desertion of kirks throughout the “haill realme,” the Presbyterians make a pitiful complaint unto the King, and make it evident that, in despite of these powerful persecutors of papistry, there was yet too great a hankering after the old religion, and distaste of the present faith, to tamper any longer with the Catholic nobility and their followers.*

As the fears of James that he should alienate the burgher interest by holding with the Catholic Barons, or be exposed to civil war and assassination should he dare to oppose the machi-

* Lawson. A.D. 1588, pp. 284—6.

nations of Huntley, prompted him to give a diplomatic belief to the explanations of Elizabeth; so the danger of the now approaching Armada, the rebellion of Tyrone in Ireland, and the prospect of an inroad of Scottish Islesmen to the assistance of their fellow savages, overcame, for the moment, the deep-rooted parsimony of the English Queen. A Duchy with a princely revenue, an annual pension, a Scottish body-guard, maintained by English gold, and a force of English auxiliaries on the borders, were the promised bribes by which Elizabeth's ambassador softened down the scene at Fotheringhay, and rendered James his sister's good and firm friend until the danger bribed against was overpast. The danger once past, with it went the liberality of Elizabeth. Huntley for a time hindered, the Irish rebels unaided, the Armada unsupported by a rising of the northern Scottish Catholics, and crushed by the concentration of the powers of England on its force, Elizabeth refused to sanction the promises of her ambassador, "dandling and duping James," to use his own words, "like a great boy."

Deceived by Elizabeth, and encouraged in his anger by the Catholic lords, James once more gave ear to their plans, and connived at their renewed machination, with Spain and Rome. Under the guise of revenge against Elizabeth, James soon discovered the real object of the Catholic plot, and that himself and the religion of his people were equally marked for destruction, as Elizabeth and the Church of England. Leniency towards Huntley precipitated the outbreak, and effectually aroused the spirit of the King. The Protestant nobles rallied round his standard; he pushed forward against the rebel lords, and the forces of Huntley, Crawford, and Bothwell, melted away before the royal army. His rebel nobles defeated, James turned all his thoughts on matrimony, and when the ambassadors seemed dilatory in bringing their negotiations to a conclusion, suddenly went aboard ship for Denmark, to woo for himself his Northern bride, leaving Lennox and Bothwell to keep his subjects in order. Well did the council keep the King's commands; at no time was Scotland more at peace within herself, less disturbed by the talkings and preachings of the Kirk, and the meetings of the Barons, than during the rule of Lennox and his fierce co-adjutor, Bothwell. The spring of 1590 brought back James and his Queen; and amid the joy with which he and his bride were welcomed, and the prospect of fêtes and brave doings at court, one thing clouded the joy of the Kirk, the threatened anointing at the coronation. James insisted on the ceremony as Christian, holy, and Catholic; the Kirk reviled it as Jewish, Papal, and superstitious. Fear effected what argument could not. "Anoint," said the King, to his chaplains, "or I send for one of the Bishops to take your place." The dread of being supplanted, or, as the Puritans put it, of "the profanation of Episcopal interference,"

even of a titular bishop, overcame their prejudices, and as the tract-writer of the "Coronation of the Queenis Majestie"* relates, "the countess of Marr, having taken the Queen's right arm, and opened the *craigs* of her gown, Mr. Robert Bruce immediately poured forth upon those parts of her breast and arm of quhilk the clothes were removed, a bonny quantity of oil;" and so with various erudite Latin addresses, a classical panegyric from Maister John Russell, and a flight of his son, Little John, in the light and airy habiliments given to angels in pageants, the coronation concluded to the satisfaction of King and people.

The year succeeding the King's marriage witnessed the origination of Maitland's plan for emancipating James from the power of the factious nobles,—the King's crusade against witches, and extraordinary speech at the general assembly of the Kirk. Speech-making was James's failing; when the jurors acquitted the poor creature, Napier, the King, irritated at the failure of his pet case of witchcraft, actually arraigned the jurors, and sat in trial on the delinquents himself. Their plea of guilty cut the trial short, but failed of arresting James's oration.

"He made an oration, however," says Mr. Tytler, "some sentences of which give a good picture of the style of his oratory; often pedantic and tedious, but not unfrequently epigrammatic and sententious. Alluding to the shocking state of the country and the prevalence of crimes, 'I must advertise you,' said he, 'what it is that makes crime to be so very rife in this country; namely, that all men set themselves more for friend than for justice and obedience to the laws. This corruption here, *bairns suck at the pap*; and let a man commit the most filthy crimes that can be, yet his friends take his part; and first keep him from apprehension, and after, by fead or favour, by false assize, or some way or other, they find moyen of his escape. The experience whereof we have in Niddry. I will not speak how I am charged with this fault in court and choir; from prince and pulpit; yet this I say, that, howsoever matters have gone against my will, I am innocent of all injustice in these behalfs. My conscience doth set me clear as did the conscience of Samuel; and I call you to be judges therein; and suppose I be your king, yet I submit myself to the accusations of you, my subjects, in this behalf; and let any one say what I have done. And as I have thus begun, so purpose I to go forward; not because I am James Stuart, and can command so many thousands of men, but because God hath made me a king and judge, to judge righteous judgment.'"—Vol. ix. pp. 53—4.

So much for himself as James Stuart the King,—the Scottish Samuel; now he comes on the stage as the Scottish Witchfinder, —a very John Hopkins in royal robes.

"For witchcraft, which is a thing grown very common among us, I know it to be a most abominable sin; and I have been occupied these three quarters of a year for the sifting out of them that are guilty therein. We are taught by the laws, both of God and man, that this sin is most odious; and, by God's law, punishable by death. By man's law it is called *maleficium* or *veneficium*, an ill deed, or a poisonable deed; and punishable, likewise, by death. Now if it be

* A curious tract printed by Mr. Gibson Craig, in the Bannatyne Club volume, entitled "Papers relative to the Marriage of James the Sixth," referred to and quoted by Mr. Tytler, p. 34.

death as practised against any of the people, I must needs think it to be (at least) the like if it be against the king. Not that I fear death; for I thank God I dare in a good cause abide hazard — as for them that think those witchcrafts to be mere fallacies, I remit them to be catechised and instructed in the most evident points."—Vol. ix. pp. 54—5.

James appears next as the eulogized orator of the Kirk, when the General Assembly presented their petition for the ratification of the liberties of the Kirk, the persecution of Jesuits, and Seminary Priests, and the appointment of a sufficient Pastor with a sufficient living in every parish church. If the King's replies to the petition were evasive, the royal oration that followed, at least as reported by the Kirk writers, made most ample amends.

"The King," says Mr. Lawson, "willed the ministers to purge themselves, and to be impartial in their own cause. It was their duty, he said, as well to see them reformed as it was theirs to urge him and the nobility to reform themselves. In no point was he so earnest as this. In end, his majesty praiseth God that he was born in such a time, as in the end of the light of the gospel to such a place as to be king in such a kirk,—the sincerest kirk in the world. 'The Kirk of Geneva,' said he, 'keepeth Pasch and Yule. But what have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour Kirk of England, it is an ill-said mass in English, wanting only the liftings. I charge you, good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and exhort the people to do the same; and I forsooth, so long as I enjoy my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all, deadly.'"

If the King did favour the Kirk with such an outbreak against the Church of England, we can well conceive the "loud praising of God and praying for the king" that followed this exhibition of royal puerility and ignorance. For a time, the King and the Kirk seemed on good terms; but the agreement was but short-lived, and as James gradually acceded to the plans of the Catholic nobles, he equally alienated the good will of the Kirk and burghers; until, at length, completely in the power of the Huntley faction, deprived of the able advice of his chancellor Maitland, and terrified by the formidable and unnatural coalition between the majority of the high nobles, and the unprincipled earl of Bothwell, the King was compelled, once more, to have recourse to the Presbyterians, and to court and conciliate that powerful party, by the unwonted concession of the Establishment of the Kirk, on the petition of its ministers, for the repeal of the Statutes of 1584, against the discipline and privileges of the Presbyterians. The Assembly's petition required not only the abolition of the obnoxious Acts, and the ratification, by the Legislature, of the present discipline, but also the restoration of Church property, the disqualifying Abbots, Priors, and Prelates, from voting in parliament or convention, and the purging of the land from idolatry and bloodshed. The chief opposition was to the first part of the petition—the establishment of the Kirk, with its assemblies, provincial

synods, presbyteries, and particular sessions. There were two reasons for this; the King's bitter hatred of the republicanism of that form of ecclesiastical government, and his well-grounded fear of rendering these bold and able men more independent of the regal power. Against this proposition, the nobles concentrated their opposition, little caring for the legal enunciation of the restoration of the ecclesiastical property, or the decree for purging the land from idolatry and bloodshed, well knowing the inability of King or Kirk to rescue the property from their mailed hands, or to extinguish the so-called idolatry of the old religion, or the bloodshed of political and private feuds. The persuasions of Maitland, and his influence at Court, though himself absent, induced the King to yield, on motives of policy, the "*Charter of the Liberties of the Kirk.*" With its government thus ratified in all its minuteness, with its discipline pronounced godly, and its jurisdiction affirmed; with every presentation taken away from her Titular Bishops, and placed in the hands of their particular presbyteries, the Kirk and its preachers were not satisfied; and, in consequence, this settlement of matters was but a new beginning of troubles to the country.

"Had the Kirk," says Mr. Tytler, "contented itself with these triumphs, and rested satisfied in the King's present dispositions, which appeared wholly in its favour, all things might have remained quiet; for the Catholics, convinced of the madness of their projects, were ready to abstain from all practices inimical to the religion of the state, on the single condition that they should not be persecuted for their adherence to their ancient faith. But the Kirk were not disposed to take this quiet course. The principle of toleration, divine as it assuredly is in its origin, yet so late in its recognition amongst the best of men, was then utterly unknown to either party, Reformed or Catholic. The permission of even a single case of Catholic worship, however secret; the attendance of a solitary individual at a single mass, in the remotest district of the land, at the dead hour of night, in the most secluded chamber, where none could come but such as knelt before the altar for conscience sake, and in all sincerity of soul; such worship, and its permission for an hour, was considered an open encouragement of antichrist and idolatry. To extinguish the mass for ever, to compel its supporters to embrace what the Kirk considered the purity of Presbyterian truth, and this under the penalties of life and death, or, in its mildest form of treason, banishment and forfeiture, was considered not merely praiseworthy, but a point of high religious duty; and the whole apparatus of the Kirk, the whole inquisitorial machinery of detection and persecution, was brought to bear upon the accomplishment of these great ends. Are we to wonder that, under such a state of things, the intrigues of the Catholics for the overthrow of a government which sanctioned such a system continued? that when they knew, or suspected, that the King himself was averse to persecution, they were encouraged to renew their intercourse with Spain; and to hope that a new outbreak, if properly directed, might lead either to the destruction of a rival faith, or to the establishment of liberty of conscience?"—Vol. ix. pp. 65—6.

The effect of this violence on the part of the Kirk, was the discovery of the plot of the "*Spanish blanks,*" the arrest of Mr. Ker, the bearer of the mysterious papers, and the intercepted letters of the Catholic lords, the imprisonment of Huntley and

Errol, the spirited remonstrance of James to the treacherous ambassador of Elizabeth, and his successful activity against the Catholic nobles; up to this point the Kirk were the King's obedient friends. But when the intercessions of de Burgh began to weigh with James; and the King appeared unwilling to ruin the ancient nobility of his kingdom, and sacrifice them to the wishes of the burghers,—then, when they could no longer hound him on to the annihilation of the Roman Catholic nobility, the Kirk began to dictate to their King, and to let James know that their support was only to be bought at the price of the utter destruction of the Roman Catholic earls, and the entire extirpation of their faith. They craved of his majesty “to punish all Papists within the realm, according to the laws of God and men,” and that “every seminary priest, Jesuit, or trafficking Papist,” might be declared guilty of treason, and that the penalties of the act against those who might harbour or conceal these poor persecuted creatures might be enforced with increased severity. Should the Kirk, too, find any subject to be, in their estimation, a Papist, he was forthwith to be barred from office, cut off from the King's presence, and deprived of all benefit from the laws of the realm. Would James but grant these slight demands, and write himself the Kirk's humble servant to command, he might summon his faithful Presbyterians to his standard in town or in field, surround his sacred person with a body-guard of holy gospellers, and pay them all out of the revenues of his ruined Roman Catholic nobility. James refused the offers of the Kirk, and was deserted by them. All was now, for a time, confusion in the country, the power of the law was set openly at defiance, and the security of domestic life was despised, or the violation of its sanctity revenged by private force. Well might Burghley indorse on the letter in which Bowes related to his master the successful villany of Gray and his supporter, Lord Hume, in the streets of the capital, “A miserable state, that may cause us to bless ours, and our governess.” At length the parliament met, Bothwell was proclaimed a traitor at the Cross of Edinburgh, and the Kirk conciliated by the exemption of their stipends from taxation, and by the introduction of a statute against the Mass and the Jesuits. On the great subject of the prosecution of the Roman Catholic lords, the Kirk was foiled; the King had long before determined on lenient conduct, the King's advocate declared the summonses informal, and the evidence of treason insufficient, and Huntley and his companions escaped without an attainder for that session of the Estates. The wrath of the Kirk was unbounded, and the pulpit rang with denunciations of the King and his parliament. “It was a black parliament,” said Davison, from his pulpit, “for iniquity was seated in the high court of justice, and had trodden equity under foot.” “It was a black parliament,” he reiterated,

"for the arch-traitors had escaped; escaped, did he say? No, they were absolved; and now all good men might prepare themselves for darker days:"—"trials," continued the preacher, with a spirit of prophecy, that savoured much of counter-plots with Elizabeth,—“trials were at hand: it had ever been seen that the absolving the wicked imported the prosecution of the righteous. Let us pray that the King, by some sanctified plagues, may be turned again to God.” Truly sanctified were the plagues by which James was to be so soon tried. Elizabeth, with her double dealing, whilst she, through her accredited ambassador, aided James against Bothwell, was organizing a powerful conspiracy with that traitor himself, to overwhelm Maitland, seize the King's person, and render the Kirk and its prophesying preachers triumphant.

Within a few days the Stewart plot was matured, and James a prisoner in his own palace, in the hands of Bothwell, Lennox, and the other nobles of the race of Stewart. Then came Bothwell's trial for attempting the King's life by enchantment; his triumphant acquittal; the attempted escape of the King, and his bold bearing in his compromise with Bothwell, and his declaration to the factious ministers of the Kirk, that he would either be once more a free monarch, or proclaim himself a captive. Gradually but surely the King's party began to increase, and that of his enemies to disunite, in despite of the exertions of Elizabeth and the preachments of the Kirk. Before a month had elapsed the King's party was too powerful to be resisted by intrigue, and Cecil strove to unite with the English faction the party of Huntley. Yes, Elizabeth, who at first denied her share in the Stewart plot, and then repeatedly asserted that what she had done was for God's glory and the interests of true religion, had instructed her representative, Bowes, to aid in prosecuting the "papistical rebels," and represent himself and his mistress as the confirmed enemy of the "idolaters;"—she, the saintly queen, now bade her ambassador link together Bothwell, the Kirk, and Huntley, against her friend and cousin, James. Bowes felt the impossibility of his imposed task; however insincere Bothwell and Huntley might be, the Kirk were sincere in their hatred of popery, and he felt that they, at least, "would greatly start and wonder" at the proposed coalition, for the glory of God and the interests of religion. Foiled of her purpose, Elizabeth turned round both on Bothwell and Huntley. She wrote to her dear cousin James, to express her abhorrence at the conduct of the former, and her astonishment that one who had done so abominable an act, had passed unscathed; whilst she called James to account for halting in his projected punishment of "those notable traitors of the north," Huntley and his partisans. How disgusting is such hypocrisy—such deliberate lying! Double-dealing as was the spirit of the age, its hypocrisy

and falsehood seems almost unparalleled in Elizabeth and her ministers. It is useless to attempt to cast the odium on Burghley, or Sir Robert Cecil, or on any humble servant of the maiden queen: she was, in every sense of the word, her own minister, her own diplomatist, and penned, with her own hand, her false letters to the King of Scotland. "Time will prove the truth," was the motto of her sister. Of a surety time has proved Elizabeth; yea, every year, and every day, is proving the hollowness of her fame, the insincerity of her heart, the dishonesty of her much-belauded policy.*

But to return to James and his opponents. The royal party rallied to the Convention at Stirling; Hume and the Master of Glamis brought their forces to the rescue, and the King spake out boldly, abjured the compromise he had been forced into, and dared, in the face of the remonstrances of the Kirk, to relieve the Roman Catholics from present prosecution, and promote one of their body to the captaincy of his own body-guard. James declined to force the northern Roman Catholics to a public profession of Presbyterianism. To them he was in the main indebted for his present freedom, and he looked to the present time as one opportunity of reuniting the divided nobility of his kingdom. And thereupon the wrath of the Kirk blazed out. The pulpits rang with warnings and invectives; and no kirkman's nose was too bad to scent out the fact that Court favour was turning towards popery. The provincial assembly of St. Andrew's, of which Mr. John Davison was the pet prophet, led the way in the agitation.

"Of this religious convention Mr. James Melvill, nephew of the well-known Robert Melvill, was chosen moderator; and Mr. John Davison, the sternest and most zealous amongst his brethren, did not hesitate to arraign the pastors of the Kirk with coldness, self-seeking, and negligence. 'Let them repent,' said he, 'and betake themselves to their ordinary armour—fasting and prayer. Let the whole Kirk concur in this needful humiliation. Above all, let the rebel earls, Huntley, Errol, Angus, Auchendown, and their accomplices, whom it were idle to assail with any lighter censures, be solemnly excommunicated; and let a grave message of pastors, barons, and burgesses, carry their resolution to the King, now so deeply alienated from the good cause; then they might look for better times. But now their sins called for humiliation; for they, the shepherds, seemed to have forgotten their flocks; they were idle and profane; nor would he be far from the truth, if he declared that a great part of their pastors were at this time the merriest and carelessst men in Scotland.'—*Tytler*, vol. ix. pp. 111, 112.

The demands of Mr. Davison were obeyed by the Assembly, and the sentence of excommunication passed against the Catholic earls and their followers; and this because some amongst them

* This project of Elizabeth's of uniting the Kirk, Bothwell, and Huntley, against the King, has been unravelled, for the first time, by Mr. Frazer's diligent researches in the State Paper Office. The gist of the plot is in a letter from Bowes to Burghley, Sept. 6, 1593.

must have been members of the university of St. Andrew's, and as such signed the Declaration of Faith. It is very sad to record this act of a small section of the self-righteous Kirk—this isolated provincial synod of self-elected priests daring to excommunicate a mass of members of the Catholic Church, in order to gratify their innate hatred, and clothing their act with the paltry and shallow defence of the signature of the declaration by some of the members of the excommunicated body. It is painful to see God's ordinances, and the Church's holiest form of condemnation, thus prostituted; but it were more painful had that power really rested in them which the members of the Synod claimed by this merciless act.

The Catholics craved the mercy of the King; confessing their many intrigues and plots, they threw themselves on the King's clemency, and besought some modified toleration for their faith. James steered between the violence of the Kirk and the petition of the Catholics. He expressed his firm determination that the form of religion which the first year of his reign saw established, should be professed by every subject, and bade every one embrace that faith ere the first of February next, or depart the realm, and enjoy in foreign lands his revenues and his conscience; as for the rebel lords, he pronounced them free of the conspiracy with Spain for the overthrow of the faith, and bade them deserve their pardon by abstinence from future intrigues. Even this did not satisfy the Kirk.

"To our modern and Christian feelings this sentence must appear as unwise as unmerciful; for it disavowed the possibility of toleration, held out a premium to religious hypocrisy, and punished sincerity and honesty of opinion with perpetual banishment. James had hoped that it might pacify the country; but it experienced the fate of middle courses, and gave satisfaction to no party. The Catholics, who had never intermitted their intrigues with Spain, had lately received assistance and encouragement from that country; they commanded almost the whole north, and were in no temper to resign their religion, or retain it at the expense of perpetual exile. They temporized, therefore, affected a submission they did not feel, and continued to strengthen themselves at home and abroad for a new struggle. But if the Catholics were discontented, the Kirk received the Act of Abolition with mingled wrath and lamentation. It actually seemed to them an insufficient security, and a trifling punishment, that no man was to be permitted to remain within the realm, and enjoy his estate, and the protection of the law, unless he signed the presbyterian confession of faith. The profanation was, that any man should be at liberty to retain his belief in the Roman Catholic faith, and his Scottish estates, if he consented to banish himself from his native country."—*Tytler*, vol. ix. pp. 121, 122.

Nor was Elizabeth more satisfied with the compromise than the Roman Catholics and the Kirk. The Catholics refused to accede to the terms; the Kirk cried out for further persecution, and Elizabeth siding with them, conspired with Bothwell; and whilst Lord Zouch, as her ambassador, was content to remonstrate only with James on his leniency, as Elizabeth's secret emissary he was planning the union of the forces of Athol and

Argyle, with those of Bothwell and the Kirk, and the destruction at once of Hume and the Catholic friends of the King, as of Huntley and his rebellious comrades. The scheme failed; James discovered the plot, concentrated the forces of his friends at Kelso, seized one of Zouch's suite, who had been deep in the plot, imprisoned some of the most violent of the preachers, and, in his address to the people after the sermon in the High Church of Edinburgh, declared his fixed determination of quelling by force both Bothwell and the Catholics of the north. The energy of the King had its desired effect; Bothwell disbanded his forces and retired to England, protected, but no longer encouraged by Elizabeth, as his use was past; for a time the northern rebels were successful; but when the royal forces came upon them in force, one by one their armies were broken, and their fortresses captured; and, before the year's end, the desires of the Kirk had been satiated. Every castle where mass had been said was purged by fire and sword, "and the noblemen and gentry, whose only petition had been that they should be permitted to retain their estates, and have their rents transmitted to them, in the banishment which they had chosen, rather than renounce the faith of their fathers, were fugitives and wanderers, hiding in caves and forests, and dreading every hour to be betrayed into the hands of their enemies."

It were useless to track out, bit by bit, the various plots and counterplots that encircled James during the struggle between his former friend, Maitland, the Earl of Mar, and his own Queen,—and which ended, on the death of Maitland, in resigning the management of his revenues into the hands of his Queen's party—or the crafty movings and evasions by which Elizabeth sought to maintain herself in the good opinion of James, and yet escape from the fulfilment of her many promises of support and maintenance. The eighteen months of intrigue had rendered James no mean antagonist even for Elizabeth and her crafty statesmen.

"There was still indeed," says Mr. Tytler, "much that was frivolous, undignified, and capricious; much favouritism, much extravagance, an extraordinary love of his pleasures, and a passion for display in oratory, poetry, theology, and scholastic disputation, which was frequently ridiculous; but with all this he was dreaded by his nobles, and compelled respect and obedience. As Elizabeth advanced to old age, his eye became steadily fixed on the English throne, which he considered his undoubted right, and the one great engrossing object of his policy was to secure it. His fairest chance, he thought, to gain the respect and good wishes of the English people, when death took from them their own great princess, was to show that he knew how to rule over his own unruly subjects. Hence his vigorous determination to restrain, by every possible means, the power of the greater nobility; to recruit his exhausted finances; to reduce the isles, and consolidate his kingdom; and to bridle the claims of the Kirk in all matters of civil government, or interference with the royal prerogative; whilst he warmly seconded their efforts for the preservation of the reformed religion, and resistance to the efforts of its enemies."—Vol. ix. pp. 190, 191.

The meeting of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, in March, 1596, gave James a convenient opportunity of gratifying his love of that peculiar oratory which suited the ears of the preachers. The preacher Pont, the moderator of the meeting, welcomed the King's presence with an adulatory speech, in which he reminded James of Constantine, how he honoured the fathers of the Church; of David, how he danced before the ark. The King's oration delighted the Assembly.

"James professed his zeal for religion since his youth up. He had ever esteemed it, as he declared, more glory to be a Christian than a king, whatever slanders to the contrary were spoken against him. It was this zeal which moved him to convene the present assembly; for, being aware of the designs of Spain, their great enemy, against religion and this isle, he was anxious to meet not only the ministers, but the barons and gentlemen; to receive their advice, and resolve on measures to resist the common enemy. Two points he would press on them; reformation and preparation: the reformation of themselves, clergy, people, and king. For his own part, he never refused admonition; he was ever anxious to be told his faults; and his chamber-door should never be closed to any minister that reproved him. All he begged was, that they would first speak privately before they arraigned him in open pulpit. He hated the common vice of ambition; but of one thing he was really ambitious, to have the name of James the Sixth honoured as the establisher of religion, and the provider of livings for the ministry throughout his whole dominions." —*Tytler*, vol. ix. p. 192.

The preachers were so delighted with the prospect of getting some pay for their preachments, that they hardly murmured at the King's rebuke of their violent pulpit attacks, or suggested even a difficulty to his proposition, with which his oration concluded, of raising a standing army. Still they could not forget the "divers Jesuits and excommunicated papists still entertained in the country," and could not close their assembly without one more humble supplication to the King to forfeit the lands of the fugitive nobles, and "examine and remove the griefs that eat, like a canker, into the body of the Kirk." At this moment, when all was fair weather between James and the Kirk, the rescue of the bold borderer, Kinmont Willie, from the castle of Carlisle, by the warden, Buccleugh, threatened, for a time, to breed confusion. James saw the necessity of yielding to the demands of Elizabeth, for he was even then meditating the recall of the catholic lords; and with his first step that way he must lose the support of his present friends, the preachers; he was sure shortly to have enemies enough at home, without adding thereto a quarrel with England, which might endanger his succession to the English crown. Bowes detected the Court intrigues in favour of the banished earls, and communicated his suspicions to the Kirk. At that moment Huntley ventured back in disguise, and Angus came secretly to Perth. Huntley's countess petitioned for her husband's recall, promised that he would abide his trial, banish all papists from his society, willingly admit a presbyterian teacher into his house for his better

instruction, and assist the Kirk in the maintenance of their discipline, if they would but withdraw their sentence of excommunication. Such liberal overtures were met with violence and the usual abuse on the part of the Kirk. The pulpits resounded with denunciations of Antichrist, a day of humiliation was ordered, and an extraordinary council appointed to sit in the capital every month, to provide "*ne quid detrimenti Ecclesia caperet.*" James was both alarmed and disgusted at these proceedings; but it was all in vain that he strove to reason the preachers out of their fears and violence, or to endeavour to persuade them that the Church's doors were never shut against the penitent. Absolve them from their spiritual condemnation the Kirk agreed she could; but, as idolaters, they must die the natural death.

"Such a merciless mode of reasoning, 'proceeding,' as Spottiswood has remarked, 'rather from passion than any good zeal,' greatly disgusted the King; who perceived that, under the alleged necessity of watching over the purity of the faith, the Kirk were erecting a tribunal independent alike of the law, and of the throne. Nor did James conceal these sentiments; inveighing bitterly against the ministers, both in public and private, at council and at table. It was in vain that some of the brethren (for here, as in all other popular factions, there was a more moderate party, who were dragged forward and hustled into excesses by the more violent) entreated him to explain the causes of this offence, and declared their anxiety for an agreement. 'As to agreement,' said the monarch, 'there will never be an agreement as long as the limits of the two jurisdictions, the civil and ecclesiastical, are so vague and undistinguishable. The lines must be strongly and clearly drawn. In your preachings your license is intolerable; you censure both prince, estate, and council; you convoke General Assemblies without my authority; you pass laws under the allegation that they are purely ecclesiastical, but which interfere with my prerogative, and restrict the decisions of my council and my judges. To these my allowance or approbation is never required; and under the general head of scandal your Synods and Presbyteries fulminate the most bitter personal attacks, and draw within the sphere of their censure every conceivable grievance. To think of agreement under such circumstances is vain; even if made, it could not last for a moment.'"—*Tytler*, vol. ix. pp. 203-4.

Of the intolerable license of their preaching both James and Elizabeth had a notable example during the present ferment. David Black, one of the ministers of St. Andrew's, not content with alluding to the progress of idolatry at home, launched out against the Church and the sovereignty of the sister country.

"The Queen of England," he said, "was an atheist; the religion professed in that kingdom was nothing better than an empty show, guided by the injunctions of the Bishops; and, not content with this pageant at home, they were now persuading the King to set it up in Scotland. As for his highness, none knew better than he did of the meditated return of the Papist earls, and herein he was guilty of manifest treachery. But what could they look for? *Was not Satan the head of both the court and the council? were not all Kings devils? was not Satan in the court, in the guiders of the court, in the head of the court? Were not the lords of Session miscreants and bribers, the nobility cormorants, and the Queen of Scotland a woman whom, for fashion's sake, they might pray for; but in whose time it was in vain to hope for good?*"—*Tytler*, vol. ix. p. 205.

Brave words these, and so truly Christian, that we cannot wonder that their utterer dared to justify them, and to decline the jurisdiction of the Privy Council, when they would have called him to question for his slander. Of a truth, Mr. David Black's impudence was not a little proved when he objected that to question such a political and private piece of slander was "ane spiritual matter," and comprehended, in his commission from our Saviour, to preach the Word in all its fulness. The declinature was enough to raise the king's wrath; but when he heard that it was being circulated for signatures through the country, James saw the necessity of curbing this malicious spirit, and forthwith forbade the meetings of the Assembly, and ordered them to seek their flocks within twenty-four hours. The Assembly immediately met, "laid their letters open before the Lord," declared the danger imminent, and summoned every preacher to deal mightily with the power of the Word from their pulpits, in justifying the words and conduct of Black, and their resolution to disobey the King's proclamation. James would even yet have treated the Kirk with moderation, if they would have withdrawn Black's declinature; but they would not. The trial of Black proceeded—the charges had been admitted to be treasonable—still James offered terms. Some progress was made in the compromise, when it was insisted that the offender must first confess his offence against the Queen; the would-be master would not hear of this—the trial proceeded—the prisoner did not appear, and was found guilty in his absence, and commanded to surrender himself into ward. Again the Kirk sounded the alarm; not one atom of their demands would they abate—a fast was proclaimed; and again and again the Word sounded mightily from their pulpits—as they termed the violent slanders to which they prostituted the ordinance of preaching. Great as was the confusion, some creatures of the palace, who, from their offices, acquired the nickname of Cubiculars, hoping to swim in such troubled waters, played false with both parties, endeavouring to lay the blame of the King's resistance on the Papist councillors, and to frighten the Octavians by rumours of threats and assassinations. The climax of the riot may best be related in the words of the historian:—

"By these abominable artifices, the single end of which was to destroy the government of the Octavians, the hopes of peace were entirely blasted; and the little lull which had succeeded the retirement of the commissioners was followed by a more terrific tempest than had yet occurred. The King, incensed at the conduct of the citizens, and the suspicion which it implied, (the mounting guard over their ministers' houses,) commanded twenty-four of the most zealous burghers to leave the capital within six hours; a proceeding which enraged the ministers, whose indignation blazed to the highest pitch, when they received an anonymous letter, assuring them that Huntley had that night been closeted with James. The information was false, and turned out to be an artifice of the Cubiculars; but it had the desired effect, for all was now terror in the Kirk. Balcauquel flew to the pulpit; and, after a general discourse on some text of

the Canticles, plunged into the present troubles of the Kirk, arraigned the 'treacherous forms' of which they had been made the victims, and, turning to the noblemen and barons who were his auditors, reminded them, in glowing language, of the deeds of their ancestors in defence of the truth: exhorting them not to disgrace their fathers, but to meet the ministers forthwith in the little church. To this quarter so great a crowd now rushed, that the clergy could not make their entrance; but Mr. Robert Bruce, pressing forward, at last reached the table where the Protestant barons were seated, and warning them of the imminent perils which hung over their heads—the return of the Papist earls, the persecution of Black, the banishment of the Commissioners and citizens—conjured them to bestir themselves and intercede with the King. For this purpose lords Lindsay and Forbes, with the lairds of Bargaine and Balquhan, and the two ministers, Bruce and Wilson, sought the royal presence, then not far off; for the King was at that moment sitting in the upper Tolbooth, with some of his privy council, while the judges of session were assembled in the lower house; on being admitted with the rest, Bruce informed the monarch that they were sent by the noblemen and barons, then convened to bemoan and avert the dangers threatened to religion. 'What dangers?' said James; 'I see none, and who dares convene contrary to my proclamation?'—'dares,' retorted the fierce lord Lindsay, 'we dare more than that; and shall not suffer the truth to be overthrown, and stand tamely by.' As he said this the clamour increased; numbers were thronging unmannerly into the presence-chamber, and the King starting up in alarm, and without giving any answer, retreated down stairs to the lower house, where the judges were assembled, and commanded the doors to be shut. The Protestant lords and ministers on this returned to the little kirk, where the multitude had been addressed, during their absence, by Mr. Michael Cranston, who had read to them the history of Haman and Mordecai. This story had worked them up to a point that prepared them for any mischief; and when they heard that the King had turned his back upon their messengers, they became furious with rage and disappointment. Some, dreading the worst, desired to separate; but Lindsay's lion voice was heard above the clamour, forbidding them to disperse. Shouts now arose, to force the doors and bring out the wicked Haman; others cried out 'the sword of the Lord and Gideon;' and, in the midst of the confusion, an agent of the courtiers, or, as Calderwood terms him, 'a messenger of satan sent by the Cubiculars,' vociferated 'Armour, armour! Save yourselves. Fy, fy, bills and axes.' The people now rose in arms; some rushing one way, some another. Some, thinking the King was laid hands on, ran to the Tolbooth; some, believing that their ministers were being butchered, flew to the kirk, others thundered with their axes and weapons on the Tolbooth doors; calling for president Seton, Mr. Elphinstone, and Mr. Thomas Hamilton, to be given up to them, that they might take order with them as abusers of the King and the Kirk. At this moment, had not a brave deacon of the craftsmen, named Wat, beat them back with a small guard, the gate would have been forced, and none could have answered for the consequences. But, at last, the Provost, Sir Alexander Hume—whom the shouts of the uproar had reached as he lay on a sick bed—seizing his sword, rushed in all haggard and pale among the citizens, and with difficulty appeased them into a temporary calm."—*Tytler*, vol. ix. pp. 216—218.

Alarmed at these various tumults, James sent Mar to remonstrate with the excited preachers, and learn their demands. The terms proposed were such as were to be expected—the repeal of the acts that restrained the violence of the Kirk, the recall of the banished citizens, and the downfall of Seton, and the other suspected councillors. James promised to lay these demands before his council, and, in the temporary lull that followed,

slipped out from the Tolbooth, and, with his obnoxious advisers, took refuge in Holyrood. Once safe in his palace, James soon took his revenge of the turbulent preachers and their supporters. One day he remained in Holyrood preparing his measures; and scarcely had he and his Court departed for Linlithgow, ere the city cross was visited by the royal herald, and the affrighted citizens heard the royal denunciation of their late conduct, and the removal of the Court from his rebellious city to such other place as the King should appoint. The nobles, too, were ordered to leave the capital for their own homes, and forbear from future assemblies without the royal permission. Sad and sorrowful looked each man on his neighbour, as he read the royal proclamation, and bemoaned the threatened desolation of the capital, and cessation of trade. Again the pulpits made the doctrine to sound greatly, setting forth the quarrel as between God and the King, not the King and his rebellious people. Bruce thundered from one pulpit, and Welsh from another, during the fast proclaimed by the Kirk; and whilst the one enlarged on the pusillanimity of his hearers, the other hounded on the people against their sovereign as one possessed with a devil, against whom it was as lawful for his subjects to rise in revolt, and take the sword out of his hand, as for the child to bind the frenzied parent in his wildest moments. The Kirk would have seduced Lord Hamilton to have led them in this their open rebellion; but he scorned or feared the proffered honour, and carried to the King the treasonable letter, in which Bruce and the other ministers tendered to him the dangerous post of patron of the godly Kirk. So long as the ministers alone had concerted together in their claim of an independent jurisdiction, James was hardly justified in treating them as rebels; but now that the citizens of Edinburgh had been worked up into aiding and assisting them in their claim, he was free to turn upon them as malcontents, and to let them feel the fulness of his wrath. Message after message was sent to implore the King's return to the capital, but to none was access granted. The provost was bid to imprison the ministers; the late tumults were pronounced treasonable; the capital was interdicted even to the courts of justice; and all that the King would answer to his humbled citizens was, that come he would to his capital, but in such guise as to let them know and remember that he was their sovereign. Rumours of Highland clans gathering on the capital—of threatened pillage—cast a deep gloom over the citizens; and cold were the looks, and dull the attention, they gave to their most favoured preachers. Ere the King came, some of the most obnoxious of the ministers fled across the Border. Early in January the royal forces occupied the capital; on their bended knees the provost and baillies bemoaned their offences, and promised submission for the future; and the King's

oration at the High Church assured the trembling people of a future supply of discreet preachers in the place of the fugitives, and gave them hopes that ere long the King and his Court might return to comfort and delight his repentant citizens. It was clear that the King had some great plan in reserve: when he propounded his searching interrogatories to the preachers, respecting the license of preaching, the right of excommunication, the possibility of the existence of a lawful minister without the imposition of hands, the Kirk soon perceived that it was Episcopacy, in some form or other, that James was manœuvring to introduce as the price of his pardon to his rebellious citizens. Great was the ire and dismay of the Presbyterian body at these interrogatory attacks on the Kirk, and the Synod of Fife, after "tossing about the King's queries for some days," sent in their answer in favour of themselves on every point. The following are some of the points in this their declaration of faith and discipline:—

"The first question, whether matters concerning the external government of the Kirk might not be debated, *Salvè fide et religione!* was met by a direct negative; on the second, they were equally positive that the King had no voice in the discussion or establishment of any acts relating to Church government. All the acts of the Kirk, (so was their response worded,) ought to be established by the Word of God. Of this Word the ordinary interpreters were the pastors and doctors of the Kirk; the ordinary expounders, such as were called for in times of corruption, were the prophets, or such men as were endowed by God with extraordinary gifts; and kings and princes had nothing to do but to ratify and vindicate, by their civil sanction, that which these pastors and prophets had authoritatively declared."—*Tytler*, vol. ix. p. 228.

The assumption is not unlike the syllogism by which the American saints argued their right to the property of the world in general, and America in particular. "The Lord," said they, "has given the world as the inheritance for his saints; we are his saints; *ergo*, the desired right to oust any sinner in possession." As for the license of preaching at people, and wandering from the text, they fortified the one by the Apostolic Canon: "they that sin publicly, rebuke publicly, that the rest may fear;" whilst in favour of speaking all things, civil or religious, on all texts, and travelling out of the subject, the directions of St. Paul to Timothy were relied upon as a case in point. The General Assembly, too, wanted not the authority of the King, for the Lord was its Ruler and Summoner, and its acts were valid, even when carried against the royal will and prerogative. This was their argument:—

"The King should consent to, and give a legal sanction to all acts passed in the Assembly; and why? Because the acts of the Assembly have sufficient authority from Christ, who has promised, that whatever shall be agreed upon earth, by two or three convened in his name, shall be ratified in heaven; a warrant to which no temporal prince can lay claim; and so the acts and constitutions of the Kirk are of higher authority than those of any earthly

king; yea, they should command and overrule kings, whose greatest honour should be to be nursing-fathers and servants to this king, Christ Jesus, and His house and queen, the Kirk."—*Tytler*, vol. ix. p. 229.

The Synod of Fife were by no means seconded in their bold stand for the Kirk; and James, by a few promises to waverers, a few threats to the timid, and a wholesale gathering of the northern presbyters, who were but lukewarm friends of the system, contrived to persuade the General Assembly to recognise the royal doctrines. The committee, indeed, of the Assembly, to whom James's thirteen propositions were referred, gave in answers unsatisfactory to the King; the King requested the Kirk to meet the estates, and when the members of the Assembly were come, treated them to such a peremptory address on the rights of the crown, the licensing of the preachers, and the due limits of discipline, that they returned to their house of meeting, and so remodelled their answers as to satisfy the King. By this act they gave up to the King the power of proposing measures of reformation or amendment in religion, subjected their conventions to the King's summons, forbade the censure of the acts of the realm from the pulpit, without previous petition to the crown for redress, or of any person who had not fled from justice, or was not excommunicated, and rendered the consent of the King, as well as of the congregation, necessary to the appointment of any minister to one of the principal towns of the kingdom.

Thus checked and hampered, the Kirk submitted to be reconciled to the Catholic lords as penitents, and consented that the General Assembly should be dissolved, and its powers vested in fourteen of its members—the King's led horses, as Calderwood indignantly calls them—who were to consult and co-operate with the King in regulating "not only particular flocks, but the whole estate and body of the Kirk." "The King's led horses" did the King's work bravely; they ousted Wallace and Black from their pulpits for their scurrility, and deprived Melvill of his rectorship of St. Andrew's, for a too eager dissemination of his religious and political opinions among the students of the university. Nor was James himself forgetful of his grand proposition against the Kirk, to which all, as yet, was but an introduction; and though he amused himself in the autumn in burning witches, and hanging borderers, he had not permitted these relaxations to prevent him from so tutoring his fourteen commissioners, that, among their requisitions to the estates, when parliament opened, was a petition "that the ministry, as representing the Church and the third estate of the realm, might be admitted to have a voice in parliament." What was this, said the old Puritans, but the first step to episcopacy?

"The monarch, indeed, did not now deny it. He knew he had a majority in the Assembly, and looked for an easy victory; but something remained of the

ancient courage and fervour of Presbyterianism. Ferguson, now venerable from age and experience, lifted up his testimony against the project for bringing his brother into parliament. It was, he affirmed, a Court stratagem; and if they suffered it to succeed, would be as fatal, from what it carried within its bowels, as the horse to the unhappy Trojans. 'Let the words,' said he, 'of the Dardan prophetess sing in your ears, *Equo ne credite Teucris!*' Andrew Melvill, whom the Court party had in vain attempted to exclude, argued against the petition in his wonted rapid and powerful style; and John Davison, tearing away from the King's speech, and the arguments of his adherents, the thin veil with which their ultimate design was covered, pointed, in a chain of witty and biting irony, to the future Bench of Bishops, with their Primate at their head. 'Busk * him, busk him,' said he, 'bonnily as ye can, and fetch him in as fair by as ye will,—we ken him weel eneuch; we see the horns of his mitre.'" —*Tytler*, vol. ix. pp. 237-8.

These efforts were perfectly futile, and the Estates passed an act, "That such pastors and ministers as the Crown provided to the place and dignity of a bishop, abbot, or other prelate, should have voice in parliament as freely as any other ecclesiastical prelate had in former day." His project thus completed in the Estates, James now convened the General Assembly, and, after the usual preliminary persuasions to some, and compulsion on others, opened the project to the ministers in one of his characteristic orations.

"He dwelt on his constant care to adorn and favour the Kirk, to remove controversies, restore discipline, and increase its patrimony. 'All,' he said, 'was in a fair road to success; but, in order to ensure it and perfect the reform, it was absolutely requisite that ministers should have a vote in parliament; without which the Kirk could not be saved from falling into poverty and contempt.' 'I mean not,' he said emphatically, 'to bring Papistical or Anglican bishops; but only that the wisest and best of the ministry should be selected by your Assembly, to have a place in council and parliament, to act upon their own affairs, and not to stand always at the door like poor supplicants, utterly despised and disregarded.'" —*Tytler*, vol. ix. p. 239.

It cannot but strike any one who reads these orations of James against the Church government of England, that these denunciations of our episcopate, and couplings together of our bishops with those of Rome, are very inconsistent with his later conduct—but three years after this last speech—when he restored the apostolical succession to the Church in Scotland, through those very bishops whom he now attacks. It must, however, be borne in mind that these royal orations are not always reported in like words or expressions by the episcopal and presbyterian historians; and that, whilst in the one, the bitterness of the king's language is chiefly directed against Rome, in the other, it is equally caustic against England. Nor should it be forgotten that James was, as yet, most imperfectly acquainted with the Church in England; and that, though he was eager to restore such a form of Church government as would bridle the license of the hundred masters of the Kirk, he was equally

* *Busk*, dress.

afraid of pulling the Kirk into rabid opposition by open declarations in favour of episcopacy, as of introducing it in that form, to which, in matters of faith, kings must give way. We can well conceive, that, at present, he regarded the Anglican episcopate and service as too nearly allied to Rome, and that he wished to raise up a new form of an old establishment after his own devices, by which he hoped to assimilate the Kirk and the Church to one another. The King's oration was keenly debated and answered by Melvill, Davison, Bruce, and others of the Genevan party, and defended by Gledstones and James himself. However, it succeeded only by a majority of ten, and that more from the presence of the northern brethren, according to Calderwood, than from soundness of argument on the side of the royal proposition. The resolution came to by the Assembly affirmed the correctness of the principle, that the third estate of the realm should be represented in parliament; and, though not content that the titles and names used by the preceding Church should be assumed, it was conceded that the same number, about half a hundred, "should be chosen, as were wont in time of the papistical Kirk, to be bishops, priors, and abbots; and that their election should belong partly to the King, and partly to the Kirk. That the proposed order was in nothing, save in name, episcopal, none, at least of our friends, will doubt; but, such as it was, it was no doubt an improvement on the government of the Kirk, a restraint on their unbounded license, and a useful preparation to that renewal of the succession of the Church which the Spottiswoode consecrations effected. The nature of this temporary change, and the feelings with which it was received by the people, are well described in our historian's pages.

"This resolution," he says, "was adopted in March 1597—8; but the final establishment of Episcopacy did not take place till more than a twelvemonth after this, in a General Assembly convoked at Montrose, on the 28th of March, 1600. On that occasion, it was decided that the King should choose each Bishop, for every place that was to be filled, out of a leet, or a body of six, selected by the Kirk. Various caveats, or conditions, were added to secure the Kirk against any abuse of their powers by these new dignitaries. They were to propound nothing in parliament, in the name of the Kirk, without its special warrant and direction. They were, at every General Assembly, to give an account of the manner in which they had executed their commission; they were to be contented with such part of their dioceses as the King had assigned for their living; to eschew dilapidation; to attend faithfully to their several flocks; to claim no higher power than the rest of their brethren, in matters of discipline, visitation, and other points of Ecclesiastical government; and, lastly, to be as obedient to authority, and amenable to censure in all Presbyteries and Provincial, or General Assemblies, as the humblest minister of the Kirk. As to the names of these dignitaries, the word bishop was apparently so odious and repugnant to the people, that the King did not deem it prudent to insist on its adoption; and the brethren unanimously advised that they should not be called bishops, but commissioners. James was too well satisfied with the reality of his success in carrying this great scheme to so prosperous an issue, to cavil at this shadow of opposition; and the subject was handed over to the next General Assembly. The feelings with which this triumph of prelatical pri-

ciples was regarded by the sincere and stern adherents of Puritanism and purity, will be best understood by this brief extract from the work of one of its ablest advocates, the historian Calderwood. 'Thus,' says he, 'the Trojan horse, the Episcopacy, was brought in covered with *caveats*, that the danger might not be seen; which, notwithstanding, was seen of many, and opposed unto; considering it to be better to hold thieves at the door than to have an eye unto them in the house, that they steal not: and, indeed, the event declared that their fear was not without just cause: for those commissioners, voters in parliament, afterwards bishops, did violate their *caveats* as easily as Sampson did the cords wherewith he was bound.'"—*Tytler*, vol. ix. pp. 240-1.

Between the passing of the resolution in 1598, and the actual appointment of these hybrid commissioners in 1600, the Kirk gave James tolerably plain proof of their vitality, when they thundered from the pulpit against his anti-kirk opinions in the Basilicon Doron, and warning his son against the Puritans, "as the very pests of the Church and commonweal, whom no deserts could oblige, neither oaths nor promises bind;" and "who breathed little but sedition, aspired without measure, ruled without reason." For two days the Puritans kept strict fast, and sought, by praying and preaching, "to avert the judgments so likely to fall on an apostate king and a miserable country." Loudly and long did they declare from their pulpits, how that the people had fallen away from God, the enemies of the Gospel returning in triumph, the King turned to a defamer of the Kirk, the princes educated by papists, and the young nobles returning from their travels papists or atheists. Indeed, the poor Kirk had several severe frightenings in the year "99." Hardly recovered from the Basilicon Doron, their fears were again excited by the arrival of the French Ambassador, with an actual full-grown Jesuit as his priest, who openly celebrated the offices of his religion in the house of his master. O! how they sighed for the days of persecuting statutes, libellous sermons, and "*auto da fés*" of papists. One thing was comforting, the Jesuit's master was only on a visit, and therefore there was a hope that the trial of the faithful would be short; for so little confidence had they in their own faith, that even one Jesuit settled *in perpetuum* in the capital, and one daily mass, was regarded as fatal to the Kirk. Misfortunes never come alone; soon after the Jesuit came the players, Fletcher and Martin, with their troop of comedians. Powerfully did the pulpits sound against the stage. "Herodias," said the preachers, "had danced off the head of the Baptist, so would Fletcher and Co. dance off the head of the Kirk." Here, they thought, we can interfere without invading the rights of foreign princes; so at the poor players they went, not only with words, bitter words, and religious orations, decked and dressed with scurrilous verses, but they made the magistrates interdict the people from haunting the playhouse, and compelled the King to enforce the rescinding of this obnoxious act, before Fletcher and his

company could perform their comedies. Alas! for the poor Kirk. Can we wonder that they were so shaken by the ponderous folio of James, the single daily mass of the French Jesuit, and the profane playings and maskings of Fletcher, as to yield not only to the Episcopal commissioners of the next year, but to let—not indeed without many a growl—the new order in parliament pass, and so to pave the way for a real episcopacy, that the King could dare, on his accession to the English throne, openly to renew the succession of the Church from that of England, and raise some of his commissioners into real successors of the Apostles?

We have extracted, at some length, and digested with some minuteness, these continued squabbles between James and the Kirk, from the earliest time that he bore his part in public matters, not so much for the intrinsic worth of the matters contested, as for the light they throw on the real principles of the Kirk and its ministers, and the insight they afford us into the gradual progress of the opinions of the King, which led him eventually to erect the Spottiswoode line of bishops in Scotland in 1610. In this our attempt to embody within a few pages the progress of these many struggles, we have followed almost entirely the pages of Mr. Tytler, Mr. Lawson having passed them by as uninteresting, and in no way contributing to the history of the Church, to which he has confined his subject. The space we have given to these transactions is the best evidence of our own opinions on the point; and now, before we close, in the hope of filling up from Mr. Lawson the vacuum of religious history, from 1610 to the consecration of Archbishop Sharpe and his colleagues in 1661, let us express our thanks to Mr. Tytler for the very able history he has now brought to a close, feeling that we have as much regret in bidding adieu to the old and dear companionship of his successive volumes, as he has to those tranquil pleasures of historical investigation on which his volumes have been founded.

A few Words respectfully addressed to the Bishops on the Preparation of Candidates for Holy Orders, at the Universities and at Diocesan Theological Colleges. By JAMES T. LAW, Chancellor of the Diocese of Lichfield; late Special Commissary of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, &c. London: Rivingtons. Wells: Ball.

NONE even of the most violent opponents of the late Oxford Divinity Statute will for a moment contend that it is not desirable that increased opportunities should be afforded to candidates for Holy Orders for their Theological Studies. The question is, how ther

may most fitly be supplied ; and this it is which we are called upon to answer at once, before the universities have monopolized the right of preparing our young men for the sacred office of the ministry. Convocation happily has refused to make the new professorial system compulsory ; but should the Bishops generally, as has already been partially done, sanction such a procedure, there will be no remedy left.* The entrance into Holy Orders will be closed to all who cannot spend this additional year which is demanded of them in the course of study, laid down by the university. Let us be understood once for all, it was the compulsory nature of the statute which was objectionable. Objectionable in itself, because it sought to introduce a new feature into the system of university education, by which it is rendered more difficult of accomplishment, when we should rather desire to see it facilitated ; objectionable in its consequences, because it would have prevented candidates for Holy Orders from taking advantage of other means of preparation which are placed in their way.

The university has certainly lost sight of one very important requisite in preparation for ministerial duties—the formation of the character. It may be quite right to give young men opportunities of studying ecclesiastical history, standard works of divinity and pastoral theology ; but unless you can in some measure ensure the cultivation of more sober and self-denying feelings, more devotion to the work in which they are to engage, in fact greater holiness than generally characterises the years of an undergraduate's life, you may educate a learned, but not a pious, clergy. We all know that it requires a considerable degree of resolution and firmness of character to break through the habits of an academical life, even when the graduate leaves the university. The luxuries and extravagances, which are so commonly indulged, must be gradually dropped, before the minister can enter, either with satisfaction to himself or profit to his flock, upon the sacred duties of his office. Under the most favourable circumstances, the evils attendant upon a university education (for there must be evils mingled with the advantages, great as these are) are not easily got rid of. Why then should we confirm their influence by continuing them for another year, and this the most important time of all, the very time of immediate preparation ? Old associations, and habits of thought, are retained ; the same mode of life continued which is the great ground of complaint against our university education in general. The undergraduate has for his first three years of residence his university degree constantly before his eyes ; all his energies are directed to the attainment of this object, whether he go up for honours or not, all his studies tend to it, all his hopes depend upon it. At last the object is attained, and he feels that he has emerged into a new

* It is implied throughout that the university authorities are narrowing the entrance into Holy Orders ; of course this can only be with the sanction of the Bishops. But it is well known that there is a disposition on the part of some heads of houses to refuse testimonials to those who desire to avail themselves of other means of preparing themselves for holy orders than that laid down by the university.

state of being; freed from all the ties which bound his thoughts to the schools, and privileged to make up as a bachelor for some of the anxieties with which his undergraduate life was overshadowed; for these thoughts of the impending examination have the power of restraining, in some degree, even the most careless of our undergraduates.

On such an one, then, did this new statute design to fix its hold; new-fledged in his bachelor's sleeves, with the very insignia of his triumph constantly before his eyes, he is told that he is to resume his undergraduate feelings, his state of pupillage, attendance upon lectures and prospect of examinations, and this in the very face of many of his friends, who, as they are not designed for Holy Orders, are now enjoying their state of liberty to the full. But the attempt will fail; the bachelor, though now nominally *in statu pupillari*, will never consent with a good will to be practically so; he cannot, so long as he remains at the university, divest himself of the idea that he has himself attained what he sees all his undergraduate friends labouring and toiling after; and, in this happy consciousness he will be most unwilling to return to a similar state. If, however, it be said that the theological examination will take the place of that for the bachelor's degree in his thoughts, since it is to be made the climax of his university education, we may answer, that nothing is more improbable. The degree for which the whole university contends will be the chief object of ambition, and this new theological title will never cast that into the shade.

But again, he will be still kept within the pale of undergraduate society, for the bachelor race will not be so numerous, and therefore will not be able to affect the character of university society, or be sufficient to prevent its members from seeking friends out of it. Relations, too, and schoolfellows, will still form a sufficient inducement to the bachelor to keep up an acquaintance among his juniors, and so the old life will be lived over again for another year, only with greater liberty, and therefore with greater danger. And we need not say that breakfast, wine, and supper-parties, hunting, even boating, billiard, and tennis-playing, are not quite the amusements in which the last thoughts of the candidate for Holy Orders are to be spent before his ordination. We fear that the best theological lectures will be of little advantage, if they are associated with such pleasures; that the mind of the theological student will be scarcely fit for the entertainment of so serious a subject as his pastoral duties, if the rest of his time is devoted to such amusements. And who can estimate too highly the necessity of accompanying all theological study with the cultivation of subdued feelings? How can we expect the seed to take root when the soil is in such an unprepared state? All the evidences of religion which the most learned works supply may be studied and mastered, but unless habits of personal religion are at the same time formed, such study will go for nothing, or worse than nothing. No, we must

endeavour to supply our students with means of religious improvement, as well as, if not before, those of intellectual culture.

But it may be said that the results which we have pointed out will not invariably flow from this system; that a great number of the students will be too deeply impressed with the responsibilities which they are about to take upon themselves, to plunge into such a careless manner of life. Grant even that this would be the case with the greater number; yet was the university justified in making such a system compulsory upon all, because some would make a good use of it, while others would receive the greatest injury? Certainly not; this would be an argument for giving young men the opportunity of such a course of study, but not for obliging them to adopt it. It is quite right that the university should afford the means of study, but let it do so as a public benefit, not as an obligation. Let those parents who have the power, and who think their sons likely to make a good use of such a system, have the privilege of placing them under it; but let those who have not the resources, or who believe that they would place their sons in dangers even greater than those through which they have already passed, be allowed to employ some other means for their clerical education. And the question of expense is one of no slight importance. It is one which presses heavily upon many parents in choosing their sons' profession. And has the university any right (legally it may, but has it equitably), to increase the sum which is spent by parents who give their sons the advantage of a university education? They are thus adding another third to what is now a very considerable amount, and is felt as such even by those who possess a large income. What a subject of anxiety is it now to many, who are desirous of seeing their children serving God in the ministrations of the Church, finding in them at the same time a fitness and willingness to undertake the responsible office, whether with their limited means they can give them that education by which alone they can be qualified for ordination. But now in addition to the former expenses, this new one was to be added, which will surely cut off all hope from those who before could only just undertake it.

And thus, at the very time when the fields are white for harvest, when in this country, as well as in our distant colonies, we are crying out for an increased number of labourers, the universities, which we are wont to regard as the handmaids of the Church, are striving to close the doors to those who would willingly enter upon this holy labour. It is indeed most desirable that our labourers should go forth well and sufficiently prepared; but even supposing that this was the most desirable method of preparation, are we justified in effecting our object at so great a sacrifice? For it is numbers which we want, and that we can have them sufficiently prepared, at least for the inferior duties of the ministry, without this additional system, or even without a university education at all, is becoming more and more felt. Unless, then, the universities wish to force the

Church into opening the diaconate, or even the priesthood, to literates, as they are now called, and others, depriving many of a university education who would otherwise have gladly availed themselves of it, let them not make their professorial system compulsory.

But it was rather with the intention of saying something in behalf of the diocesan theological colleges that we commenced this article, than of merely condemning the late divinity statute; its fate has already been settled. The former is the ostensible object of the pamphlet before us, which is written by one who, as the late commissary of the diocese, in which the more flourishing of these colleges has been established, is entitled to some attention. We cannot agree with all that he says on this subject; nor do we think that he has met the question in the right way. There are several matters which he has mixed up with the main subject, which are not only irrelevant, but rather tend to weaken his argument. However, his opportunities of personal observation, and the attention which he has invariably paid to the welfare of the college, as well as the position which, till, very lately, he has held as his father's commissary, give considerable importance to his opinion. Some of the advantages which he believes to exist in the diocesan colleges may be collected from the following passage. They deserve to be considered more in order and at large; here, however, they are stated generally:—

“Diocesan theological professors, located in the cathedral city, are in immediate contact with their Bishop; and preparing candidates for his examination, naturally, as a matter of common prudence, are influenced by his wishes in all that relates to such preparation. By which means the Bishop is able to become—and by what other means can he be enabled?—well acquainted with the life and conversation of each divinity student. And thus the Bishop, whenever applied to by the beneficed clergy of his diocese, can select for them an appropriate assistant. And the youthful minister may thus be sent forth into such a position within the diocese, as is best fitted for his peculiar talents, and such as is most likely to call forth his energies, and make him useful and profitable to the Church, the Lord being his Helper.”

The opportunity afforded by diocesan colleges for the Bishop's insight into the character of his clergy, is a most important consideration. It gives him an acquaintance with them which may be of service to him throughout their connexion with the diocese; he learns from the principal of the college their exact capabilities; he not only knows where their talents may be best directed at first, but afterwards, as they become qualified for more important posts, incumbencies and livings, he can never be at a loss for fit persons to appoint to vacant benefices. Those, on the contrary, who have been going through the university course, are ordained to such titles as chance may throw in their way; their qualifications for the particular cure can scarcely be known, because even, supposing the bishop or rector to make application to the university professor, there can scarcely be that knowledge on his part of the peculiar wants of the place, which a principal living in the diocese, and in constant communication

with its officials, will be sure to acquire; nor can his acquaintance with the theological student be very intimate.

Again, their education in the midst of that very sphere of action in which they are about to be placed, must give the students a very great advantage when they come to enter upon their duties. Instead of their thoughts being distracted with the discussion of party questions, with which a university must always be rife, they are led to think of the state of the diocese, they gain a knowledge of the character of the clergy with whom they will have to act, they begin to take an interest in the regulations of the charitable institutions which the diocese contains, and thus learn the practical working of the Church machinery.

The advantages in regard to the general formation of character are so obvious as scarcely to need remark. The university habits are changed, for those more in accordance with the character of their present and future life; that charm which bound them to the frivolities and expenses of their former mode of living is broken; they no longer see around them young and giddy undergraduates, whose degree is their only object of terror, but men who are all studying with the same object as themselves, and who are thus led to encourage one another in their common pursuit. The *genius loci*, as Mr. Law calls it, is here decidedly in their favour; the cathedral of their diocese offers a fit place for their daily worship among those (few though alas they be) who do come to serve God, instead of such as are wont to consider their chapel attendance a mere muster-roll. They are thus taught to feel an attachment to their cathedrals, and the Church institutions connected with them, which they will be sure to retain. They will also maintain an union among themselves which will be found to be of the greatest advantage in after years; it will enable Church objects to be carried on within the diocese with a uniformity which can scarcely be attained by any other means. That fellowship among clergymen which is so desirable, but which is so far from general, would be greatly promoted; and while each would be ready to communicate with the other, plans for Church objects would be made known and matured, in a most effectual manner. It is impossible to enumerate all the advantages which a diocese might derive from the adoption of such a system, but they will readily suggest themselves to those who will take the subject into their careful consideration.

These advantages are no imaginary ones; they have actually resulted, and are now resulting from the establishment of the diocesan college at Wells; and though that institution, as well as the other Church institutions of the diocese, labour under a disadvantage which we cannot but lament, resulting from the infirmities of the respected Bishop of the see, yet it has flourished and succeeded in a most eminent degree. Many of the curacies in the diocese are filled by clergymen who do credit to their education at Wells, and who, from their having been, for the most part, selected according to the requirements of their respective cures, are found to be more successful

labourers in the vineyard than if they had been taken without such consideration. With Chichester College we are not acquainted; but the reports of it are generally favourable. On the whole then, experience seems on the side of a system which has now been only partially tried; sufficiently indeed to test its merits, but not to ensure that success which is wont to accompany more matured institutions.

Had we possessed no such experience, the probabilities would certainly have been in favour of the success of these Colleges: they seem a fit appendage to our Cathedral establishments, and the seats of our Episcopal residences. They moreover are by no means a modern invention; our Monastic Institutions always supplied such a place of education for our youth, where they could ensure a more retired place of study than the universities afforded; and after their ruin had been accomplished, we find some little return attempted by Cranmer, for the mischief which had been done, by the proposal to establish similar institutions to these Colleges. Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, gives the following account of this plan. After mentioning the foundation of the Bishoprics of Chester, Gloucester, Peterborough, Oxford, Bristol, and Westminster, with Deaneries, Prebends, &c., out of the spoils of the Monasteries, he goes on to say,—

“ But as all this came far short of what the King had once intended, so Cranmer's design was quite disappointed, for he had projected that in every Cathedral there should be provision made for readers of Divinity, and of Greek, and of Hebrew; and a great number of students to be both exercised in the daily worship of God, and trained up in study and devotion, whom the Bishop might transplant out of this nursery, into all the parts of his diocese. And thus every Bishop should have had a College of Clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merit. He saw great disorders among some Prebendaries; and in a long letter, the original of which I have seen, he expressed his regret, that these endowments went in such a channel. Yet now his power was not great at court, and the other party ran down all his motions. But those who observed things narrowly, judged that a good mixture of prebendaries, and of young clerks, bred up about Cathedrals under the Bishop's eye, and the conduct and direction of the dean and prebendaries, had been one of the greatest blessings that could have befallen the Church, which not being sufficiently provided of houses for the forming of the minds and manners of those, who are to be received into Orders, has since felt the ill-effects of it very sensibly. Against this, Cranmer had projected a noble remedy, had not the Popish party then at court, who very well apprehended the advantages such nurseries would have given to the Reformation, borne down the proposition, and turned all the King's bounty and foundations another way.”—*Burnet*, book iii. p. 546.

The question of supporting such institutions might throw a difficulty in the way, but I think the means here suggested, of endowing the office of Principal, or Professor, with some Cathedral stall, might tend greatly to remove the difficulty, without making any great innovation on our Cathedral establishments. Thus, then, it would seem that an efficient means of supplying our candidates for Orders with a suitable education, might be employed without having recourse to a compulsory university course of study. Diocesan Colleges would furnish far less expensive, more appropriate, and

the other respects which have been mentioned, more effectual places of theological instruction, and religious discipline. In this respect, they desire to be handmaids to the universities; taking their students, well-grounded in the rudiments of religious knowledge, classical, mathematical and philosophical learning, and the other polite and literary acquirements which constitute the education of a gentleman, they desire on this foundation to build that particular superstructure which may fit them for their high calling as Ministers of Christ. The university must supply the general knowledge, the Diocesan Colleges the more strictly professional (if the word must be used), both necessary for the rearing up a body of learned and pious Clergymen. Whether the Diocesan Colleges might hereafter be made the means of affording a sufficient education for an inferior Clergy, of whom a university education would not be required, is not the question: their machinery at present is not adapted for it, nor do they contemplate it in their present state. And here we think Mr. Law has done wrong in mixing up the two questions. He is giving rise to a needless jealousy on the part of the universities, who might thus fear that the Diocesan Colleges would be made the means of depriving them of their exclusive privilege of educating the Clergy of this country. Such a design does not come within their present intention, and therefore it would be unfair to bring such a charge against them. At the same time, we mean no more than to say, that we do not wish to prejudge the question of admitting our superior schoolmasters and other such persons into the Diaconate, and to mingle together the two distinct subjects.

For this reason, also, we think Mr. Law wrong in placing Lampeter and St. Bees on the same footing as the Wells and Chichester Colleges; the former are places intended for the education of those who cannot afford a university education; the latter, for those who have already received it. It might indeed be a matter of consideration for the Bishops of St. David's and Chester, whether they needed any new institutions in their respective Dioceses, seeing that Lampeter and St. Bees already existed, and might be made, by some changes, to answer the same purpose as Wells and Chichester; but still their present object is very different from the more modern institutions. We would therefore wish these Colleges to stand on their own footing; and we think they are most eminently qualified, in constitution, to prepare our youth for the great work for which they are designed, both morally and intellectually.

At the same time, let the universities give those who desire it the means of acquiring a suitable theological knowledge, on a strictly voluntary principle; to those who from circumstances are obliged to reside at the university, such as Fellows, Students, or Tutors, such an opportunity is most desirable. Let them be the Diocesan Colleges for the respective Dioceses of Oxford and Ely, but no more. Let them be the homes of theological science. They may enter into competition with the Colleges of other Dioceses on fair ground, and they will thus form an useful check one to the other. But let not

the interests of the Church be sacrificed to the grasping character of the Hebdomadal Board; let not its members suppose that efficient Priests can only be formed under their especial care, for what can they know of the conduct of the members of their Colleges, in comparison with a Principal of a Diocesan College, who has so much smaller a number under his charge? And let us entreat our Bishops, before they commit themselves to such a system, to weigh well this matter, and consider whether they might not train their rising Clergy in a more efficient method under their own especial care and superintendence, than by the intervention of a system over which they have no control, and whose success must at the best appear very doubtful.

Coningsby; or, the New Generation. By B. DISRAELI, Esq. M.P.
 Author of "*Contarini Fleming*." 8vo. London: Colburn,
 1844. Pp. 314.

THIS, as most of our readers have probably already discovered, or heard, is a very remarkable production, and merits a separate article because of its contents, to say nothing of the interesting and extensive subject to which it naturally conducts us. Mr. D'Israeli possesses nearly all the powers of a good novel-writer, except the highest. He is not creative; but he is a very clever sketcher of the things around him, with just enough, perhaps, of caricature to make his sketches amusing, and, beyond all doubt, sufficient personality to render them attractive to most persons; while his whole subject is eminently that of the day. His chief fault seems to us, that he is still an adherent of the *Silver Fork school*. The amount of splendour wherewith he surrounds us is absolutely intolerable; even his Manchester manufacturer, with his Saxon industry, his Anti-Norman feelings, and his contempt for the peerage, is deprived of half his moral by sending his beautiful daughter to Paris in titled company; where we find her the "observed of all observers," amid luxury and magnificence, such as the mind is strained to imagine. We desiderate poor people, and homely people, "the common growth of mother earth,"—that rough opaque reality on which the daily life of nearly every one, however exalted in rank, must move, and with which all who aspire after great deeds and an elevated life, must be in continual contact.

The story is a very simple one, however remote from simplicity its personages may be. Coningsby, the orphan grandson of the Marquis of Monmouth, has never been seen, and is hardly

noticed, by his selfish and profligate grandfather, who lives for the most part in Italy, till that worthy peer, during a political visit to England, finds it convenient to make his acquaintance, and consequently sends for him from Eton for the purpose. Being handsome, intelligent, and bearing an air of success with him, he speedily becomes the object of his lordship's pride, and as much affection as that pride is capable of awakening; and, from the period of his quitting Eton to the year after his quitting Cambridge, enjoys the immunities of a very rich man's favoured descendant, being very much the master of his own movements, and having as much money to spend as he wishes. He is himself of an earnest and superior cast both of mind and desire, as are the majority of his companions, among whom he ranks as chief and leader. One of these, Millbank, is the son of a Manchester manufacturer, with something of that reserve and sternness, which an independent spirit is apt to acquire, from the consciousness of occupying an humbler position than those around him. He early conceives for Coningsby the passionate admiration which not unfrequently renders the friendship of the young as engrossing and overwhelming as the love of the grown-up. The object of this, however, is far from returning the feeling at first, his aristocratic prejudices revolting against Millbank's origin. He saves the other from drowning, however, and the sense of being a benefactor, awakened that regard which such sense seldom fails to do in the case of a worthy object. Millbank thenceforth became one of Coningsby's favoured and esoteric set, and his beautiful sister the object of his passionate love—a love which undergoes precisely the proper amount of jealousy and misadventure, (for there is a strange character, by name Sidonia, between whom and Miss Millbank a strong tie subsists, and of whom Coningsby is, therefore, duly jealous, and then the elder Millbank and lord Monmouth are bitter enemies,) and at last comes to a very prosperous termination. All this is worked out by means of no uncommon incidents: Coningsby's worst misfortune consists in offending his grandfather by refusing to go into parliament on the right and fitting occasion, and, though partially restored to favour, being cut off at his decease with £10,000. He is thus obliged to bid adieu to the dreams of love, and those of present ambition, and betake himself to the Bar. But he is not left long in his misfortunes, such as they are; a happy turn of events at the last general election gives him at once a seat in parliament and the bride of his choice; and, after the approved fashion of novels, a few months more see him in possession of the main body of his grandfather's riches. All this is ordinary enough, nor in the way of incidents are those subordinate ones which help on the main story of any very marked interest. The domestic intrigues in Lord

Monmouth's house are only amusing in so far as they are connected with a Mr. Rigby, Lord Monmouth's man of all work, in whom the literary oracle of a certain section of the Conservative party, is portrayed with little pretence of disguise; with a good deal of cleverness, and with some just indignation, such as at times blinds us to the barefaced personality in which Mr. D'Israeli has indulged.

The novel is an historical one, going rapidly over the events of the present day, and comprising in its plot,—the final struggle against, and passing of, the Reform Bill; the brief Conservative administration of 1834-5; the general election on the accession of Queen Victoria; the Bed-chamber plot,—and the assembling of the present parliament. The directly historical sketches, seem to us more amusing than the fiction; and both they and the disquisitions connected with them are always ingenious, and often profound.

Our author's principal favourite, among the characters which he has grouped together, is the Spanish Jew, Sidonia, who is one of those great capitalists who do undoubtedly exercise no inconsiderable share in the government of all Europe; though, whether any of them are, or could be, at all like this same Sidonia, is a question which, being neither Jews nor capitalists, we must confess ourselves unable to decide. He is presented to us as the most magnificently-endowed man, with all arts, all learning, all experience: at once profound, accomplished, and irresistible; he is withal a devoted Jew, as have been all his Spanish ancestors, though some of them, it seems, hid their Judaism, in the guise of Archbishops of Toledo, and Grand Inquisitors. Mr. D'Israeli's account of the hidden abundance of Judaism for many ages in Spain is interesting, and will, we doubt not, be novel to some of our readers.

"Sidonia was descended from a very ancient and noble family of Arragon, that, in the course of ages, had given to the state many distinguished citizens. In the priesthood its members had been peculiarly eminent. Besides several prelates, they counted among their number an Archbishop of Toledo; and a Sidonia, in a season of great danger and difficulty, had exercised for a series of years the paramount office of Grand Inquisitor.

"Yet, strange as it may sound, it is nevertheless a fact of which there is no lack of evidence, that this illustrious family, during all this period, in common with two-thirds of the Arragonese nobility, secretly adhered to the ancient faith and ceremonies of their fathers—a belief in the unity of the God of Sinai, and the rites and observances of the laws of Moses.

"Whence came those Hebrew Arabs whose passage across the strait from Africa to Europe long preceded the invasion of the Mohammedan Arabs, it is now impossible to ascertain. Their traditions tell us that from time immemorial they had sojourned in Africa; and it is not improbable that they may have been the descendants of some of the earlier dispersions; like those Hebrew colonies that we find in China, and who probably emigrated from Persia in the days of the great monarchies. Whatever may have been their origin in Africa, their fortunes in southern Europe are not difficult to trace, though the annals of no race in no age can detail a history of such strange

vicissitudes, or one rife with more touching and romantic incident. Their unexampled prosperity in the Spanish Peninsula, and especially in the south, where they had become the principal cultivators of the soil, excited the jealousy of the Goths, and the Councils of Toledo during the sixth and seventh centuries attempted, by a series of decrees worthy of the barbarians who promulgated them, to root the Jewish Arabs out of the land. There is no doubt the Council of Toledo led as directly as the lust of Roderick to the invasion of Spain by the Moslem Arab. The Jewish population suffering under the most sanguinary and atrocious persecution looked to their sympathizing brethren of the Crescent, whose camps already gleamed on the opposite shore. The overthrow of the Gothic kingdoms was as much achieved by the superior information which the Saracens received from their suffering kinsmen, as by the resistless valour of the Desert. The Saracen kingdoms were established. That fair and unrivalled civilization arose, which preserved for Europe arts and letters when Christendom was plunged in darkness. The children of Ishmael rewarded the children of Israel with equal rights and privileges with themselves. During these halcyon centuries, it is difficult to distinguish the follower of Moses from the votary of Mahomet. Both alike built palaces, gardens, and fountains; filled equally the highest offices of the state, competed in an extensive and enlightened commerce, and rivalled each other in renowned universities.

"Even after the fall of the principal Moorish kingdoms, the Jews of Spain were still treated by the conquering Goths with tenderness and consideration. Their numbers, their wealth, the fact that, in Arragon especially, they were the proprietors of the soil, and surrounded by warlike and devoted followers, secured for them an usage which for a considerable period made them little sensible of the change of dynasties and religions. But the tempest gradually gathered. As the Goths grew stronger, persecution became more bold. Where the Jewish population was scanty, they were deprived of their privileges or obliged to conform under the title of 'Nuovos [*Nuevos* ?] Christianos.' At length the union of the two crowns under Ferdinand and Isabella, and the fall of the last Moorish kingdom, brought the crisis of their fate both to the New Christian and the non-conforming Hebrew. The Inquisition appeared, the Institution that had exterminated the Albigenses and had desolated Languedoc, and which, it should ever be remembered, was established in the Spanish kingdoms against the protests of the Cortes and amid the terror of the populace. The Dominicans opened their first tribunal at Seville, and it is curious that the first individuals they summoned before them were the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Marquess of Cadiz, and the Count of Arcos; three of the most considerable personages in Spain. How many were burned alive at Seville during the first year, how many imprisoned for life, what countless thousands were visited with severe though lighter punishments, need not be recorded here. In nothing was the Holy Office more happy than in multiform and subtle means by which they tested the sincerity of the New Christians.

"At length the Inquisition was to be extended to Arragon. The high-spirited nobles of that kingdom knew that its institution was for them a matter of life or death. The Cortes of Arragon appealed to the King and to the Pope; they organized an extensive conspiracy; the chief Inquisitor was assassinated in the Cathedral of Saragossa. Alas! it was fated that in this, one of the many, and continual, and continuing struggles between the rival organizations of the North and the South, the children of the sun should fall. The fagot and the San Benito were the doom of the nobles of Arragon. Those who were convicted of secret Judaism, and this scarcely three centuries ago, were dragged to the stake; the sons of the noblest houses, in whose veins the Hebrew taint could be traced, had to walk in solemn procession singing psalms and confessing their faith in the religion of the fell Torquemada.

"This triumph in Arragon, the almost simultaneous fall of the last Moorish kingdom, raised the hopes of the pure Christians to the highest pitch. Having purged the new Christians, they next turned their attention to the old Hebrews.

Ferdinand was resolved that the delicious air of Spain should be breathed no longer by any one who did not profess the Catholic faith. Baptism or exile was the alternative. More than six hundred thousand individuals—some authorities greatly increase the amount—the most industrious, the most intelligent, and the most enlightened of Spanish subjects, would not desert the religion of their fathers. For this, they gave up the delightful land wherein they had lived for centuries, the beautiful cities they had raised, the universities from which Christendom drew for ages its most precious lore, the tombs of their ancestors, the temples where they had worshipped the God for whom they had made this sacrifice. They had but four months to prepare for eternal exile after a residence of as many centuries, during which brief period forced sales and glutted markets virtually confiscated their property. It is a calamity that the scattered nation still ranks with the desolations of Nebuchadnezzar and of Titus. Who after this should say the Jews are by nature a sordid people? But the Spanish Goth, then so cruel and so haughty, where is he? A despised suppliant to the very race which he banished for some miserable portion of the treasure which their habits of industry have again accumulated. Where is that tribunal that summoned Medina Sidonia and Cadiz to its dark inquisition? Where is Spain? Its fall, its unparalleled and its irremediable fall, is mainly to be attributed to the expulsion of that large portion of its subjects, the most industrious and intelligent, who traced their origin to the Mosaic and Mahomedan Arabs.

"The Sidonias of Arragon were *Nuevos* [*Nuevos*?] *Christianos*. Some of them no doubt were burned alive at the end of the fifteenth century under the system of *Torquemada*, many of them doubtless wore the *San Benito*; but they kept their titles and estates; and in time reached those great offices to which we have referred.

"During the long disorders of the Peninsular war, when so many openings were offered to talent, and so many opportunities seized by the adventurous, a cadet of a younger branch of this family made a large fortune by military contracts, and supplying the commissariat of the different armies. At the peace, prescient of the great financial future of Europe, confident in the fertility of his own genius, in his original views of fiscal subjects, and his knowledge of national resources, this Sidonia, feeling that Madrid, or even Cadiz, could never be a base on which the monetary transactions of the world could be regulated, resolved to emigrate to England, with which he had in the course of years formed considerable commercial connexions. He arrived here after the peace of Paris with his large capital. He staked all that he was worth on the Waterloo loan; and the event made him one of the greatest capitalists in Europe.

"No sooner was Sidonia established in England, than he professed Judaism, which *Torquemada* flattered himself, with the fagot and the *San Benito*, he had drained out of the veins of his family more than three centuries ago. He sent over also for several of his brothers, who were as good Catholics in Spain as Ferdinand and Isabella could have possibly desired, but who made an offering in the synagogue, in gratitude for their safe voyage, on their arrival in England."

But, startling as all this may be, it lags behind the following assertion of the never discontinued sway of the Hebrew race over the rest of mankind, which, we confess, although we were aware of some part of it, was on the whole not a little astounding to us.

"I am going to Cambridge in a week," said Coningsby. "I was almost in hopes you might have remained as long."

"I also; but my letters of this morning demand me. If it had not been for our chase, I should have quitted immediately. The minister cannot p

the interest on the national debt—not an unprecedented circumstance—and has applied to us. I never permit any business of state to be transacted without my personal interposition; and so I must go up to town immediately.’

“ ‘Suppose you don’t pay it,’ said Coningsby, smiling.

“ ‘If I followed my own impulse, I would remain here,’ said Sidonia. ‘Can anything be more absurd than that a nation should apply to an individual to maintain its credit, and with its credit, its existence as an empire and its comfort as a people; and that individual one to whom its laws deny the proudest rights of citizenship, the privilege of sitting in its senate and of holding land; for though I have been rash enough to buy several estates, my own opinion is that by the existing law of England, an Englishman of Hebrew faith cannot possess the soil.’

“ ‘But surely it would be easy to repeal a law so illiberal—’

“ ‘Oh! as for illiberality, I have no objection to it if it be an element of power. Eschew political sentimentalism. What I contend is, that if you permit men to accumulate property, and they use that permission to a great extent, power is inseparable from that property, and it is in the last degree impolitic to make it the interest of any powerful class to oppose the institutions under which they live. The Jews, for example, independent of the capital qualities for citizenship which they possess in their industry, temperance, and energy and vivacity of mind, are a race essentially monarchical, deeply religious, and shrinking themselves from converts as from a calamity, are ever anxious to see the religious systems of the countries in which they live, flourish; yet since your society has become agitated in England, and powerful combinations menace your institutions, you find the once loyal Hebrew invariably arrayed in the same ranks as the leveller and the latitudinarian, and prepared to support the policy which may even endanger his life and property, rather than tamely continue under a system which seeks to degrade him. The Tories lose an important election at a critical moment; ’tis the Jews come forward to vote against them. The Church is alarmed at the scheme of a latitudinarian university, and learns with relief that funds are not forthcoming for its establishment; a Jew immediately advances and endows it. Yet the Jews, Coningsby, are essentially Tories. Toryism indeed is but copied from the mighty prototype which has fashioned Europe; and every generation they must become more powerful and more dangerous to the society which is hostile to them. Do you think that the quiet humdrum persecution of a decorous representative of an English university can crush those who have successively baffled the Pharaohs, Nebuchadnezzar, Rome, and the Feudal ages? The fact is you cannot destroy a pure race of the Caucasian organization. It is a physiological fact; a simple law of nature, which has baffled Egyptian and Assyrian Kings, Roman Emperors, and Christian Inquisitors. No penal laws, no physical tortures, can effect that a superior race should be absorbed in an inferior, or be destroyed by it. The mixed persecuting races disappear; the pure persecuted race remains. And at this moment, in spite of centuries of degradation, the Jewish mind exercises a vast influence on the affairs of Europe. I speak not of their laws, which you still obey; of their literature, with which your minds are saturated; but of the living Hebrew intellect.

“ ‘You never observe a great intellectual movement in Europe in which the Jews do not greatly participate. The first Jesuits were Jews: that mysterious Russian diplomacy which so alarms Western Europe is organized and principally carried on by Jews; that mighty revolution which is at this moment preparing in Germany, and which will be in fact a second and greater Reformation, and of which so little is as yet known in England, is entirely developing under the auspices of Jews, who almost monopolise the professorial chairs of Germany. Neander, the founder of Spiritual Christianity, and who is Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Berlin, is a Jew. Benary, equally famous, and in the same University, is a Jew. Wehl, the Arabic Professor of Heidelberg, is a Jew. Years ago, when I was in Palestine, I met

a German student who was accumulating materials for the History of Christianity, and studying the genius of the place; a modest and learned man. It was Wehl; then unknown, since become the first Arabic scholar of the day, and the author of the life of Mahomet. But for the German professors of this race, their name is Legion. I think there are more than ten at Berlin alone.

" 'I told you just now that I was going up to town to-morrow, because I always made it a rule to interpose when affairs of State were on the carpet. Otherwise, I never interfere. I hear of peace and war in newspapers; but I am never alarmed, except when I am informed that the Sovereigns want treasure; then I know that monarchs are serious.

" 'A few years back we were applied to by Russia. Now there has been no friendship between the Court of St. Petersburg and my family. It has Dutch connexions which have generally supplied it, and our representations in favour of the Polish Hebrews—a numerous race, but the most suffering and degraded of all the tribes—has not been very agreeable to the Czar. However circumstances drew to an approximation between the Romanoffs and the Sidonias. I resolved to go myself to St. Petersburg. I had on my arrival an interview with the Russian Minister of Finance, Count Cancrin; I beheld the son of a Lithuanian Jew. The loan was connected with the affairs of Spain; I resolved on repairing to Spain from Russia. I travelled without intermission. I had an audience immediately on my arrival with the Spanish Minister, Senor Mendizabel; I beheld one like myself, the son of a Nuovo Cristiano, a Jew of Arragon. In consequence of what transpired at Madrid, I went straight to Paris to consult the President of the French Council; I beheld the son of a French Jew, a hero, an imperial marshal, and very properly so, for who should be military heroes if not those who worship the Lord of Hosts.'

" 'And is Soult a Hebrew?'

" 'Yes, and several of the French Marshals, and the most famous; Massena, for example; his real name was Manasseh: but to my anecdote. The consequence of our consultations was that some Northern power should be applied to in a friendly and mediative capacity. We fixed on Prussia, and the President of the Council made an application to the Prussian Minister, who attended a few days after our conference. Count Arnim entered the cabinet, and I beheld a Prussian Jew. So you see, my dear Coningsby, that the world is governed by very different personages to what is imagined by those who are not behind the scenes.'

" 'You startle, and deeply interest me.'

" 'You must study physiology, my dear child. Pure races of Caucasus may be persecuted, but they cannot be despised, except by the brutal ignorance of some mongrel breed, that brandishes fagots and howls exterminations, but is itself exterminated without persecutions by that irresistible law of nature which is fatal to curs.'

" 'But I come also from Caucasus,' said Coningsby.

" 'Verily, and thank your Creator for such a destiny: and your race is sufficiently pure. You come from the shores of the Northern Sea, land of the blue eye, and the golden hair, and the frank brow; 'tis a famous breed, with whom we Arabs have contended long; from whom we have much suffered; but these Goths, and Saxons, and Normans, were doubtless great men.'

" 'But so favoured by Nature, why has not your race produced great poets, great orators, great writers?'

" 'Favoured by Nature and by Nature's God, we produced the lyre of David; we gave you Isaiah and Ezekiel; they are our Olynthians, our Philippiens. Favoured by Nature we still remain: but in exact proportion as we have been favoured by Nature we have been persecuted by Man. After a thousand struggles; after acts of heroic courage that Rome has never equalled; deeds of divine patriotism that Athens, and Sparta, and Carthage have never excelled; we have endured fifteen hundred years of supernatural slavery, during which, every device that can degrade or destroy man has been the

destiny that we have sustained and baffled. The Hebrew child has entered adolescence only to learn that he was the Pariah of that ungrateful Europe that owes to him the best part of its laws, a fine portion of its literature, all its religion. Great poets require a public; we have been content with the immortal melodies that we sung more than two thousand years ago by the waters of Babylon and wept. They record our triumphs; they solace our affliction. Great orators are the creatures of popular assemblies; we were permitted only by stealth to meet even in our temples. And as for great writers the catalogue is not blank. What are all the school-men, Aquinas himself, to Maimonides; and as for modern philosophy, all springs from Spinoza.

" ' But the passionate and creative genius that is the nearest link to divinity, and which no human tyranny can destroy, though it can divert it; that should have stirred the hearts of nations by its inspired sympathy, or governed senates by its burning eloquence, has found a medium for its expression, to which, in spite of your prejudices and your evil passions, you have been obliged to bow. The ear, the voice, the fancy teeming with combinations, the imagination fervent with picture and emotion, that came from Caucasus and which we have preserved unpolluted, have endowed us with almost the exclusive privilege of Music; that science of harmonious sounds which the ancients recognised as most divine, and deified in the person of their most beautiful creation. I speak not of the past, though were I to enter into the history of the lords of melody, you would find it the annals of Hebrew genius. But at this moment even, musical Europe is ours. There is not a company of singers, not an orchestra in a single capital, that are not crowded with our children, under the feigned names which they adopt to conciliate the dark aversion which your posterity will some day disclaim with shame and disgust. Almost every great composer, skilled musician, almost every voice that ravishes you with its transporting strains, spring from our tribes. The catalogue is too vast to enumerate; too illustrious to dwell for a moment on secondary names, however eminent. Enough for us that the three great creative minds to whose exquisite inventions all nations at this moment yield—Rossini, Meyerbeer, Mendelssohn—are of Hebrew race. And little do your men of fashion, your ' muscadins' of Paris, and your dandies of London, as they thrill into raptures at the notes of a Pasta, or a Grisi, little do they suspect that they are offering their homage to the sweet singers of Israel!'"

We have no sufficient access to the facts to judge of the accuracy of all this; but there is much of it which we find it easy to credit. Like Sidonia, or the Mr. D'Israeli who portrays Sidonia, we are, to some considerable extent, believers in the influence of *blood*, thinking it an agent which, after the lapse of centuries and millenniums, often proves more powerful than all calculations, schemes, laws, and institutions. At the same time, be his facts true or not, or whatever be the extent to which they are true, it is not, as we conceive, from them that a son of Abraham, who, like our author, has embraced the Faith of the Gospel, ought to derive gratification, or to feel, as a Jew may, we think, legitimately feel, that he is of the world's truly aristocratic race—the nation which has stamped its uneffaceable impression on the brotherhood of mankind. Mohammedanism, we need scarcely say, is but the concentrated operation of certain elements of the Hebrew faith, and becomes weak just where, like Judaism itself, it has stopped short and cut off the growth of wide, overshadowing fertility. But it is to the

Christian Church, as being, though not by lineal descent, yet by no mere figure of speech, in deed and in truth, the true Israel, that a Hebrew may look with legitimate pride as to the consummation and full universal triumph of his race. He may see in that, how indeed "out of Zion hath gone forth the Law" paramount of all mankind; how the great and glorious Hebrew type has been imprinted on the whole European race, and all the laws and customs of Christendom; how the ancient utterances of the Hebrew mind have been made to lie at the root of all our deepest thoughts, and all our most passionate aspirations; so that whether he look at the venerable fabric of the Christian Law, or the rich solemnity of the Christian Liturgies, or the ample and varied stores of Christian art and literature, the Dantes, Shakespears, Calderons, and Spensers, of Europe, he may trace the expansion of the chosen seed, and exult in the high mysterious bearing of his nation upon the destinies of mankind.

The most amusing parts of this novel are the political conversations; in which the common run of what are commonly called Conservative sentiments, is very well exposed. In fact, the whole work may be considered as directed against the pretensions of the Conservative party. Witness the following conversation at Cambridge after one of its triumphs there, which a certain very accurate Quarterly reviewer may without difficulty prove did not take place at the time alleged; instead of the Conservative Etonian of Mr. D'Israeli, no less a person than her Majesty's Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, having been then returned for Cambridge, with a Radical for his colleague.

" 'By Jove,' said the panting Buckhurst, throwing himself on the sofa, 'it was well done; never was anything better done. An immense triumph! The greatest triumph the Conservative cause has had. And yet,' he added, laughing, 'if any fellow were to ask me what the Conservative cause was, I am sure I should not know what to say.'

" 'Why it's the cause of our glorious institutions,' said Coningsby. 'A Crown robbed of its prerogatives; a Church controlled by a commission; and an Aristocracy that does not lead.'

" 'Under whose genial influence, the order of the Peasantry, "a country's pride," has vanished from the face of the land,' said Henry Sydney, 'and is succeeded by a race of serfs, who are called labourers and who burn ricks.'

" 'Under which,' continued Coningsby, 'the crown has become a cipher; the church a sect; the nobility drones; and the people drudges.'

" 'It is the great constitutional cause,' said Lord Vere, 'that refuses everything to opposition; yields everything to agitation: conservative in Parliament, destructive out of doors; that has no objection to any change, provided only it be effected by unauthorized means.'

" 'The first public association of men,' said Coningsby, 'who have worked for an avowed end, without enunciating a single principle.'

" 'And who have established political infidelity throughout the land,' said Lord Henry.

" 'By Jove!' said Buckhurst, 'what infernal fools we have made ourselves this last week!'

" 'Nay,' said Coningsby, smiling, 'it was our last schoolboy weakness. Floreat Etona, under all circumstances.'

" 'I certainly, Coningsby,' said Lord Vere, 'shall not assume the Conservative Cause, instead of the Cause for which Hampden died in the field, and Sydney on the scaffold.'

" 'The cause for which Hampden died in the field, and Sydney on the scaffold,' said Coningsby, 'was the cause of the Venetian Republic.'

" 'How—how?' said Buckhurst.

" 'I repeat it,' said Coningsby. 'The great object of the Whig leaders in England, from the first movement under Hampden to the last more successful one in 1688, was to establish in England a high aristocratic republic on the model of the Venetian, then the study and admiration of all speculative politicians. Read Harrington; turn over Algernon Sydney; and you will see how the minds of the English leaders in the seventeenth century were saturated with the Venetian type. And they at length succeeded. William III. found them out in an instant. He told the Whig leaders, "I will not be a Doge." He balanced parties; he baffled them as the Puritans baffled them fifty years before. The reign of Anne was a struggle between the Venetian and the English systems. Two great Whig nobles, Argyle and Shrewsbury, worthy of seats in the Council of Ten, forced their Sovereign on her death-bed to change the ministry. They accomplished their object. They brought in a new family on their own terms. George I. was a Doge; George II. was a Doge; they were what William III., a great man, would not be. George III. tried not to be a Doge, but it was impossible materially to resist the deeply-laid combination. He might get rid of the Whig magnificoes, but he could not rid himself of the Venetian constitution. And a Venetian constitution did govern England from the accession of the House of Hanover until 1832. Now I do not ask you, Vere, to relinquish the political tenets which in ordinary times would have been your inheritance. All I say is, the constitution introduced by your ancestors having been subverted by their descendants your contemporaries, beware of still holding Venetian principles of government when you have not a Venetian constitution to govern with. Do what I am doing, what Henry Sydney and Buckhurst are doing, what other men that I could mention are doing, hold yourself aloof from political parties which, from the necessity of things, have ceased to have distinctive principles, and are therefore, practically, only factions; and wait and see, whether with patience, energy, honour, and Christian faith, and a desire to look to the national welfare and not to sectional and limited interests; whether, I say, we may not discover some great principles to guide us, to which we may adhere, and which then, if true, will ultimately guide and control others.'

" 'The Whigs are worn out,' said Vere, 'Conservatism is a sham, and Radicalism is pollution.'"

In short, Mr. D'Israeli is generally considered a member of that section of public men, which has received the name of "Young England;" and this work is regarded as a literary manifesto from that quarter, an exposition of many of the principles avowed and acted on there; although we imagine that some of the opinions avowed in Coningsby must be taken simply as Mr. D'Israeli's own.

In common with more than one recent inquirer into the true genius of the British Constitution, our author looks upon real monarchy as its essential and enduring element; and as that in which all classes would find their best protection. We are all complaining one way or another of class legislation; whereupon D'Israeli reminds us that a king is of no class, and there-

fore if he really govern, he is not very likely to govern with a view to class interests. That the unchecked sway of any man must be more or less tyranny is uncontrovertible; but a modern European Sovereign will be not less dependent on public opinion than are Cabinets or Parliaments, nay, will at all times feel a more immediate need of it.

But this best, and noblest, and freest government, has long been obscured in England by the influence of an aristocracy—and that, not as a whole, the ancient one of the country, but one created partly by the plunder of the Church, partly by yet more modern political intrigue. Until the Reform Bill, this aristocracy worked in and through Parliament, to which branch of the constitution it had, for its own purposes, contrived to give an undue prominence. Thus Sovereign, Church, and People, have alike been defrauded of their due position and power in the body politic, the principle of class legislation has reigned supremely; and along with it that of political exclusion; which last our author maintains to be not more inconsistent with the British Constitution than the genius of ancient and genuine Toryism; the Irish Orange party being designated by him (and rightly) as the true Whigs. If to these articles of belief, we add, that Mr. D'Israeli seems opposed to commercial restriction, and indirect taxation, and that he is no lover of Russia, we shall have perhaps completed the outline of his political creed, in the common sense of the word. It may be further observed, that while professing himself anxious for the restoration to the peasantry of its ancient recognition as an order of the State, its ancient privileges, and its ancient enjoyments; he is no sentimentalist on the subject of steam-engines and machinery, considers that "Manchester, rightly viewed, is as great a wonder as Athens," and makes his Socrates, Sidonia, pronounce that "the age of ruins is past."—In short, Mr. D'Israeli's cast of thought may be analyzed into a strong infusion of Lord John Manners, mixed with a tolerably powerful influence of Mr. Urquhart, and flavoured by a dash of Mr. Carlyle.

We have not, it must be observed, been reviewing Coningsby on the whole *as a novel*; and, therefore, our readers must not judge of its power of entertaining them, either from our remarks or our extracts. This remarkable work, interesting though it be in itself, is to us more interesting as a symptom of what is going on, and because of the subjects which it suggests, concerning which we would now say a word or two.

We are not prepared to join in the whole of Mr. D'Israeli's political creed, or to repose undoubting confidence on all his historical sketches and disquisitions on the English Constitution; nor, as we have already hinted, have we any right to implicate the party with whom he acts in all that he has laid down. But

we think he has given us a good text whereon to discourse briefly on that party, or school, or whatever it is to be called.

About this time two years ago, in addition to the three well-known names of Conservatives, Whigs, and Radicals, under which public men were ranged, the title "*Young England*" began to be heard, though people rather knew to whom than to what they were applying it. Perhaps the latter is not very clear still; nor do we wish it to be so, for we should be sorry to think that the gentlemen who are classed under this designation had adopted a complete and symmetrical creed and code, distinguishing them from all others.

We need not say that your practical Conservative, your man of electioneering tact, of insight into registrations, and erudition in division lists, regards *Young England* with high disdain, so long, at least, as he is able to keep his temper at the thought of it. He is all ready with denunciations of its presumption, its rawness, and its coxcombry. That all its members are young seems to him sufficient condemnation, and that many of them are young men of rank and leisure and fashion, sufficient explanation, of it; inasmuch as persons in these circumstances, must always find stimulus from singularity, novelty, and paradox of some sort. To hint at its connexion with *Tractarianism* is another great advantage which can frequently be used against it. Now, if the idea of *Young England* be that of a party analogous to the others into which public men are divided, a party struggling for Parliamentary preponderance, a party of which it could fairly be demanded what sort of an administration it could furnish, and with what measures it would be prepared, supposing her Majesty saw fit to entrust Lord John Manners or Mr. Smythe, with the formation of a Ministry, most of our Conservative's sneers would no doubt be relevant enough. But we certainly do not regard *Young England* in this light, and we give the gentlemen who belong to it, credit for not doing so themselves. A public man, or set of public men, may surely do much service, and earn their country's best thanks, without being able, or willing, either to furnish a Cabinet, or to constitute a Parliamentary opposition. Again, we frankly admit that most of the gentlemen in question are young, and scarcely any of them experienced in business; that they are, probably, not all equal in earnestness of character and purpose; that some of them may be more men of fashion than grave inquirers; that in all likelihood they are by far too fond of singularity and paradox; and that the principles which they avow, are at present very easily and cheaply avowed. All this may be, and, we dare say, is, true. For the men we care not, as far as our argument goes, though there are one or two of them whom we greatly respect, and from whom we hope for much.

What we contend is, that their appearance is a symptom, a very important, and to our minds, on the whole, a very hopeful symptom. The very name which they have received, however originally given, and whether the full honour of it be or be not due to them, is a symptomatic name, means a good deal, implies not only in the bearer, but in the giver too, a class of thoughts, presentiments, and feelings, not very comfortable to your official man, your regular Conservative, or your lover of things as they are. It is a name that could never have become current had there not been a class of notions and sentiments—undefined and chaotic no doubt, but still existing and in motion—which it partially represented.

In further discoursing of *Young England*, or rather of the symptoms which we think the name and the notion of a *Young England* exhibit, we must observe that we do not confine ourselves to the gentlemen who occupy a particular bench in the House of Commons, and to whom the designation has been formally appropriated. Were this the whole, the matter would be far less important than we are inclined to imagine it. We do not believe that the idea represented by *Young England*, viewed on its best side, is at all limited, even in Parliament, to a particular bench in the House of Commons, and still less in the country at large. We are not prepared to recommend those who most feel the force of the idea on entering Parliament to sit on that bench, or to court the designation. We are sure that if there be a *Young England* indeed, a rising generation of promise and of hope, capable, under God, of rectifying the errors committed, and healing the diseases entailed, by their forefathers, the great renovating thoughts must be stirring far more widely than the confines of any one coterie, however intelligent and however noble-minded; nay, we almost venture to say that the true *Young England* claims some within its ranks who differ very materially in their opinions and their training, and, paradoxical though the notion may seem, we venture to hope that, while it partially comprises Mr. Charles Buller as well as Lord John Manners, it includes many an intermediate gentleman who, young in years, and not committed to any one school or any one system, is yet anxious to fear God and honour his Sovereign within his appointed sphere. We have, therefore, spoken of the party generally styled *Young England*, rather as being the most distinct visible manifestation of what we mean, than as limiting and defining that meaning; and with this previous warning to our readers we now propose saying a word or two on the great symptom in question.

That symptom consists, we think, in two things; first, a strong feeling that neither Conservatism, nor Whiggism, nor Radicalism, as at present developing themselves, are adequate to England's emergency; and, secondly, a feeling that England's true consti-

tution, certain religious developments being taken for granted, is all, or nearly all, that we can want.

For the first it may be sufficient to confine ourselves to the case of the conservative party, for the majority of our readers are not very likely to have *immediate* sympathy with any other. If that be inadequate, they are not likely to turn to the whig or the radical party, as standing them more in stead. Now the inadequacy of the conservative party and the conservative creed may be considered as *Young England's* watch-word, and such inadequacy is deeply felt by many who have no visible connexion with Lord J. Manners and his friends. There is no doctrine oftener enforced by Mr. D'Israeli than this, that the word *conservatism* has been used without telling any one what was to be conserved, and that it has, therefore, been a mere sham, and a screen for some of the worst revolutions which the world has seen. And he is not the first who has said and who has felt this. Men have often lately asked what *conservatism* means, and they have been generally disposed to answer *nothing*; nothing but a good party war-cry.

Now, without feeling thorough contentment in conservatism, we think this is scarcely just. It seems to us to mean something—something intrinsic and positive. For, first, so long as there is a purely revolutionary party, a party anxious for organic change on a large and comprehensive scale, so long will the men who refuse and deprecate and resist such organic change have a positive and intelligible and very valuable meaning, when they call themselves *conservatives*. And, just so far as there is such a revolutionary party, just so far as the great constitutive features of the English state are in danger, either of being destroyed or seriously impaired, does the word *conservative* stand for something positive in the way of principle, and do those who have manfully fought for that principle merit the praise and the gratitude of every true Englishman. For, though we are far from regarding the Reform Bill in the light wherein Mr. Rigby, or other living Mr. Rigbys saw it, as in itself the death-blow to England, we cannot imagine any rational man's denying that, even in the modified form, and still more in the circumstances wherein it passed, the clamours of the press, the black phantom of political unions, the awing of the peerage, the compulsory nets entwined around the repentant sovereign, there were comprised nearly every element of danger with which a great and ancient nation could be assailed. All thanks, therefore, for that vigorous and healthy national constitution which recovered from such danger! All honour to the men who never allowed themselves to lose either heart or hope in the very worst and wildest of the storm! All honour to the great statesman whose unslumbering eye saw each opportunity of fighting the battle of *conservatism* against a hungrier and more rabid

revolutionary foe than England had seen since the dark days of 1642! And here let us pause to notice the very becoming way in which Mr. D'Israeli always notices Sir Robert Peel. There is in him none of that idiotic depreciation of a very remarkable and, we are sure, a very honest man—none of that mere swaggering denouncing of Peel as below the staunch Tory mark which any fool can affect and practise; no preposterous denial of his claims to be the first statesman of his time. We are not among Sir R. Peel's votaries; if we have to thank him for much benefit, we must always remember that we have to thank him for a good deal of mischief too. But we hold the ingratitude which refuses to thank him for, only excused by the intellectual stupidity which refuses to perceive, the marvellous manner in which, at the hour of need, he created the Conservative party, and effected a hearing for those who would rally round rather than destroy the institutions around them. This is quite compatible with rejoicing that Sir R. Peel did not retain power in 1835 (for in that case many most precious things would, we are sure, have been cheerfully surrendered with scarcely a warning voice), and also with a very considerable jealousy over his career at present. Much as we are not ashamed to confess that we admire him, we admit his ignorance and misunderstanding of much that is vital to England, and of many of the great principles and questions which are now stirring within her borders. But we venture to ask whether this be a fault chargeable on him especially; whether nearly all the leading men of his generation, inclusive of the ecclesiastics, be not liable to the like imputation.

To return, however, to our main subject. Conservatism, at the point to which we have brought it, has a meaning and a life in relation to an existing revolutionary party, and just in so far as there is such a party in vigorous existence and action. Has it any meaning besides—any intrinsic character, supposing that party subdued—any test whereby the changes which its leaders introduce (and changes they must introduce) may be distinguished from revolutionary ones? Even here we decide in its favour. Even here we recognise the word as meaning something. With or without the presence and the dread of a revolutionary party, there is an abiding principle of Conservatism. Changes, as we have already said, political men must make. But then such changes may be always kept subservient to a law, which we consider the great *conservative* one—the law of *national continuity*. We shall never make them so as to cause a sudden shock; so as to cause a chasm between the new state of things and the old; so as to run the risk of anything crude, anything very unconnected with the past, anything isolated, raw, and uncongenial, being introduced among us. We shall strive to fulfil that idea of the British Constitution which Burke has so

beautifully worked out,—in virtue of which the whole is “at no one time either old or young,” but the fresh growths necessarily bursting out from a vigorous life, are at once felt to be but parts of the past, and nothing is cast aside till its place is supplied by a successor, filling up the vacancy and the want which would otherwise have been occasioned by its destruction.

We have found, then, a general and abiding principle in Conservatism, and so far we have partially vindicated it against Mr. D’Israeli, and those who view it along with him. But in spite of this, like him, we denounce it as, by itself, inadequate. We have seen in it an exposition of the limits under which we ought at any given time to change, but none—we agree here with our author—of what it is we ought to conserve. And yet this is most needful; for, to be sufficient for all our political wants, our principle must be one which guides us, not merely as to our general wishes, but on each particular occasion. Now, here *Conservatism* utterly fails us. What we have laid down in its favour does, indeed, establish a fixed distinction between it and Radicalism, which longs for great and contemporaneous organic change, but none whatever between it and Whiggism; for there is here no difference in principle between Sir R. Peel and Lord J. Russell. They might differ as to the application, but they would both profess to have the aims which we have described as involved in the Conservative principle. To say that we are to go on the general rule of resisting innovation till we can hold out no longer, is to give us, as English experience has abundantly taught, the most dangerous of all rules. Clearly, it is as much a part of prudence to know when we ought to lead, as when we ought to stem, a movement; and the consequences of ignorance as to the one are not a whit less perilous than those of ignorance as to the other. Wherefore, Conservatism, though a positive and valuable principle in itself, does not supply us with a sufficient guide in any given case.

And this will become still more apparent if we consider that all legislation and very much administration is, in each several detail, unconservative. We say *all* legislation, because, with the unimportant exception of declaratory acts, which very often, however, constitute no exception, the very introduction of a new Law is, as far as it goes, a Revolution. Something was Law previously which has, in consequence, ceased to be Law now; cases would have gone differently, people’s rights would have been other than they are before we legislated thus. Free-born Britons had a right three years ago, so long as they were solvent, to keep the amount of their incomes a profound secret,—a right which no man could invade. At present they have not this right. Was it a Conservative action which deprived them of it? Was it not introducing a change; and did not that change consist in an invasion of ancient privileges? So that we are brought now

to Mr. D'Israeli's point. It is good to be Conservative; but pray tell us what we are to conserve—seeing that each individual act of the State is in itself unconservative. To say, change, but see that you do it gradually—see that you do it so as at no one time to break up the National Continuity, is, as we have seen, to assert the Conservative principle; and it is a sound one, but yet by itself insufficient; for when you have carried its adoption by the public opinion and the Legislature of the country, and so insured that your changes shall be small at any given time, and carried out gradually, the question remains, small or great, gradual or sudden, Are they good or bad, wholesome or mischievous, right or wrong?

And the inadequacy of the Conservative principle will still further appear in this, that it is but one pole, so to speak, of a state. Its value consists not in stopping Movement which would be Death, but in regulating and adjusting it. We must make ourselves masters of what is good in Movement as well as what is good in Conservation. Statesmen must learn to lead the Movement not less than the Conservative party. In fact, whether they like to acknowledge it or not, there can be no such thing as a critical period, an epoch of change, without all parties partaking of its influence. Lords Grey and J. Russell doubtless made a change that may well be considered as amounting to a Revolution; let it be granted that it was a very perilous one. But has Sir Robert Peel done nothing of the sort? Where is the historical knowledge, where the Constitutional insight of the man who does not see that the Ecclesiastical Commission involves, and has produced, a greater Revolution than the Reform Bill—has tampered with more ancient institutions, and cut deeper into the roots of the English state? To say that you did it for Conservative purposes, that you destroyed a part to save the rest, is to say nothing. The Whigs said the very same at the time of the Reform Bill, and of every other change which they have introduced. In fact, as we have already said, there is nothing in what we have found to be the sole principle of Conservatism which in the least distinguishes its adherents from the present Whigs.

It comes to this, then, that Conservatism is insufficient for our guidance. It supplies us with one sound principle (a principle, by the way, which was more ably propounded and more powerfully enforced, and has been more widely disseminated by a Whig mind than by any one else); but we want much more; we want a more distinct creed, and more definite objects. Whiggism once had such, Radicalism and Chartism have now. But we suspect that Whiggism, except as an ancestral feeling in the minds of those families which profess it, is on its death-bed; and Radicalism or Chartism are impossible for Christians and Churchmen; impossible, we trust, for England. We say we suspect that Whiggism is on its death-bed, although at this

moment the country is governed on Whig principles. This latter fact many a staunch Conservative will privately admit, with a sigh after the good old times of Toryism—that golden age which he seldom throws further back than the administration of Mr. Pitt, but the real date of which is to us a profound secret. If ever a man's mind was essentially Whig, it was Mr. Pitt's. We remember reading, some years ago, a very amusing paper by a very unmistakeable hand, in the *Edinburgh Review*, wherein a striking contrast was drawn between the *mythical* and the *historical* Pitt—the Pitt whose memory is toasted at Pitt Clubs and by Orangemen, and the Pitt who commenced life as a Parliamentary Reformer, and quitted office because he could not carry Roman Catholic Emancipation. In fact, Whiggism has been the dominant principle in England, by whatever party name our rulers may have called themselves, for well-nigh two hundred years. The great check given to the monarchical principle in the seventeenth century developed the new strength of the now unfeudal aristocracy, and threw the power of the state into their hands; into no unintelligent or unprosperous hands, certainly. The fact that they had supplanted the old power of the monarch, and were induced, by their position, continually to watch and resist the remains of it, led naturally to their connecting their cause with that of liberty; and the events which facilitated their progress enabled them to do so still more. It was as being foes to the Church that they first became foes to the monarch; having risen into power and opulence on the plunder of her inheritance, and being, for a good while, in dread of having to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. Hence their original alliance with the Puritans, and subsequent patronage of Dissent. Other causes, in connexion with those on which we cannot enter, tended to shape the Whig creed and to mould the Whig mind; to make them head the movement of their time, and to render Toleration, Enlightenment, and Freedom their watchwords. But all the while, be it observed, that those watchwords were but stepping-stones in a movement which had for its aim, and which ultimately fixed and consolidated, the power of the aristocracy. We see much to admire in the state of affairs thus produced. It wrought some great and goodly things; so great and so goodly indeed as to fill the mind of a Burke with enthusiasm, and well nigh to satisfy his aspirations after political perfection. But its day has gone; it was reserved for its own children to give it the death-blow. There is something significant and instructive in the Reform Bill, having been the work of those who called themselves Whigs, and who were led to it as Whigs. In doing so surely they sounded the knell of their great party. A whole epoch was then wound up; many good things, doubtless, perished with it; it was a state of affairs which had

great merit so long as it was unquestioned, or questioned only by individuals; but when numbers of all ranks had once denounced it, and declared their determination to forswear, it became untenable. A legal fiction which is unnoticed, on which we proceed almost unconsciously, may do the conscience comparatively little harm; but when its falsity has been once proclaimed on house-tops and from high places, it becomes too late to appeal to the excellent way in which it works; you cannot maintain it without vice. The strange and well-cemented fabric, therefore, which our Whig forefathers constructed, has been removed, though the thoughts and sentiments which it created still remain in the minds of our public men, and though little else be as yet conspicuously heard in our senates. Yet those thoughts and sentiments, deprived of the facts which sustained them, must soon crumble away and disappear. What, then, is before us? By what stars are we to shape our course? That we must hope in a Future, rather than sigh over a Past, is we think sufficiently plain; but have we no principles whereby we can shape our conduct with a view to that Future, and by the following out of which, with God's blessing, its character may be determined?

We believe that we have such principles, and that they are to be found in the intrinsic constitution of our country, in the permanent elements of that constitution. This will seem an idle speculation to many who agree in numbering the British Constitution among the dead, though they differ as to the precise date of its decease; some asserting that England expired in 1828, others in 1829, and the *Rigby* school in 1832. But we believe it to be alive, if not well. We do not think it so easily killed as to be despatched even by a Reform Bill; that, indeed, was the commencement *de la fin* of a particular state of affairs, the admirers of which were apt to identify it with the British Constitution, and to conceive, moreover, by a singular principle of chronology, that it had lasted for a great many ages, and was venerable in its antiquity. But surely no person whose eye is in the habit of travelling any considerable way into the past, can recognise one particular *settlement* of the British constitution, and that but of yesterday, as the British constitution itself. No man who thinks of the English Church as founded, not by Cranmer, and still less by Tillotson, but by Theodore at latest, if not by Augustine; and no man who looks on the English throne as that whereon Edward I., and Richard I., aye, and Alfred, sate, can consent to contract his views into so narrow a compass as this. The fact that the Whig adjustment of the Constitution, which it was reserved for Whigs to disturb, never was received into the text-books of the Constitution, never was part of the preached and expounded theory of that Constitution, testifies to this.

It is singular how much thinkers are beginning to see in the Monarchy the link that connects the present with the past, and promises to connect the future with the present. Sir F. Palgrave, in his delightful "Merchant and Friar," lays down the principle, that England ever was a monarchy, and ever will be a monarchy; that the only liberty she has ever greatly cared for, or ever, for any length of time experienced, is that denoted by her favourite phrase, "the liberty of *the subject*." Coleridge predicted, in his *Table Talk*, that the Reason of Europe seemed tending to a pure Monarchy, as the best exponent and guardian of its Freedom. And our Foreign-relation party seem to find more prospect of their views being understood and felt by the recurrence of men's minds to Royal Prerogative and its ancient privileges and powers, than from any other one influence. Mr. D'Israeli, too, looks forward to a fresh development of the English monarchy, as both the most probable and the most desirable result of the Revolution which we are now undergoing, And probably Strafford, instead of Hampden, will become the heroic and patriotic name of appeal and of rallying to the intelligent youth of the rising generation.

Now, on all this we would say a few words in conclusion. In conversation, among *practical men*, among Liberals, among sober Conservatives, the whole notion of a revival of the English Monarchy will not in the meantime be met by argument, nor assailed by satire, so much as it will be screamed down with laughter. And yet we have just seen, that eminent minds are tending to it seemingly from very different quarters, of all recommendations, of all arguments entitling it to a patient hearing, the very strongest. And wherein, we ask, is it absurd? We agree with Sir F. Palgrave, that the sense and the love of a King and a Throne are indigenous in the English mind, and have shown themselves so in the times when the Sovereign's prerogative has been most obscured, and Loyalty has received least encouragement. How real must be that feature of the Constitution—how deep-rooted the sentiment of reverence towards it, which could survive the tampering of 1688, the draining-off towards the exiled Family of those who most clung to the one and cherished the other; the chill of the first two Hanoverian reigns, and then on the partial removal of these evil influences could reappear as they did in the time of King George the good, giving him so much of the power of an ancient English King, and making his people feel towards him, in spite of Whig Theories, and a Whig aristocracy, so much of the old enthusiastic loyalty. All this has survived the still greater trial inflicted by George the Fourth, who did indeed emperil the Throne on which he sat, and the nation with which he was entrusted, as much as man could do. It has stood the shock of 1832; and we believe that Royal Prerogative has seldom had more favourable prospects, or

been surrounded by more responsive feelings, than at this moment.

But we hear some one, whether Conservative, Whig, or Radical, it matters not; exclaiming, "Will England ever submit again to a real instead of a nominal monarchy—can the varying self-wills which Englishmen have so long gloried in exercising be made subject to one will?" Now, we submit, first, that in point of fact, the English Monarchy never has been the mere sham that some have supposed it to have become. The events of George the Third's reign abundantly show that it has not, as do those that have occurred since the accession of our present gracious Sovereign. Nor can we tell how much the inherent power of the Sovereign has been negatively shown in the somewhat heartless interval between them; how much of good was foregone because of that power not having been legitimately put forth. Next, we remark, that it is in the nature of mankind to be ruled at any given time by an individual. We fancy that we have thrown off such rule, because we have contrived to obscure the Sovereign by the Sovereign's Parliament. But a parliament cannot rule, cannot administer the affairs of a state. Does it, then, control those who do? Let us see; let recent events interpret this part of the question for us. At present an Administration is in power because a majority of the House of Commons has placed it there. But it is seldom that a majority, however great, can furnish two administrations between which to choose; and therefore, if dissatisfied with that which it has installed in power, it has no choice but to do that which every party is most loth to do, give up its party unity, or its party preponderance, or else submit to be governed by, instead of governing, the persons whom it has invested with authority. This is the state of affairs in which we find ourselves at present. A majority of the Legislature obeys the signals hung out by its own offspring, and we along with it are governed by the existing Cabinet. Let us turn then to that Cabinet. We apprehend that it is ordinarily, and certainly it is at present, just as difficult for a Cabinet to furnish two Premiers, as for a Parliamentary majority to furnish two Cabinets. And so we have come to this, that, during the present Parliament, we, obstinate, self-willed individual Englishmen though we be, are governed by one man, Sir Robert Peel. Not, of course, that he is in a situation to do whatever he fancies; the veriest autocrat cannot do that, no Plantagenet or Tudor could do it; but though subjected to all the restrictions and difficulties to which any ruler whatever must be subjected in such a country as England, he is *the one man that rules at all*.

Now what, during one Parliament, Sir Robert Peel can do, in spite of the intractable character of Englishmen, it is surely conceivable that a Sovereign may succeed in doing during his or her

life-time, uniting, as such may do, to all the force of talent and character which is no more denied to Sovereigns than to subjects, whatever is inherently sacred and imposing in the high office. Doubtless the carrying this out will involve a change; but a change, be it observed, which requires no organic revolution. The Sovereign has only to be that which the Constitution already says that he is. True, a Parliamentary majority has been for some time the immediate source of power; but we have made sad havoc of this principle already. Fourteen years ago, a defeat on a vital point in the House of Lords was as fatal to a Ministry as one in the Commons; since then we have seen men in power for years in spite of a continued resistance from the vast majority of the former House. May not a like tacit change subvert the existing rule which demands a majority of the House of Commons, founded as that rule is, on no principle of the Constitution, *pace* Sir Robert Peel, who displaced his predecessors by asserting the contrary? It is true that the House of Commons holds the strings of the public purse, and so can refuse the supplies; but this is notoriously an extreme measure, on which few would wish to venture; and people always forget that moral impossibility and moral difficulty are every whit as strong as physical impossibility or physical difficulty. And besides, what is to influence the votes of the House of Commons—what the votes of those who elect to that House? Something or other most assuredly, nor need that something be degrading or corrupting. Obviously, in proportion as we remove such influences, as we have lately been professing to do, the sentiment of loyalty, of reverence towards, and love of, a great and wise and good Sovereign, will have, to say the least, as clear a stage and as fair a chance as any other.

This, therefore, may be one, at first most unlooked-for, result of the Reform Bill, that, by an approach towards relegating each separate power to its native region, we may have been restoring to each its due prerogatives and functions. And this consideration may do away the dread which the thought of a return to monarchical ideas will inspire in some minds, that Civil Freedom may be thereby endangered. We fear nothing of the sort. We are sure that in that restoration of the English Throne to its due place and preponderance, of which we cannot but think that we see symptoms, there will be involved a restoration of the same to all the orders which have lost such; and that, by the same auspicious event, the Poor and the Church, both of whom have suffered so deeply from the decaying and disappearing state of affairs, will be recognised and respected as they have not been for many generations. Be it remembered that the true idea of British Monarchy, that which the Plantagenets and Tudors to a great extent realized, and for which Strafford struggled unto the death, is as far as possible from that

of an Imperial despot or an Oriental Sultan ; that, according to this idea, the King is to assert and exercise his power in and through the other elements of the Constitution—in and through the Laws—in and through Parliaments—and, hereafter, also, must he do so in and through that new and most mighty element, the Press—in and through that Public opinion which the Press so greatly stimulates, and which, like the air around him, is the invisible but beneficent preserver of the very humblest man to whom it has penetrated.

To return to *Young England*, and to those of whom we have already said we believe *Young England* to be but a sample ; if we be right in imagining that they are thus looking to the Constitution in its essential elements, and not merely its accidental and transitory adjustments ; if they be meaning to do their duty in the light of such convictions like men, if they really are purposing to fear God and honour the Sovereign, and not to “despise the cry of the poor,” we cannot but hope well of them. Just in proportion as they sink to the level of a mere Parliamentary party will they become weak, weaker than all other parties in proportion as their creed is at present less tangible and more remote. Just in proportion as they cultivate a spirit of coxcombry and paradox will they become weak ; because coxcombry and paradox are disgusting in all but the very young, and most disgusting when the subjects on which they are displayed are sacred ones. Just in proportion, too, as they show themselves mere men of fashion, tolerating the unchristian practices which have received the sanction of a world that is not subdued unto the Father’s will, such as duelling and the like, will they become weak ; for little as it really apprehends higher things, the world has a keen eye for inconsistency in those who profess a regard for them. But if, having felt that party has been the bane of England, they will resist the temptation to make themselves a party ; if from a sense of the grandeur of those principles to which they have given in their adherence, they will feel bound to be sober and simple and earnest ; if from a sense that those principles mean nothing unless they give their votary power to overcome the world, they will set their faces against that world’s ungodly maxims and heathenish code,—if, eschewing everything that may mar their profession and vitiate their practice as Christian men, they will go on in firm Faith that God will bless their efforts in His cause, that Blessing will, we cannot doubt, accompany them ; and their country will owe them a debt of gratitude equal to any she has incurred to Warrior, or Patriot, or Statesman, for many generations.

1. *Two Exercises for the Degree of B.D., read in the Divinity School, Oxford, April 18 and 19, 1844.* By RICHARD GELL MACMULLEN, M.A., *Fellow of Corpus Christi College.* Oxford: J. H. Parker. London: J. Burns. 1844. Pp. 64.
2. *An Appeal to the Statutes.* Oxford: Baxter. 1844.
3. *Copies of the Correspondence in the case of the Regius Professor of Divinity and Mr. Macmullen.* Oxford: J. H. Parker. London: J. Burns. 1844.

IN settling a question of injury, the only debateable point is, of course, as to the responsibility of the offending party. And it is an axiom in ethics, that this can be established only by proving ignorance or malice. No pleasant dilemma this; but we never heard of a *tertium quid* in morals. Now we propose—and it is with unaffected pain—to show how this distinction applies to the present state of the University of Oxford.

Anticipatory expressions of sorrow go for little; we get but slight sympathy, when we proclaim what self-inflicted miseries we are about to undergo; and a voluntary immolation meets with but few tears. True as this is to a proverb, we must beg our present professions to be construed as something more than a vague conventionalism: it is from no trick of the sophists' trade that we parade ordinary sentimentalities; if we say little or much, it must not be taken for an adequate expression of what we sincerely feel. But we do think that an answer is required to certain sarcasms, launched—with what feelings we will not inquire—against the course which a majority, unparalleled, as to numbers and rank, in the annals of the University, has felt itself, on a recent occasion, compelled to pursue. That the preachers of obedience should practise faction; that the upholders of authority should condemn and oppose constituted government; that the advocates of theoretical submission should inculcate it in every case but their own; this is the triumphant *reductio ad absurdum* which is to prove us at once inconsistent and malignant,—which is to fix upon us the contradictory attributes of ruffianism and hypocrisy, and which is to annihilate a whole school of divines, because some who are said to belong to it are to be proved as personally vindictive as they are discovered to be morally irresolute. The chimeras dire of romance, we are told, are now more than realized in our own persons. The familiar theological centaur, "half Jesuit, half Orangeman," at once subtle and noisy, stalks High-street some twenty score strong: Hildebrand and Tartuffe, the Inquisition and the Conventicle, contribute their irreconcilable attributes; and new compounds must be devised, as new affinities are discovered, for relegating, to a strange classification, the paradoxical incongruities which, like the Flora of the Orchideæ, or the Fauna of Australia, create surprise rather than delight, by their grotesque combinations and impalpable varieties, defying at once type and definition, induction and comparison. Every image

of contradiction is exhausted—every *τόπος* of inconsequence is appealed to,—every common-place of contrast is worn threadbare. *Quis tulerit Gracchos*, &c. ; the “steep and thorny way which we show,” “the primrose path” which we tread, are rhetorically and pathetically opposed; and never was so complete a show-up of the reckless folly—to say no worse—of our professions, as proved by our deeds. “He reckes not his own read” is fastened on our brows by the turbulent opposition displayed towards “the Governors” of the university by the Masters of Arts. So runs the objection to our recent conduct in convocation.

And we own that there is much in this. It is a startling thing to find ourselves, from whatever cause, opposed to legitimate authorities. No more threatening sign than to find confidence so far destroyed, as that we are compelled to look with suspicion where we would gladly tender love and affectionate submission; it is, indeed, an inauspicious omen for State or Church, or for any government to forfeit the respect of the governed. We frankly acknowledge the majesty, the divinity of Law. Authority does stand, to us, as in God’s own place. Government, in whatever hands, and even however exercised, has awful sanctions: apart from its conduct, it possesses inherent sanctity. It were safer rather to endure the sneer of maintaining the divine right of a parish constable, than to derogate from the innate holiness of subordination and rule. And if this be so in the abstract, how much is such reverence for station increased, in the case of a University! Here, if anywhere, in the Church’s chosen home, might we expect filial submission, on the one hand,—on the other, fatherly love; here might we anticipate the absence of strife and anger and evil tempers; but where these are at work—and such confessedly is the case at Oxford—we are bound, for the Church’s sake, to show that a state of things, as disastrous as humiliating, entails the very heaviest censure upon the party in fault; and also to point out where the fault lies.

We frankly admit, therefore, with whatever humiliation, that the University of Oxford presents, at the present moment, a spectacle to the Christian world, at which even a heathen would blush. School—Academy—the Seat of the Muses—the Walk—the Grove—the Porch—why, the very simplest notion which such names recall, even as connected with philosophy, apart from religion, is surely that of peace and order. And if to these, the merely literary characteristics of college life—we add all those inexpressibly sweet and endearing associations which have hallowed the University system, in its social and domestic phase: the *common-hall*—the *common-prayers*—the brotherhood—the “Society”—the “House”—the “Fellowship”—(holy names these!)—the mutual surrender of tastes and selfishnesses—the many bands, unfelt elsewhere, which serve to knit together by daily discipline, the many peculiar influences which must blend in one, varying ages, ranks, accomplishments, pursuits, and ministries;—these, as they are the result, so do they also form the type, of the

household of God. A family is the very image which best sets forth University life. It is something nearer and dearer, more of the inner man, than a State, or Society, or Convention. And if the conduct of a single household is set forth in Scripture, as the test of fitness for apostolic rule, surely it is not too much to expect that the government and order of a Christian University should be as the expansion of a holy family, should serve to all men as the very model of imitation,—in some, and that no fanciful sense, should visibly display the epitome of the Church, the realization of the communion of saints, the impersonation to all its members of that Divine law in which are found “men of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring HER as the mother of their peace and joy.”*

We have pitched a high note; but the world does require much of such places as Oxford; and the Church requires much. And there must be great faults somewhere, into which it behoves us to inquire. Oxford strife is now all but a bye-word; it is not so much that Oxford reflects, or, it may be, concentrates, the *odium theologicum* of a divided Church; she has peculiar and private bitternesses of her own: she has domestic and intestine seditions. On every possible question which can arise, on matters apparently the most indifferent, some fatality seems to attend her. Honey turned to poison in the acrid herbs of Sardinia; but corn and meal may lose their proper nature of food, if they ever come before an Oxford convocation. We dread the appointment of a Clerk of the Market. Even in the marshal and policemen, some “ism” may become suspected, and strife may arise. And it comes to this, that for all this rancour responsibility is *not* divided. We cannot, with quiet Sir Roger, say, that “much may be said on both sides:” it is not so. One of the two parties must be quite right, and the other quite wrong. We cannot consent to divide the scandal. *Either* petulance and arrogant insubordination, which would disgrace a school-boy of the fifth form, must be charged on the one party, *or* upon the other must be fastened the charge of ignorance of their high duty and responsibility, and a culpable confusion between right and wrong, which is itself criminal. We see no middle course: it is not a mere infirmity of temper; it is not a mistaken view of what is expedient and politic. Impatience of control, on the one hand, overweening claims to it on the other, are not enough of themselves, bad as such excuses would be in such a quarter, to account for our present troubles in the University. Such might be, as they have often been, the all but natural encroachments and heavings of the flux and reflux of rule and ruled. These jealousies, however we might regret, we might count upon; but agencies more subtle and dangerous than these are at work. It is a question of morals, not of local and temporary soreness and exasperation. There is great sin somewhere, to have produced a strife so unnatural as we are called upon to witness.

* Hooker.

There is offence, and woe to those by whom the offence cometh ! It is on this ground that we would have the question treated with all gravity : it is no light thing that the character of the whole University of Oxford is thus compromised ; the blame, therefore, must be fixed upon those who deserve it ; and if we desired to approach the subject as partisans, the device would be rather too transparent on our part.

First, then, be the constitution of the Convocation borne in mind. All legislation emanates from the Upper House. The Hebdomadal Board originates every measure, whether of new enactment, or of change in or repeal of the existing statutes. Upon its members therefore rests the sole and undivided responsibility of proposing such measures as, from the mere fact of their enunciation, involve a principle. Apart, then, from the truth or necessity or expediency of the proposition, whatever it may be, in one body alone is vested the right of mooting any subject. The Masters of Arts can do literally nothing : their hands are tied ; to a man they may be unanimously convinced of the propriety of this or that measure ; but in no possible capacity can they, one or all, bring it forward. And if they are thus by the constitution shut out from a privilege, they are at the same time relieved from a responsibility. Anyhow, *they* cannot be charged with agitating for agitation's sake. All that they can do, whatever they may wish to do, is simply to say Yes or No to the proposition of their superiors. If, then, scandal arises from the naked fact of originating any measure, it can attach but in one quarter—that of the parties bringing it forward ; viz. the Hebdomadal Board. And it is in this light that we must view the recent conduct of the Heads of Houses. We confine ourselves to the single point of the propriety of raising the question in any shape. On other subjects, we refer to the unanswerable “Appeal to the Statutes,” which we have reprinted elsewhere. We are not called upon to discuss the principles of the late theological statute ; we say nothing now of the surrender of the ancient form of exercises in the Faculty of Divinity, which it sought to legitimatize ; we pass over the trick by which it sought to change an examination, submitted to as voluntary, into a compulsory doctrinal test ; this subject is alluded to in a previous paper of the present Number ; we waive the questions as to the propriety of subjecting half the fellowships in Oxford to the theological *dicta* of certain nominees of the State, now no longer of the Church ; we will not pause upon the side-wind which invested, with new and extraordinary powers, one burthened with the severest and most solemn censure which the University could inflict : all these matters we may pass over. We are concerned, we say, only with the general question of proposing the new statute at all. And it comes to this : either the Hebdomadal Board proposed it fairly, believing it to be a good and useful measure, and with an honest and honourable wish and hope that it should be carried ;—or the contrary, *i.e.* they knew it to be a contemptible and revolutionary enactment ; but, in obedience to some external and

secret influence, they thought proper to produce it, desirous, in their hearts, that it should be rejected, but willing to escape the odium, if such it should turn out, of rejection. In other words, they aimed at the credit, such as it was, of pretending to be doing something, whilst they could quote the impracticability and obtuseness of the Lower House as an excuse that nothing was done. They sought the credit of activity, combined with a hidden satisfaction at their own defeat.

First, then, we should be glad to think that the Heads of Houses were honestly enamoured of their late statute. It were harsh, upon untenable grounds, to suppose it otherwise: the statute must have received the assent of the majority of the Hebdomadal Board, or it could never have arrived at a second stage. Ample time was afforded for deliberation, and for ascertaining the feelings of the Masters of Arts. The measure was thoroughly canvassed; on its first announcement, it was received with disapprobation as universal as significant. In obedience to the general feeling it was withdrawn, and again proposed with modifications and changes. All this looks like legislation in earnest. And what is the result? In convocation 341 members vote against it, 21 in its favour. A majority of nearly 17 to 1—a majority, we believe, unparalleled in the annals of the University—reject a measure which has received the sanction of the majority of the Heads of Houses.

We must examine this "great fact" with a little further scrutiny. From the Oxford *Vigintiviri* we must deduct the clear majority of the Hebdomadal Board. What is the Hebdomadal Board?

"For the better government of the university there is also an HEBDOMADAL MEETING OF THE HEADS OF HOUSES, who meet every Monday, &c. This meeting consists of the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Proctors, who are empowered to *deliberate* upon all matters relating to the preservation of the privileges and liberties of the university, and to *inquire into* and *consult* respecting the due observances of statutes and canons; and in all cases, *whenever it appears to them* that any particular measure would contribute to the literary improvement, the good government, the credit, or the advantage of the University, they have authority to deliberate upon it, in order that it may *undergo a grave and serious discussion*, before it be proposed in congregation and decreed in convocation."—*Oxford Calendar*.

The Heads of Houses are in number twenty-four; with the two Proctors, the Hebdomadal Board consists of twenty-six individuals, selected by their respective societies as their most trustworthy members. Of this *Florilegium Academicum*, we will assume that the majority was the very narrowest possible: we will, to make their case the stronger, assume it to have been what was once called "a measuring cast majority." Under such circumstances, we say nothing of the propriety or temerity of going further; if the majority was larger, so much the better for our argument. If it was the minimum, perhaps, having "undergone the grave and serious discussion" of the Board, the measure must perforce go further. But we are desirous to account for *as many as possible* of the redoubtable

twenty-one; but we take purposely the lowest ground; and, as we said before, we will assume its integrals to have been the barest majority of the twenty-six. The majority of twenty-six is just fourteen. Fourteen from twenty-one leave seven. Seven independent members of convocation against 329; for here again we deduct from the majority in convocation the minority of twelve against the statute in the Hebdomadal Board. Exactly forty-seven to one of the general academical body against the statute! And here we will meet an objection which may possibly be raised against our calculation, that the Heads of Houses who voted in favour of the statute at the Hebdomadal meeting did not vote for it in convocation. What? did the "grave and serious discussion," the "inquiry and consultation, for the good government, credit, and advantage of the University" come to this? Has the ballot and secret voting such fautors among our "governors," that they will undergo the grave responsibility of possibly disturbing the peace of the whole Church by hazarding the private patronage of a measure which they dared not defend by their presence and votes in public? What? refuse the solemn sanction of their open adherence to a statute upon which they spent months of "grave and serious" deliberation in Cimmerian conclave? Will the Hebdomadal Board avow this line of defence? Because upon no authority less than their own declaration will we believe that any excuse, short of life or death, could have detained the *majority* of the Delegates' Room from their place in the *minority* of the convocation of 2d May.

It comes, then, to this, upon the most favourable assumption, most favourable, that is, for the dignity and sincerity of the members of the Hebdomadal Board, that they proposed in congregation, and presented to convocation, a certain statute—intrinsically good, bad, or indifferent, is utterly immaterial—in their estimate of which SEVEN Masters of Arts agreed with them. Of course, if the majority of the Hebdomadal Board were right in their estimate of the statute, never was such heroism. Of course they must have been at some little pains to ascertain, even among the resident Masters of Arts, how far public opinion went with them. If, save in a single far-seeing College, they met with averted looks in every quarter,—if the heavens were hung with black from Addison's Walk to Friar Bacon's Tower,—if ominous silence prevailed from Worcester to Magdalene,—then the world never witnessed such exalted self-devotion as that of the Heads of Houses. Curtius immolated himself, *pro salute rei-publicæ*, in the gulf which he found yawning; but the Hebdomadal Board spontaneously dug their living grave in the midst of the forum of the Convocation house. The one Roman devotee but answered the solemn appeal of the infernal gods: Oxford heroism created at once the demand and the supply of the patriotic victims.

But in this cold world these exalted sacrifices meet with but inadequate applause: we are too philosophical for Suttetism; such sacred temerity receives in these days an inglorious reward. Either the Oxford

Curtii are the most self-denying of men, the most rigid upholders of right against might since the days of Athanasius, or—so the vulgar word it—the weakest of legislators. Between the forlorn hope of the Church and the most blinded obstinacy there is no middle term.

“ Cuncta terrarum subacta
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.”

This is, indeed, a noble picture. The good man struggling against the adverse waves and storms of prejudice and ignorance is a character which we so rarely see in real life, that poetry and romance have usually had the grand ideal to themselves. Oxford, it may be, has realized the beautiful dream. If so, the world, sooner or later, will tender its sympathies. Such disinterested virtue must meet its reward: it may be in the consoling guise of stalls and mitres; or, if not this, in the more ennobling form of the praise and honours of all good men. And then words cannot be too strong with which to reprobate the blinded folly of the tyrannical and besotted majority. By them authority, and peace, and pocket were alike sacrificed to the paltry satisfaction of a victory which after all has covered them with disgrace and ignominy.

For we are loth to take the other horn of this cruel dilemma; we cannot fasten upon the Hebdomadal Board the alternative of disregarding their solemn commission. It may not be that the Heads of Houses acted from sheer folly and incapacity, or that from lack of all discussion and consultation either among themselves or with the subordinate members of their several societies, they took upon themselves the onerous charge of proposing a statute which they were not at the pains even to understand. Who shall say that a majority of such a body is intellectually incapable of calculating the results of a move, remarkable only for its recklessness and folly, and which really was so radically bad and vicious, that 341 of the most highly-educated and highly-principled men in England concurred in indignantly rejecting it?

And yet we cannot see, upon the supposition that the Hebdomadal Board were sincere in their patronage of the late statute,—and any other hypothesis is highly dishonouring to them,—how they can escape the choice between the reputation of inflexible virtue, on the one hand, or blindness all but judicial, on the other.

For the sake of completing the argument, we must, with whatever reluctance, put the other case; viz. that the Heads of Houses, when they set forth the theological statute, never meant it to be carried.

This is, we own, not an over creditable theory. But it recommends itself in one way, as serving to explain what is otherwise unaccountable. The scanty number of the minority took every one by surprise: it was not that we were agreeably disappointed in the amount of the true-hearted majority; but where were the friends of the statute? The whole thing wears a very suspicious look: there is something untold somewhere. 341 members of convocation formed the majority on

the 2d of May last; in June 1842 the non-placets on the Hampden question were 334. No great difference here; this was about what was calculated upon by those, if such there be, who took the trouble to hazard a conjecture upon the probable number of non-placets. Certainly no very extraordinary measures were adopted to defeat the statute: no committees were formed: no circulars, that we ever heard of, were issued from any quarter: even the copious spring of Oxford pamphleteering flowed but sluggishly on the occasion: the

“Sharp sleet of arrowy showers against the face,”

in the galling missiles which sometimes turn Mr. Baxter's press into something like a pyrotechnic establishment, scarcely scintillated: the Dodonæan leaves fell thin and rare: the colleges did nothing in the way of official musters; the residents, as is their wont, talked sentimentally and enigmatically, but very costively, and took the usual credit of thinking the more. Of the public remonstrances against the statute, vehemence was not the characteristic: the *Times* thundered once; the *Morning Post*, we believe, inserted some communications on the subject; the *English Churchman* alone directed a steady fire upon the proposed enactments. Of the more ambitious journals, our pages stood alone—we were literally single. A Quarterly, conducted by one of the best-known names in Oxford, written in Oxford, and avowedly established for the sake of showing what true Anglicanism is, though published at the most critical period of the discussion, took no side. On a subject of intense interest, where guidance was looked for by some, and an opinion demanded by all, it was significant that none was hazarded. If prudence prescribed this course, at least it cannot be said that the majority was driven up by literary excitement. If it was right in the 341 to veto the theological statute, it surely was a subject of sufficient importance to attract the attention of the successor of the *British Critic*. In other quarters adherence to the statute was less disguised, and—shall we say it?—more manly. The *British Magazine* (ubi lapsus? quid feci?) openly told its readers,—we use the term as an ordinary conventionalism,—in its April number, p. 458—

“The measure in question is one *which promises many blessings to the Church*, and will create no inconvenience to any candidate who has a sufficient motive to take his B.D. degree, unless, knowing he has to deal with a professor of suspected orthodoxy, he proposes some thesis, which will bring on a collision.”

Elsewhere, either undisguised approval, or the absence of objections prevailed universally. Nobody, therefore, on May morning could guess which way the matter would go: to be sure on that eventful day there were unexpected greetings of friends long separated: it was pleasant to find a kindred spirit animating those who were known to each other under far different auspices: a decade of years had ripened the ardent scholar or the light-hearted debater into the earnest priest; and those who had left each other, they knew not what as Bachelors, now found themselves one, in the sacred fellowshi-

of the one Faith and the one Truth. There was a comforting unanimity of purpose in the non-residents: they came with that cheerful gravity which augured well. They came early, and they came from far: something had done its work: young and old, the curate and the dean, the steady old Bampton lecturer, the examiners and proctors of thirty years ago, and the ardent prizemen who had just escaped non-regency, the town rector wearied from the feverish toil of cities, and the unexcitable village parson from his quiet pastures, the divine and the lawyer all bowed to the same influence—the Bar and the Church, the Courts and the Cathedral, these were alike for one day deserted: distance, time, expense, and for once, other duties, were foregone: it must have been a strange delusion which seized at once upon so many hearts; could it have been mere fatuity which united all, at such sacrifices, in so determined an opposition? If the 341 had been all young men, or all old men, all high men or all dry men, all hot or all cold, or all lukewarm, or if they could have been found to unite in so serious a phalanx for any other conceivable object: if they were known to constitute a school or a party, the thing might have been got over: but it could not be for nothing that they met in reprobation of this devoted measure. Either the statute was the most studied insult upon the whole academical body—and so their votes declared—or some delusion the most unaccountable since the days of Panic Terrors, and Popular Insanities startled the world from its propriety. The concealed magic of the statute was like that of the fiddle in the fairy tale, which “at the first note set judge, clerk, jailors, hangmen, and all the market people, capering to the same tune.” It struck some note which found an echo in the most opposite quarters: it shot through the length and breadth of the land like a bale-fire:

“From Eddystone to Berwick bounds, from Lynn to Milford bay,
That time of slumber was as bright and busy as the day;
For swift to east and swift to west the warning radiance spread,
High on St. Michael’s Mount it shone—it shone on Beachy Head.
The fisher left his ship to rock on Tamar’s glittering waves,—
The rugged miners poured to war from Mendip’s sunless caves;
O’er Longleat’s towers, o’er Cranbourne’s oaks the fiery herald flew;
He roused the shepherds of Stonehenge, the rangers of Beaulieu.

Till Skiddaw saw the fire that burned on Gaunt’s embattled pile,
And the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle.”

Still all this was not conclusive; and it is a remarkable fact—remarkable in more points than one,—that, up to midday on 2d May, nobody seemed to know which way the matter would go after all. On the previous day (May 1st) the *British Magazine* (p. 578) had spoken of the statute as one “which appeared to give a fair prospect of preventing collisions in the future, and which nothing but the love of conflict in one or both parties, overbalancing every feeling of decency, could be likely to turn into an instrument either of agitation or oppression,” referring to Mr. Macmullen and Dr. Hampden.

With such sentiments in so *safe* a quarter was it not very reasonable in the non-placets to anticipate either victory or defeat? For ourselves we thought the issue very doubtful. We could not have believed that the Heads of Houses, and our contemporary the organ of similar bodies, would have spoken so complacently of a measure which a single score of D.D.s., D.C.L.s., M.A.s alone could be found to approve by their votes. The British Magazine and the 21 think it a measure which “promises *many blessings to the Church*,” the 341 reject it with contempt as significant as decisive. *Utrum horum*, &c.

But somehow all this must be accounted for: a face must be put upon it: the thing began to look awkward: few and stern words passed between those who composed the majority, but they were all of one ominous import; and the sentiment which, we will undertake to say, influenced nine out of ten of the non-placets of May 2d,—and which they only who shut their ears could avoid,—was this: “The Heads of Houses have been for years tampering with Dr. Hampden and his Rationalism; they have been doing their best to establish unlawful tests in doctrine; they are coquetting with state intrigues; one of their number, the Vice-Chancellor, has thought proper to insult us in the most marked way for venturing to express our opinion on *his* persecution of Dr. Pusey; this is the very first occasion we have had of showing the Hebdomadal Board what confidence we have in them; we have come here to repudiate, as distinctly as we may, the doings of the last two years, as far as the Heads of Houses are concerned.—The Macmullen case; the six doctors; the professorial board; Mr. Everett’s degree; the Bampton Lecture appointment. The day of retribution for all these unforgotten and unforgiven things has arrived; this miserable statute is at the worst but mischievous nonsense; but, by rejecting it, we mean to place the executive under a censure which, if they mistake, it shall be no fault of ours; it is for this that we have travelled two hundred miles; it is for this that we have sacrificed time and peace and other calls.”

The force of which must be blunted at any desperate remedy: it would not tell well in Downing-street that the mitre-seekers had contrived to alienate the love of their university so completely, and yet had done their patrons’ cause so little substantial good. No character so unpopular, even with his employers, as an unsuccessful oppressor. If the Heads of Houses had tried the cold-water system, the silent system, the solitary confinement plan, the gruel and skilley diet for the Church, with a wholesome exhibition, now and then, when they dared, of a little more decided *peine forte et dure*, just when the popular howl was up against an individual, and *all this to no purpose*, then of course the world,—that is, the world of patronage,—would see in them the very unenviable character of malice and weakness combined, that of a man who has done his worst to be mischievous and has failed: a position from which, as it meets small sympathy from friend or foe, the Hebdomadal Board must be extricated by any shift. And a singular device was adopted: just

when the thing was, as they say, "past praying for," a very strange rumour was set afloat; one or two, whose line was tolerably well known, were observed—

"spargere voces

Per vulgum ambiguas, et querere conscius arma,"

to express surprise at the unwonted fulness of the Convocation House—to wonder what possibly could have brought Mr. A. from Durham, and Mr. B. from Cornwall—to hint that all this trouble was thrown away—that *everybody* was opposed to the statute—that Dr. Hampden disliked it—nay, it was said that he meant to vote against it, &c. &c., and therefore that a majority, *composed of such materials*, was not quotable either way. And this the *Oxford Herald* put into print next day; and the *Standard* and *Record* copied it. Of course this would have been just the conclusion which would, at first sight, seem to save the credit of everybody, except of the majority: it would be balm to the bruised Heads, by taking off the force of the censure; it would be a compliment to the fairness and impartiality of Dr. Hampden, and it would set all straight at the Home Office. But these extempore moves at chess argue more brilliance than depth; for the moment such a manœuvre might, like a smart charge of lancers, throw up a good deal of dust, but it left the flank terribly exposed. Into what a position did it fling the Hebdomadal Board! Well might they say to Dr. Hampden, "Save me from my friends;" for how did the matter now stand for the legislators? That they had contrived, with an ingenious perversity, which came very near to genius, to originate a measure, and to pass it by a majority of their own Board, and to pronounce it to be a "blessing to the Church," and to offer it to the acceptance of Convocation, which had the singular ill fortune, as Dr. Hampden thought proper to put it, of uniting against it the suffrages of every man of every shade and school in Oxford, which combined against it the Professor of Hebrew and the Professor of Divinity, and which for once, *as was said*, found Mr. Newman and his bitterest opponents side by side. This certainly was an odd proof of Hebdomadal capacity; however, it might disarm the severity of the protest as against Dr. Hampden. But, to do the Heads of Houses justice, there was not a word of truth in this, as far as the alleged composition of the 341 goes. Dr. Hampden and Dr. Hampden's friends did *not* vote against the statute: they might have remained neutral, as many others did; but we repeat it, there were not six persons in the majority who were favourable to Dr. Hampden,—not one who was favourable to the Heads. So let the two parties settle it between themselves as they best may. The non-placets were unanimous, *both* against Dr. Hampden by implication, and against the Hebdomadal Board avowedly. The Heads of Houses had not, in the new statute, been guilty of the miracle of evil genius which could array against itself such discordant elements; but only, *if they were in earnest at all*, they had produced a measure which was, and which was felt to be, a boon to latitudinarianism; and THEREFORE was rejected.

But hitherto we have only looked at the Hebdomadal Board as sincere. We have tried to make them out incapable of legislation: we have sought to show them utterly unfit for their office of originating measures: we have seen that, in whatever way it is put, they proposed a statute so ludicrously bad, that nobody would stand sponsor to it. But this is an intellectual fault, not a moral one; a mistake, not a sin, whichever a Talleyrand might think the worse. Hitherto we have been content to admit that the Heads meant well, however weak and unlucky their attempts. But there is another view of the matter, which, as we did not invent it, we are only called upon to examine. It is tolerably rife, and it does involve very serious considerations: and it looks very plausible we must admit.

It is said, and such as have mixed much in Oxford society must have heard it stated with sufficient confidence, that the Vice-Chancellor is a High Churchman, *i. e.* after a fashion familiar to such officials; that the Heads of Houses have *really* no sympathy with Dr. Hampden's theology, or indeed with anybody else's theology; that they, as far as they are themselves concerned, have no wish whatever to commit themselves to the Evangelicals, or to Dr. Hampden, or to Dr. Pusey, or to the King of Prussia, or to the Pope; that whether a statute is rejected or not matters very little to them, only that since something in the way of legislation is expected from them in certain quarters, *therefore* they originate measures, such as the late Theological Statute, which they neither expected nor *wished* to see carried. In other words, *it is said* that the Military Chancellor and the Premier, with the wholesome dread of Lord Radnor, and Mr. Christie, and Mr. Joseph Hume before their eyes, have, as friends, recommended the Heads just to pretend to be alive;

“To assume a virtue though they have it not;”

to patch and tinker away, and make a noise, and look like business, and then all the blame of failure will fall upon the impenetrable and impracticable M.A.'s, while the D.D.'s are to reap the golden honours of their simulated zeal in behalf of expediency and the march of mind and university reform, and free trade in creeds and degrees, and *Pinakotheks** and Professors of Exegetic and Pastoral Theology. Hence new statutes just to talk about; hence in the Hebdomadal Board avowed reforms, and at the same time secret rejoicings at their defeat; *i. e.* open professions one way, and hidden sympathies another.

If this be the key, and it does explain many inconsistencies, and fits into many of the perplexities, of the present state of things, and

* We have not left ourselves space to expose this extraordinary scheme of the appointment of Teachers in the modern languages: it is more than enough to say that the plan is a faint reflex of a Mechanic's Institute of the most vulgar description: and one of the rules for the guidance of an *University School*, is taken word for word from your Brummagem Literary and Scientific *φροντιστήρια*, “Discussions on Political and Religious subjects strictly excluded!” And this in Oxford.

this in a way which no other explanation can do, for it relieves the Hebdomadal Board from the imputation of being the very weakest and incapable body in England, although, at the same time, it attaches to them the imputation of a quality very different from folly, we have no care to pursue the subject further. It is just simply a question of morals, too distressing to talk about, so we leave it; only to get at an approximation to the real standing of Oxford and its Governors, we must illustrate our theories by testing them in the way of facts; and for this matter the case of Mr. Macmullen is too important to be passed over.

We are not desirous to re-write the Macmullen case: the siege of Syracuse is not more wearisome: and were it not that our pages ought to contain a report of this *Cause Célèbre*, we should have contented ourselves to refer to a very clear sketch of the matter contained in the *English Churchman*, No 71, which we have however subjoined. Indeed, our present business is neither with the Regius Professor, nor with Mr. Macmullen, nor with the Divinity Statute as such, but only with the "Governors" of Oxford: with the executive, not with their politics: as the Hebdomadal Board figured with such credit as we have seen in the one dispute, so we must see how the individual who calls himself "resident governor of the University," (Dr. Wynter's Letter to Mr. Badeley) has shown himself worthy of his office, which *is* a very responsible one, and of the function which he has thought proper to claim. And here let us disclaim any intention of being disrespectful to Dr. Wynter: his friends tell us that he is a "most gentlemanly man;" admitted: that he is a High Churchman; for aught we know he may be: though his extremely uncivil reply to an address on Dr. Pusey's suspension, is a slight drawback from the one, and his appointments of select Preachers constitute a very considerable abatement from the other, of the only two qualifications which are said preeminently to rank him above criticism. High Churchmanship is a very indefinite characteristic: its ample folds embrace the Margaret Professor, we believe: and Dr. Hampden himself we have heard called a High Churchman; and so he is, of a sort: nay, we do not conceive that the Standing Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge claim to be other than High Churchmen: and yet this is hardly the cast of divinity, though maintained in all these distinguished quarters, which the Church of England has learned to reckon of the highest. But be the President of St. John's high Church or low Church, a Church or no Church, as the rhyme has it, we are not concerned with this; nor with the amenity of his smile—

" ————— sævior illo

Pompeius tenui jugulos aperire susurro,"

nor with the suavity of his bow, nor with the music of his voice, but very much, indeed, with his actions as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Dr. Wynter is, we are assured, a most amiable man: but all these are private virtues—we have to do with his public conduct, and with this alone.

"About this time two years ago, one of the Fellows of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford, informed the Queen's Professor of Divinity there of his intention to dispute in order to proceed B.D. It seems the candidate for admission into the theological faculty was not aware that persons in his circumstances sent in their own questions to the Professor, who always allowed them. In this instance, the Professor was requested to give the questions himself. An opportunity like this was not to be thrown away, and the Professor's zeal outran his logic: the following sentences being put forth by him as propositions which the candidate was to defend in the schools.

"The Church of England does not teach, nor can it be proved from Scripture, that any change takes place in the Elements at Consecration in the Lord's Supper."

"It is a mode of expression calculated to give erroneous views of Divine Revelation to speak of Scripture and Catholic Tradition as joint authorities in the matter of Christian doctrine."

"Mr. Macmullen declined them, and there ensued a correspondence* more curious than creditable to those persons who are called the authorities of the University. Dr. Hampden, in the course of the long vacation, wrote to Mr. Macmullen to say, that he, the Professor, did not prescribe the line of argument. This was, of course, an after-thought, for Mr. Macmullen was Respondent, and as such bound to maintain his challenge against all comers in this scholastic tournament. Mr. Macmullen offered to proceed to his degree according to the Statutes, which, by-the-bye, nobody has done for nearly a quarter of a century: this was denied him; and, indeed, perhaps it is no longer possible. He then offered to dispute in Latin, but upon a different question; and two opponents were found, according to one part of the Academic law. He gave the statutable notice in the statutable places; but the Vice-Chancellor refused his permission to the disputants to proceed otherwise than in the presence of the Queen's Professor. This individual, of course, declined to attend. Mr. Macmullen then tried the question in the Chancellor's Court. The learned Assessor, since made Professor of Common Law by unanimous vote of Convocation, decided in his favour; and the Delegates of Appeals, not more learned than the Assessor, reversed the sentence, but without giving a single reason. One of them has since, in private, given it as his opinion, that the action ought to have been brought against the Vice-Chancellor, for prohibiting the disputation, which would in that case have been conducted in the presence of any Doctor in Divinity. Mr. Macmullen, upon this, having also to pay his adversary's costs, took the sentences given him by the Professor, and appeared in the School of Divinity on the 18th and 19th of April, Dr. Hampden acting as moderator. Mr. Macmullen, instead of defending the Professor's notions, opposed them; thereby showing, that if the Queen's Professor could choose the subjects of disputation, the candidate for the degree might take what side himself might choose. At the close of the first day's reading, Dr. Hampden uttered some words, the last of which are supposed to have been, *non sufficit pro formâ*; what their meaning is he has not explained, and as they were never heard there before, there is no tradition in the University to throw light upon the matter. Some people, shrewder than their neighbours, have ventured upon an explanation, which is this: that Dr. Hampden meant by them to disqualify Mr. Macmullen for his degree.

This view is, perhaps, the true one; however, the President and Fellows of Corpus do not admit it, and they have granted to Mr. Macmullen their grace of the college to proceed. On Thursday last, May 2, he appeared before the proctors, and subscribed the Articles. The necessary dispensations were granted him by Congregation, to qualify him to supplicate for his degree in the usual manner. The Dean of Corpus read the supplication, and the proctors collected the votes, beginning with the Vice-Chancellor, and ending with the masters,—they returned to their seats, and sat down in silence: which is the mode of

* Since published.

showing that the particular grace sought for had been refused by some one of those present. Who the dissentient was is known only to the proctors themselves."—*English Churchman*, No. 71, pp. 294, 295.

(Much to our delight, our sequel to this Thucydidean history of the biennial war of Oxford bears only a Xenophontine proportion.)

The dissentient, however, became known on Mr. Macmullen's second presentation: the Vice-Chancellor refused the degree. Mr. Macmullen was presented a third time with precisely the same result; and on Saturday, May 25th, at the fourth congregation, the Dean of Corpus having again read the usual College declaration, that the candidate had performed all the exercises required, the Vice-Chancellor summoned the Proctors to him, and they immediately, *without taking the votes of the House*, declared, "*Gratia negata est et sic pronuntiamus negatam.*"

The case then passes over from Macmullen *v.* Hampden, and resolves itself into the power and statutable conduct of an individual, viz. Dr. Wynter. It was observed, on Mr. Macmullen's *first* supplication, that some communication passed between Dr. Hampden and the Vice-Chancellor. This could, as far as we can conjecture, have been but of two kinds;

I. Either an assertion by Dr. Hampden of a *fact*, viz. that Mr. Macmullen had *not* performed the exercises required by the statute;

II. Or the assigning of a *reason* why, in Dr. Hampden's opinion, Mr. M. ought not to have a degree; viz. a difference of views on a particular doctrine.

1. Did the Vice-Chancellor act upon Dr. H.'s assertion of a *fact*? In a sense this allegation was quite true; Mr. M. has not performed the exercises as the statute requires, and for the best of reasons, because his prosecutor, or persecutor, Dr. H., would not permit him: Mr. M. has not performed the opponencies. But he has performed the exercises as much as anybody is allowed to perform them; as much as hitherto has satisfied Dr. H.; he has done the thing, though not in Dr. H.'s way. Besides, the Dean of Corpus stated distinctly, on the formal authority of the society, that Mr. Macmullen *had* performed the exercises: Dr. H. says that he has not.

Why should the Vice-Chancellor accept the *ipse dixit* of one gentleman in a red gown, before the *ipse dixit* of another gentleman in a black gown? If issue was joined between two parties on a question of *fact*, the Vice-Chancellor was bound to go into evidence, and not pronounce judicially on an *ex-parte* statement.

2. We will assume Dr. H.'s whisper to the Vice-Chancellor to have been that Mr. Macmullen had not performed the exercises, because Dr. H. did not like them: a statement about as logical, as if a child should say, that he had not eaten gooseberry-pie, *because* it had given him a stomach-ache. Will the Vice-Chancellor condescend to state upon what statute he acts, which makes the Moderator's concurrence in the views advanced by a respondent essential to the performance of such responsdency? The case of Heylyn and

Prideaux has been mentioned;* Prideaux liked neither Heylyn, nor his theses, nor his way of defending them: Prideaux was divinity professor, and Heylyn candidate for a B.D. degree: the cases are exactly parallel; but Prideaux could not, and did not, stop the candidate's grace. What right has the Vice-Chancellor, in the teeth of the College testimony to the fact of the performance of the exercises, to assume either the truth of the Professor's counter-statement, or that official's gloss, entirely at variance with the custom of the University, on the word "performance"?

But, further: the statutes, after recognising the power "*cujusvis magistri*" of stopping a grace *three* times "*pro arbitrio suo*," direct (Tit. 9. § 7.)—

"Quod quotiescunque gratia aliqua tertiò petita vel ab uno vel ab pluribus denegaretur, denegationis causa Vice-Cancellario et Procuratoribus eodem die ostendetur; et probationes coram eisdem summarie proferuntur: *quæ causa et probatio ejusdem*, celato nomine objicientis, in proximâ congregatione publicabitur; et si Vice-Cancellario, Procuratoribus, et majori parti Regentium *justa* videbitur, tum gratia denegata censebitur; et—qui supplicavit, per annum integrum ad denuo supplicandum inhabilis reddetur."

How far is the Vice-Chancellor's conduct legal, according to this statute?

1. *Who* objected to the supplication? Was it the Vice-Chancellor in his autocratic power, with his irresponsible veto? It could not be this; unless Dr. Wynter be a tyrant as capricious as Domitian. What could he, as Vice-Chancellor, know about Mr. Macmullen, or his exercises, or his orthodoxy, or heterodoxy? Somebody must have told Dr. Wynter something, and this somebody and this something were the true objector and objection. If Dr. Wynter rejected the grace upon no ground, he is, we suspect, liable to an action at common law: if, on any ground, he is bound by statute to publish it for the concurrence or rejection of congregation.

2. But we deny that this statute gives the Vice-Chancellor any greater privilege than any other regent. His absolute veto has no place here: if it had, he would at once have stopped the grace on the first supplication, without allowing it to go to the votes of the House. The Vice-Chancellor does not veto upon his dictatorship: he vetos upon the statute which we have recited; and this is clear, because he *denies* the grace on the *fourth* supplication, which was not done at the first *three* supplications. On these three occasions, it was put to the House, and simply *not* granted *sub silentio*; on the

* On July 6, 1633, Heylyn disputed on the following questions *selected by himself*:

Ecclesia auctoritatem habet in Fidei controversiis determinandis:

Ecclesia auctoritatem habet interpretandi Sacras Scripturas:

Ecclesia potestatem habet decernendi Ritus et Cereemonias.

And if it be said that Prideaux accepted these subjects, he did; but so did somebody else, whose authority has been strangely forgotten. In his retraction or explanation addressed to the Chancellor Laud, Prideaux tells his own story:—

"These questions I approved when they were brought unto me, and wished the Bedel that brought them to convey them to the congregation to be allowed according to custom."

fourth occasion it was openly denied. A vast distinction exists between a tacit absence of assent, and an open negation. Here the terms of the statute are strictly followed; the three petitions, the three negations of assent; and on the fourth occasion the formal denial. How comes it, then, that the rest of the statute was not followed? Why were not the objections proclaimed and submitted to congregation? What right has the Vice-Chancellor to act upon half a statute?

But we must, as Christians, put this sad business on higher grounds. All the world knows that Dr. Hampden is the *real* objector, and Dr. Hampden's difference with Mr. Macmullen the *real* objection. This the statute—common sense—and common honesty require to be avowed. It is not honest for the Vice-Chancellor to play fast and loose with his double character: at one time to act upon Dr. Hampden's information, and then to assume his simple Vice-cancellarian aspect—or his function as a member of congregation—and all these by turns, in contradictory avatars of discordant authority, only to smother up the real question. If the Vice-Chancellor and the Regius Professor were in earnest, the latter gentleman should have said, "I have refused Mr. Macmullen's degree, because I consider one of his exercises contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England"—and whether this were a legitimate ground of refusal the Congregation ought to have decided.

But if this, or *any other* objection was urged by Dr. Hampden, or by any other individual, the Vice-Chancellor was bound by statute to have published it.

Or, if the Vice-Chancellor had personal reasons to know that the exercises had not been performed according to statute, (which in a sense, as we have said, they had not,) he was bound also by statute to publish his knowledge of such fact: which would have been a sufficient reason; and so Congregation must have decided.

So that, on either supposition, the Vice-Chancellor's conduct is oppressive, illegal, and unconstitutional, in not publishing the objections to the supplication.

Further: Another proof remains that the statute upon which the Vice-Chancellor must have acted, does not give him an independent, but only a concurrent, power. The wording is very remarkable. An objection is supposed to be taken: but is the Vice-Chancellor invested with an absolute judgment on this objection? No: it is given "*Vice-Cancellario, Procuratoribus, ET majori parti Regentium*:" the three estates pronounce a joint judgment: neither in *this case* can act singly, as Dr. Wynter has thought it proper and becoming to do. In a subsequent part of the statute, when a totally different power is created, and when the Vice-Chancellor *is* invested with an irresponsible veto, the disjunctive *AUT* is used, not the conjunctive *ET*: thus,

But this latter case obviously presupposes the open publication of

"*Quod si causa allegata minus justa aut probabilis videatur, gratia quartò reproposita pro concessâ habeatur, nisi Vice-cancellario AUT procuratoribus AUT ori parti Regentium videbitur aliam ob causam deneganda.*"

the original objection; which, in the Macmullen instance, has never been done: and the Vice-chancellor has no right to act upon this *latter* authority without *first* observing all the prescribed preliminaries.

Such is the conduct of the "resident governor of the university:" he tramples upon law, precedent, and the rights of congregation, in an arbitrary and unstatutable spirit of mere partisanship, only to defend the questionable and usurped authority of an official, who has been solemnly, on two occasions, pronounced unworthy of the confidence of the University, and still remains under its ban.

And, as though to place the Governors of Oxford under the most degrading character, another circumstance connected with these melancholy disputes has just come out. Mr. Macmullen is objected to because he has not performed the Exercises according to the statutes: well; be it so. Has anybody done so, according to the letter of the law? Has any one disputed? Will any one be allowed to dispute? Until they do dispute, there is a technical right in some quarter to refuse the degree. Let Mr. Macmullen, then, lose his degree upon this ground: he, to be sure, is victimized, because he has once and again claimed to dispute: but because as a fact he has *not* disputed, he must lose his degree, and *so must every other candidate*; and within the last week or so it has been distinctly intimated that every future candidate will have his supplication refused on this intelligible and statutable ground. The members of the Hebdomadal Board are alarmed: and on Monday, May 20, they intimate, that, in future, the forms of the statute will be strictly adhered to, and every candidate for the B.D. must oppose and respond and dispute according to statute!! Why, the very thing that Mr. Macmullen has all along claimed to do: the very cause which he litigated at such distressing expense and misery: the very dispute between him and the divinity professor. If this course is right and honest and legal now, it was right and honest and legal two years ago. If the Hebdomadal Board are so jealous for future candidates, why did they not throw their ample shield over Mr. Macmullen, when illegally, as they now are forced to admit, oppressed by Dr. Hampden? A clearer case of gross injustice both upon the part of the Professor and of the Board could not be made out. At the eleventh hour the Heads of Houses own it; they make a virtue of necessity; they yield when the consequences of their partiality are about to be administered upon themselves with equal justice: others are to gain the fruits of the tyranny exercised upon an individual—he alone who has successfully fought the battle is to be visited with the disgrace of defeat—

"Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi."

This is one instance in which, by a just and holy law of moral retribution, injustice is visited in all its awful consequences upon the guilty. But another remains to be told. The *arte perire suâ* is coming out in every direction;

"'Tis sport to see the engineer hoist by his own petard."

The Vice-Chancellor has set one perilous example in refusing Mr. Macmullen's grace, which others would not have been slow to follow: but yet more; he established a precedent in Dr. Pusey's case, which he *must* carry out fairly on the other side. Another conclave of six doctors must sit. A few Sundays ago Mr. Garbett preached a sermon at St. Mary's,—we have not seen it, neither do we care to see it: throughout this paper we have abstained from the theological doctrines involved: we have argued the several questions simply on university law. This sermon was delated by one of the most prudent members of the University—Mr. Marriott, of Oriel; and it remains to see whether what was granted in the case of the Hebrew Professor will be refused in the case of the Poetry Professor. We will not anticipate any unfairness; as yet we have no right to do so; but the matter will fix the eyes of England once more upon Dr. Wynter; and had we any personal pique against that gentleman, in the bitterest hatred we could not wish him a position more perplexing and embarrassing than that which he has voluntarily thought proper to occupy.

And here for the present we quit Oxford and its Governors. The governors are in very good hands; the 341 are not extinct. Convocation has rights and duties. If a Vice-Chancellor prefers that unamiable character, the *plagosus Orbilius*,—"examining-master plus a proctor," as somebody bitterly termed another class of rulers,—he will not have it quite his own way. Railroads have revolutionized everything, from cotton and corn down, or up, to convocations; and as Hebdomadal Boards have yielded once to the stern appeal of public and outraged justice, they will have to yield again. The avenger is on their steps,—

πράσσε, πιαίνου, μαινῶν τὴν δίκην· ἐπεὶ ΠΑΡΑ.

So we leave Oxford's rulers to the easy task of "Boards of Heresy" and scholastic disputations; and as a slight guide to the due performance of the latter exercises, we take occasion,—and it is a pleasant conclusion to a disagreeable subject,—to remind all parties concerned of certain cautions which, when these formidable disputations were the custom, Laud, who drew up the statutes, thought it needful to make to his dearly-beloved Vice-Chancellor.

"I am glad that the *divinity disputations* in course go on. I hope now that thing's mastered, other difficulties will be past the better over. But in any case give continual charge concerning the *speaking of Latin*. For if that be not followed, it will be a heavy business to many of the younger sort, when they come to take their degrees, &c.

"May 26, 1637.

"W. CANT."

—*Wharton's Remains*, vol. ii. p. 133.

"I pray take care of the disputations,—and, further, I would have you speak with the principal of Brazen Nose, that he would *command their cellar to be better looked to, that no strong and unruly argument be drawn from that Topick place*."—*Ibid.* ii. p. 173.

We trust that the Martyr-Archbishop's grim pleasantry is not now needed : but *we* say look to the cellars of—Apsley House and Whitehall Gardens ; champagne and claret may be as “unruly topicks” as the redoubtable Brazen-Nose beer.

We owe Mr. Macmullen an apology for not giving a more detailed notice of his excellent exercises ; but the line which we have taken, seems to preclude such. Will he, in the ungracious form of a postscript, accept our sympathy for trials to which he has submitted with great prudence and discretion ? His Exercises are alike creditable to his reading and forbearance ; he has managed subjects prescribed for the sake of entanglement, with very great controversial skill and temper ; he has avoided the temptations alike of overstatement and recrimination ; he has sought to make no theological discoveries, but rather to witness to the doctrine of the Church as delivered by the best divines of all ages ; and, apart from the interest with which circumstances have invested them, these Essays are a contribution to our dogmatical theology which we would fain see increased, and treated with the same caution and ability. They want no recommendation at our hands : they will be generally read ; and they have already received commendation in unexpected quarters, which renders our praise superfluous rather than excessive. They would, but for an accident in their transmission, have been noticed last month.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Arnaldo da Brescia ; Tragedia di Giovanni Battista Nicolini. Florence. 1843.

Neander's Life and Times of St. Bernard. London : Rivingtons. 1843.

SEVEN centuries have nearly elapsed since the earliest of papal opponents, the friend and pupil of Abelard, was executed at Rome, and his ashes cast into the Tiber, lest the people should invoke him as a saint. In these days, one of the modern illuminati of Italy has striven to recall the spirit of Arnold, and to awaken his countrymen to the baneful effects of the temporal rule of the papacy, by recalling the former glories of Rome, and deifying the contest between the pope and the monk of Brescia. Little, in all probability, would have been the effect of this political pamphlet, had it not been advertised as dangerous, and therefore, as the profane would say, readable, in the damnatory list of his holiness. The effect has been, that even round the very walls of the Vatican, nearly 2,000 copies have been circulated.

The Church, at the time of St. Bernard, was divided into two parties ; the Contemplative Mystics, who believed in and revered the Church

system too much to dream of reasoning or speculating on it, and those who, without any primary intention of attacking the system, wished to discuss it on rational principles. St. Bernard was the leader of the former, Abelard of the latter. His youthful passions mastered, and his early excesses repented of, Peter Abelard devoted his days to philosophical investigations; and from his retreat at St. Denis, astonished the world with the originality and hazardous nature of his theological speculations. The principle of his discussions he sets forth in the following passage:—

“There are many men, who, finding themselves unable to explain the doctrines of religion in an *intelligible* manner, seek consolation for their ignorance by heaping praises on that *servid enthusiastic* faith which believes without *inquiry*, and which is far more ready to embrace a creed than to try it, or to judge according to its capacity whether it ought to be received. If men are not to subject their faith to the investigation of reason, the consequence will be, that they must receive truth and falsehood without distinction. He whose reception of the *DIVINE* is the result of *diligent inquiry*, hath attained to a firm and steadfast faith; and although it be somewhat *human* in its origin, and have nothing in it that is *meritorious*, yet this first step is not therefore *unprofitable*. After a man, through *his own power*, hath attained to this first step, and cast away doubts, then comes the love of God, and bestows on man that which he could never have acquired with all his searchings, and which yet was wanting in him. Many unbelievers have, in former times, been convinced by means of miracles. Unreflecting persons are in general apt enough to believe, but their faith is without steadfastness.”—*Neander's St. Bernard*, pp. 229, 230.

On these principles Abelard regarded the greater proficiency of one saint over another in divine knowledge, as the result, not of greater piety, but of a greater measure of previous study, and that though, in the eyes of God, St. Paul was not greater than St. Peter, nor Augustin than Martin; “yet as both had, previous to their conversion, been distinguished for their skill in human learning and science, so, after it, both attained to a proportionably higher degree of the grace of divine knowledge.” On these principles, then, Abelard proceeded to address himself to the mystery of the Trinity; admitting his inability to perfectly satisfy his auditors on so high a subject, and of teaching the actual truth of the doctrine, but yet with the hope of “advancing somewhat that might be at once probable and consistent with human reason, without being in contradiction to holy truth.” Freewill, and the efficacy of the sacraments, formed part of his disquisitions, and not less than those of the Trinity, brought upon him the charge of heresy. Indignant at the lives of too many of the clergy of his day, he did not, with St. Bernard, confine himself to Christian motives and examples in his endeavours to bring them back to the life of the early Christians, but he set up the heathen philosophers, exalted their systems and their practice, and argued, from the life of a Socrates or a Plato, to what ought to be that of a teacher of the divine word,—a servant of the Most High God. He placed the morality of an action, not in the external and material, but in the intention of the actor, and argued that the merit or guilt of an action was incapable of being determined or modified, in the eyes of God, by the addition of the outward act.

When, to such dangerous doctrines as these, even when most charitably interpreted, Abelard added an undisguised contempt for the religious practices of his priestly brethren, and struck at the root of

episcopal power by a qualified denial of the apostolical succession through the episcopate, we cannot be surprised that a strong feeling of prejudice was created against him among his brethren, and that many were led, by this feeling, to misrepresent, to a certain extent, his most favourite doctrines. It was no time for committing the confutation of such doctrines to the mere prejudices of a class, when crowds upon crowds, from England, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark, flocked to hear the disquisitions of Abelard, "*ut nec locus hospitii, nec terra sufficeret alimentis.*" It was time for the Church to interfere. The summons of Abelard before the Synod of Soissons, and the condemnation of his book by that assembly, was due to private enmity, not to public feeling. In this proceeding St. Bernard bore no part. It was not until the convent of the Paraclete had risen from the hut of reeds at Troyes, and that Abelard, puffed up by the daily increasing crowds who came to visit him in his retirement, had dared to alter the Lord's Prayer, that Bernard was fully convinced of the necessity of checking the progress of his rationalistic harangues. At first he remonstrated with Abelard in private, and endeavoured, as a friend, to show him to what a dangerous point many of his doctrines were leading him. It was in vain that St. Bernard sought Abelard in his retirement, and argued with him, by letter, and by word of mouth; he would not be warned; and when St. Bernard warned Abelard's disciples of the errors of their master, the master declared himself ready to meet him at Sens, and before the assembled prelates of France, to dispute with St. Bernard of his doctrines.

"I declined the challenge," writes St. Bernard, "partly because I was but a youth; partly, because I hold it unmeet to subject matters of faith, which are grounded on the sure and steadfast truth, to the subtleties of human argumentation. I replied that his writings are sufficient to accuse him, and that is not my business, but that of the bishops, whose vocation it is to decide questions of faith. Notwithstanding, yea the rather for this answer, he lifted up his voice, so as to attract many, and assembled his adherents. I will not relate the things that he wrote of me to his scholars, but he affirmed everywhere that he would meet and dispute with me, on the appointed day at Sens. The news reached all men, and could not be hidden from me. At first I disregarded it as idle gossip, undeserving of credit, but finally I yielded, though with great reluctance, and many tears, to the counsel of my friends; for seeing that all men were preparing themselves for the conference, as for an encounter of combatants, they feared lest my absence should be a stumbling-block to the people, and an occasion of triumph to the adversary, who would wax stronger if none could be found to oppose him. So I came to the appointed place at the time appointed, but unprepared, and mindful of those words of Scripture, 'Do not premeditate what you shall answer, for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall say;' and that other, 'The Lord is my helper; whom then shall I fear?'"

A numerous assembly awaited the expected disputation; the most eminent prelates of France were gathered together, and their king himself was present. The proceedings at Sens have ever been a question among the Bernardists and Abelardists. One thing is certain; Abelard refused to defend his doctrines against St. Bernard, and appealed from the synod to the pope: the reason of his conduct is not so obvious. By some it is written down as a fear of his opponents; a consciousness of their intention to hear no arguments: by others, an equal consciousness of the heretical nature of his opinions. St. Bernard permitted the appeal; for an appeal from self-chosen judges could not lay but by consent. With the report of the judicial

proceedings forwarded by the bishops, the champion of faith sent a letter of warning to those before whom the cause was now to come. He warned them of the tendency of Abelard's daring inquiries, his boldness, with which he led mere tyros into the mysteries of the holy Trinity, and made such doctrines the subjects of disputation for not the learned alone, but boys, ignorant men, yea, and fools, who were attracted by the flowers of his oratory.

There can be but little doubt that Abelard had been led, by his course of reasoning, to doctrines essentially Socinian; and that whilst, as he said, arguing merely logically, he was really promulgating that most deadly of heresies. His doctrine, that the object of the incarnation, of the life and death of the Saviour, was to enlighten men by the light of His wisdom, and to inflame them by His love, "goes at once to the putting aside of the great truth of our reconciliation by the Saviour's death; whilst his more open denial, that by the death of His Son, God could be reconciled to man, and his argument, that such a sacrifice could but increase God's anger more and more against us, destroys the entire frame of our faith, and strikes out from the book of our belief the mercy and loving-kindness of God." Heard or not heard, debated or not debated, the papal council were quite right in condemning such doctrines, now that they had become a common word in the mouths of all people. It may seem overbearing, unfair, to condemn a teacher unheard, or to make him answerable for the common report of his doctrines. Let him keep the remedy in his own power. Let him explain the truth in clearness, if he will be a teacher; or, if he can be but a mystic, let him confine his mysticism to his esoteric disciples, and not infect the unthinking people by a teaching that requires the greatest human talent to prove, not its error, but its correctness.

The papal sentence of condemnation found Abelard a repentant occupant of Clugni, once more reconciled to his opponent, St. Bernard, through the mediation of the peace-loving Abbot Peter. Three years he remained at Clugni—may it be hoped, a sincere penitent—dying, not indeed at that convent, but at the Monastery of St. Marcel, near Chalons; whither he had gone in the vain hopes of restoring his shattered health. "Every moment of his time," writes the Abbot Peter to Eloisa, "was employed in reading or writing, or in prayer. In these blessed occupations he was found by Him who visiteth all men, not asleep, but watching, and led by means of a short illness to his end." Thus did Abelard pass away, but his influence went not with him. Many were they among the thousands who had listened to his lectures, who yearned in secret for the further teaching of the master; and held his opinions in their heart, whilst they conformed outwardly to the popular belief. One alone of his hearers aspired to be his successor, and dared to continue his master's teaching. This was Arnold of Brescia, in the Tyrol, of the lowest order of the Church; a reader. He had sought France as the seat of knowledge of that age, and there imbibed the doctrines of Abelard. The tendency of the mind of Arnold was more practical than speculative: he held indeed, theoretically, the teaching of his master, respecting the Trinity, and the morality of actions; but the bent of his feelings and of his

teaching was against the practical working of the Church of his day, against the power assumed by the pope and the Church, the lives of the clergy, the ceremonies of religion. Austere and ascetic in his own life, he ceased not to hold up to ridicule and disgust the lives of the worldly among the clergy; calling upon the prelates to resign their temporalities and live as the apostles lived, if they would be their true successors. That Arnold should find even more hearers than his master, is not to be wondered at, when we consider the admitted corruptness of the Church in those days; and the advantage practical grievances always have over theoretical, in the ears and hearts of a popular assembly.

Driven from Italy by the papal mandate, Arnold returned to France, hoping to shroud himself under the protection of the papal legate, Guido, who was infected with the teaching of Abelard. Here he found a bold, ceaseless, unrelenting adversary. St. Bernard, the conqueror of Abelard, hesitated not to lay open to the Church her errors, her luxuries, and her faults. But he was equally ready to defend her, when, under the veil of combating her defects, he saw that the entire system of the Church was attacked. All his energies and his influence St. Bernard gathered against the Tyrolese monk; denouncing his errors, combating his arguments, until he drove him from France, and forced him to the refuge of his native place. There, too, his opponent followed him; urging on the Bishop of Brescia, until Arnold was driven from the Tyrol, and once more returned to Italy, now distracted with the quarrels between the pope and his Roman subjects. Pope Lucius was dead from his wounds; and Eugenius, the pupil of St. Bernard, expelled from his city and his chair, by the people and senate of Rome, when Arnold entered the holy city. He went about among the excited populace; recalled to their recollections the glories of the Consulate; the days of Rome's empire; and bade them emulate the deeds of their ancestors. The public feeling was aroused; and the people were driven on to deeds of frightful violence. The houses and palaces of the papal supporters were ransacked and burnt; and the would-be Romans divided among themselves the spoils of the city.

Arnold's harangue to the disaffected Romans forms the chief point in Battista's tragedy. It is not to be wondered that the pope should have favoured Nicolini, by placing his play in the index, when the following is a specimen of a little of the abuse to be found in it, against Rome and the Church. This is the commencement of Arnold's speech:—

“ For God, for liberty.
 From the bright east, from the dark cloudy west,
 From the loud echoes of the open tombs;
 From deserts drear, a voice of accusation
 Against The Harlot.
 Drunk with the blood of saints—thy harlotries
 Are with Earth's kings.—Mark her! on high she sits,
 Enwrapped in purple, and down-weighed with gold,
 Broided with gems, o'erhung with glittering chains;
 The snowy robe—the robe of innocence—
 The sole delight and honour of her Spouse,
 Now ris'n to heav'n—she tramples in the dust.

Long is her list of titles ; and her mouth
Is full of cursings, blasphemies, deceits ;
And on her brow is graved—'Mystery.' "

There is a great deal more of this ultra-protestant raving in the tragedy, interspersed with very grand, eloquent passages, of what Italy would do if united ; which, with sundry diatribes against "old musty precedents," "wolves in sheep's clothing," "the air which Brutus breathed," "the proud coursers of the Austrian," and such like, make up a very lively book for the present state of Italian feelings.

But to return to Arnold ; the riot for a time appeased, the senate, through the monk, offered the imperial city to Conrad, and when he did not deign to reply to their grandiloquent offers, once more went to war among themselves, for ten long years devastating the pontificate with anarchy and petty feuds. At last, Adrian the Fourth succeeded to the papal chair, in 1154, and soon showed the Romans that at length they had a pope of spirit and determination. Shortly after the accession of Adrian, a cardinal fell a sacrifice to the violence of the people, during a riot in the capital. The pope acted immediately ; he excommunicated the holy city ; the first city of Christendom was placed under the papal anathema. This broke the spirit of the turbulent Romans ; and they gladly drove away the idol of the people, the Monk of Brescia. The exile of Arnold was the best peace-offering to the pope ; and on his flight to the strong-hold of a friendly noble in Campania, Rome was reconciled to her lawful governor. But, though expelled, the form of Arnold still haunted Adrian ; and he felt that as long as his enemy lived he could not be at peace. The coming of the Emperor Frederic to the holy city, to receive the crown from the pope, was too good an occasion of revenge to be lost. He besought Frederic to rid him of his enemy. The Emperor gave his commands, and it was so. The Margrave of Campania delivered Arnold to the prefect of Rome. There was no need of trial. The Monk of Brescia was strangled ; his body burnt, and his ashes cast into the Tiber, within one year of the consecration of Adrian. So passed he and his master from the world.

Poems ; by the Rev. JEDIDIAH HUNTINGTON, M.D. New York. Wiley and Putnam : 1843.

It is difficult to review some Poetry, of which our praise, though sincere, may not come up to the wished-for mark. How far Mr. Huntington's aim at greatness may reach, we know not, or what may be the standard of poetical excellence which he sets before us ; but if he set any store by *encouragement* of ours, he is most welcome to it. He is obviously a very superior man, and may, we think, prove a no less superior poet ; but we cannot but hold that he has still a good deal to learn. His ear is not, we think, sufficiently tutored for some of the experiments he has made in versification ; and, altogether, he is a shade too fantastic. But he can write well :—witness the following

Sonnet on Her Majesty's Coronation, the sentiments of which, though uttered by a denizen of the Washington Constitution, might become the mouth of a loyal Briton.

" How dazzling flash the streams of coloured light,
When on her sacred brow the crown is placed;
And straight her peers and dames with haughty haste,
Their coronets assume, as is their right,
With sudden blaze making the temple bright.
Does man's enthusiasm run to waste,
By which a Queen's investiture is graced
With deafening demonstrations of delight,
That from the cannon's roar protect the ear?
We may not dare to think so, for His sake
Whose word has linked king's honour and God's fear.
Nor is it servile clamour that we make,
Who, born ourselves to reign, in her revere
The kingly nature that ourselves partake."—P. 39.

Rome and the Reformation, &c. By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ.
London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley. 1844.

THIS is a letter from M. Merle d'Aubigné, to the Rev. Mr. Burgess, who adds to the honourable designation and office of Rector of Upper Chelsea the more dubious rank and function of "Honorary Secretary to the Foreign Aid Society." The difference of principle between ourselves and M. d'Aubigné is too marked to render avowal of it necessary at present, and too wide to make any reasonings or remonstrances, that we could urge within our present limits, of the least use. We therefore confine ourselves to the literary aspect of the question, and must protest against all such onesided exhibitions of history as are made in this tract. Doubtless, Petrarch described many an enormity as habitually practised at Avignon, and doubtless, because of such, much guilt was incurred by the Pontiffs who successively ruled there. But such arrows fall blunt against the Roman scheme, and, by reason of their extreme absurdity, prejudice all men of high literary aim and attainment against the people who make use of them. Doubtless Mr. Digby's "*Mores Catholici*" is a onesided book, and as such, singularly absurd in a controversial point of view; but not one whit less so is M. d'Aubigné's present tract, with this disadvantage in comparison, that if one is to be onesided and absurd, one would rather be so by seeing only the good, than by seeing only the evil, of the state of affairs which we are discussing.

We have already said that we consider the difference between ourselves and M. d'Aubigné too wide to attempt filling it up at present; and we are disposed to make all allowance for his feelings, ancestral it would seem no less than personal, as a foreign Protestant. We have no word moreover to offer in palliation of the cruelties which accompanied the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But we fear that the argument from cruelty is worthless to us all, because nearly equally true to us all. And in England (and be it remembered that this

tract, in its present form, must be viewed as designed for England), a passage like the following may suggest recollections of something more sacred than "splendid drawing-rooms" being similarly and as much outraged by very different parties than the emissaries of Louis XIV. :—

"They would then turn their splendid drawing-rooms into stables for their horses, and give them pails of milk or wine for their drink, and for litter, bales of wool, of cotton, of silk, or of the finest Holland cloth."—P. 51.

There seems to be quite a *glut*, as the economists call it, of new Quarterlies, though the supply seems to exceed the talent. The "North British Review" is a hybrid between the Free Church and the Anti-Corn-Law League. It contains, however, a review of Sewell's Christian morals, much above the average; and the writer does justice, though *toto cælo* opposed to it, to one of the most remarkable books of our day.

A second Quarterly, which in some respects is to be recommended, is the "Archæological Journal," No. 1. It emanates from a new body, a sort of mini-mized and popularized Society of Antiquaries, whose object is to be the conservation of all monuments and antiquities, civil and ecclesiastical, pagan and Christian. To such a scheme, our chief objection is its extent, and its consequent (possible) merging of the reverence due to holy things in a mere hard technical literary spirit. Such as is the society, such is its journal: it would be better if confined to ecclesiastical matters; and of much which appears in a review of a foreign work on Christian art we would gladly see the omission: the mediæval delineations of the Most Holy Trinity of course ought to be found somewhere, but not in a popular journal. We dread the frightful things which, in some quarters, would be, and will be, said about these illustrations. To us they are simply shocking, and we deprecate the spread of a spirit to which, with our associations, they must conduct. Indeed we are afraid that the Society is not under the influence of the best spirit.

The work to which we alluded last month as expected from Dr. Jarvis, of America, is advertised as a "Chronological Introduction to Church History, being a new inquiry into the true Dates of the Nativity and Passion," &c. Cleaver publishes it. It is quite pleasant to find the daughter-Church rearing chronologers and scholars; and we commend Dr. J.'s undertaking to the candid estimate and patronage of the learned.

"The Novelty which Disturb our Unity" (Appleton, Philadelphia), is a polemical and very sufficient reply, by Rev. E. Waylen, to "The Novelties which Disturb our Peace" from one of the American prelates. The disputants are concerned with all such matters as are angrily discussed in all sorts of places in England. Mr. Waylen is, for the most part, master of his subject; but we have small sympathy with his taste and style. Transatlantic standards, in such matters, must vary from our own; but we doubt whether it can be right anywhere to say, "No novelty this, Bishop Hopkins!" (p. 6;) "Is this a novelty, good Bishop of Vermont?" (p. 7;) and page 9, "a novelty, quotha?" Many writers among ourselves have had to object to episcopal doctrine in the very strongest terms, but we trust that the day is far distant when this sort of language will be used in England.

"Instrumenta Ecclesiastica" (Van Voorst), is the first number of a collection which we have long wished for; the plan seems perfect. It is to furnish working drawings which any mason, or carpenter, or smith, can execute, for such church furniture, fittings, adjuncts, &c. as come under the Latin term *supplex*, or *instrumentum* (the singular would have been rather the Ciceronian

form, *nostro judicio*). When we say that the Cambridge Camden Society is responsible for the general execution of the work, and that Mr. Butterfield's taste and knowledge have furnished the designs and plans, we cannot award higher praise. The work appears not before it was wanted; the revival of Catholic feeling has called forth so many miserable attempts in imaginary Christian art, that we earnestly caution our readers against indulging in their own vagaries this way. In the way of altar-plate and decorations a complete revolution has already been effected under the same auspices to which we owe the series before us; and if ladies and gentlemen would pause before they concocted designs from churches, down to fonts, letterns, bindings, chalices, and basons, memorial brasses and crosses, carpets, frontals, candlesticks, iron-work, alms' chests, illuminations, stained glass, and the like, all out of their own ignorance, our eyes and feelings would not be pained by the multifarious monstrosities which are springing up in every quarter. Correct designs may be procured, at a saving both of trouble and expense, by going to the right sources. Not the least practical use of this work will be in the colonies; though caution is required. What suits England will not suit India; and Canada wants something different from either.

"The Remains of the Ancient Monastic Architecture," by Joseph Potter, Architect, (Walters, Rugeley,) is a beautiful, and at the same time instructive, work, to which we wish every success. This first number gives promise of great excellence: is it too much to hope that it may yet have a practical value, and that the day will come when the "working drawings" for religious houses will once more be wanted? Such undertakings teach more of real Christian art than all the showy tracts and manuals of architecture with which we have of late been overwhelmed.

Alike to be commended is Part I. of the "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Great Britain, from the Conquest to the Reformation," by Messrs. Bowman and Hadfield (J. W. Parker). The title is over ambitious, as would be the execution if carried out according to its first impression: it consists, however, of plans, sections, and elevations of the best churches of the various periods; the drawing, colouring, and minute attention paid to those characteristic details, such as mouldings, upon which the value of such a work depends, is very creditable to the architects engaged in it. Not the least recommendable thing about the series, is its cheapness. With all these helps about us, we shall attach the very strongest blame, in the highest quarters, if our bishops any longer permit the Church of England to be disgraced by the abominable "brick parallelograms" with which the rage for new churches has inflicted us.

But far beyond anything we have yet seen, is Mr. Pugin's most glorious work, the "Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament" (Weale): it is really one upon which we can scarcely trust ourselves to speak with moderation; so gorgeous and rich are its illuminated pages; one perfect blaze of mediæval gold and purple. We have not yet had time to examine the letterpress: indeed the fascination of the illustrations, except in very sober critics, must prevent this. We cannot give the faintest idea of the beauty of this book; nor of the talent for combination alike and invention in ornament which that very great artist, Mr. Pugin, has displayed in it.

"The Hierurgia Anglicana," (Stevenson) has reached a fifth number. Its conductors are quite right in issuing this work slowly; its importance in the way of documentary proof as to the working of our Church, we are disposed to rank very high.

We cannot see our way so clearly as Mr. Mason Neale in his "Letter on the re-introduction of a System of Private Devotion in Churches," (Walters, Rugeley.) To the thing itself we can see no valid objection; but a problem is a thing to be *done*, we fear that this subject must take rank, at present, as a theorem only.



The Correspondence in the case of the Regius Professor of Divinity and Mr. Macmullen, (Oxford, Parker; London, Burns; 1844,) has been fully alluded to elsewhere. It brings out no new facts; but the whole case deserved to be put upon record. We observed one or two typographical inaccuracies, which being in the way of dates, are of some importance.

Archdeacon Sinclair's "Primary Charge," (Rivingtons,) is not very remarkable. *Safe* is the epithet which both its admirers and opponents would concur in affixing to it.

"How can the Church Educate the People? &c., in a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury," (Rivingtons,) is a well principled view of things in general, as connected with the teaching of the people. The author, one of the most active friends of the great cause of instruction, proposes as a remedy the incorporation and endowment of middle colleges. The pamphlet deserves an attentive perusal, but it is rather discursive. It shows that we have hardly got the right principle at work in the National Society.

"Some Account of the Life and Death of Kettlewell," (Burns,) is prefixed to "Directions for a Holy and Happy Death;" extracted from his works. It is not only beautiful, but useful. Apparently it emanates from the same quarter as other Helps in Sickness, which we have recently had occasion to commend.

For once Mr. Molyneux, of Woolwich, has published sentiments, in most of which we coincide. He has put forth a pamphlet, entitled, "Lent Usages," (Seeley & Burnside,) in which he says, that merely to change the diet is not to fast, and that "fasting, whenever practised for private ends—that is, for individual profit as distinct from an act of general humiliation, is to be a strictly private exercise." Most true, but we cannot go on to our author's inference from this latter proposition, and with him condemn or discourage the practice of fasting at the stated periods appointed by the Church, they being, though not unconnected with "individual profit," "acts of general humiliation." And as to the former point, while we cheerfully admit that an epicure may contrive a fish meal, the participation of which is the reverse of self-denial, and therefore no fast at all; yet to eat fish unadorned, without sauce and without variety, and further, to decline stimulants of any sort, though no very great act of mortification, will be found, we suspect, a little more unpleasant to a beginner, accustomed to "goodly legs and shoulders of mutton," than is commonly imagined before trial of the experiment. We further fully agree, and we anticipate the concurrence of all our readers in the assertion, that we must not "mistake ordinances, forms, self-denials, and observance of times and seasons, for vital godliness;" and we hold with Mr. Molyneux, that the former are "useful so far, and only so far, as they serve to promote" the latter. Mr. M. fights, like many others, with a shadow; for he would find, did he take pains to inquire, that even Roman Catholic preachers often teach the same far more powerfully than he has done.

We have not yet had time to examine the main body of Mr. Treuch's new work, an "Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, drawn from the writings of St. Augustine" (J.W. Parker); but his prefatory observations are very interesting and admirable; and his well-known powers and attainments render his name sufficient guarantee for the rest.

Mr. Haweis's "Sketches of the Reformation" (Pickering), consists, in great part, of a reprint from the *British Magazine*. It is a book which may be described as of the school of Mr. Maitland, inasmuch as it presents us with a very candid selection of facts and documents not commonly known, and from which we are at liberty to draw our conclusions. It is a useful book.

Among single Sermons we desire to call particular attention to that preached on the consecration of Bishop Feild (Newfoundland), by Mr. Davies, of (Rivingtons), admirable for its matter, affecting in its subject.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed in this department.]

MR. MAURICE'S KINGDOM OF CHRIST. (LETTER II.)

SIR,—In my former letter I confined myself to a simple analysis of Mr. Maurice's preface to his "Kingdom of Christ," without making any remarks upon the work itself. In his preface he states the nature and design of his work. If I rightly understand Mr. M.'s theory, it is, that *all* persons,—Catholics, heretics, and schismatics, alike,—have hitherto been partially wrong, and only partially right, in their views of the Kingdom of Christ; that nowhere, and by no one, has the true idea of the Kingdom been fully held and exhibited. That Scripture and the Church, of course, contain and express the true idea,—and so it has ever been in the world,—but that no individual teachers, or bodies, have ever gathered it in its fulness from the words and forms of Scripture and the Church; that *ALL*, whether Fathers, Reformers, or modern divines, have only held *a portion* of the truth, and, mistaking this portion for the whole, have fallen into the error of denying and opposing other portions equally true, from not being able to reconcile and combine them with their own. This, I say, is Mr. Maurice's theory; and his object and design in this book is to exhibit that one true and adequate idea of the Kingdom of Christ, which shall comprehend in itself, reconcile, and harmonize, all the different, partial, and apparently conflicting opinions of Churchmen and Dissenters, Fathers, Reformers, Evangelicals, Quakers, and others. His view is that all are wrong, and all are right; his object, to separate the truth from the error in each system, and to give each its proper place in that one full system which alone satisfies the scheme, spirit, and letter of Scripture, the form and language of the Church, and the experience and the wants of human nature. For the truth of his own view, he appeals to these tests; his view is the true view because it alone fulfils them. The truth does not lie with any school or party, is a favourite saying with him. It lies in the Scripture, and with the Church as a whole; but if we ask, Have these no expounders? he seems to reply,—hitherto, at least, *none but themselves*; all expounders are *parties* and *schools*, one taking one part, another another part of the whole. My exposition claims to be the true one, simply *because* it does satisfy, reconcile, and harmonize all the parts. Whether Mr. Maurice be right or wrong in this view; whether it be a Catholic, reverential, and modest position, are distinct questions; certain it is that this is his theory and profession in this book, and if he is to be defended and admired, it must be in spite of these, or rather for these very opinions and views. I now proceed to give your readers a specimen of his reasoning in accordance with these views, and may safely pledge myself to make good every word I have said, by simple extracts from his own words.

For this purpose I take his Second Letter, that on Baptism. In this letter he begins by observing that Quakers have rejected baptism because they consider it inconsistent with the idea of a spiritual kingdom which Christ came to establish; and affirm that their witness for the spirituality of this Kingdom has, in consequence of this very rejection, been feeble and ineffectual; this he undertakes to show. On the other hand, he asserts that "for want of the belief in an established spiritual kingdom, the notion of Baptism which prevails among the sects, and among most (if not all) "Churchmen, is a confused and carnal notion;" and goes on to prove "that they who have practised the rite have yet overlooked its power and meaning."—Pp. 70, 71. He then alludes to the differences of opinion existing within the Church on the subject of Baptism, which he classes under the three heads of High Church, Evangelical, and the followers of Mr. Budd; and in reply to a supposed objector, that he must either adopt one of these, or set up some other fourth opinion of his own, he says,—“With submission, I will do neither of these things; I will consider each of these opinions; I will attempt to show how and wherein each seems to have denied the truth of the others. I will attempt to show how that which each really prizes, that which he feels he cannot part with, *will unite in a principle—larger, deeper, more satisfactory than any of the three, yet freed from the perplexities and contradictions which each has felt in the opinion of the others, and occasionally in his own.*” Thus, he says, he will avoid “choosing any of the opposing notions,” but “will account for them all, and justify them all.” This, he says, will not be “setting up a crotchet of his own in preference to the opinions of wiser, better, and more experienced men;” but will be “refusing to set up his judgment against any of them; refusing to determine to which of them he shall not render the respect and homage which he feels that all have a right to claim from him.” If it be objected, again, that still he must on his own authority determine this his view to be that of the Church, he replies:—“Not until I have brought you to confess that *each of these parties was right* in reading its own view in the forms of the Church; not till I have shown you that *each has failed, palpably failed*, in identifying its own views with those of the forms of the Church; not till I have shown you, that it is by the forms of the Church, and not by my own wit, that I have been led to see how truly *each of these views includes a portion of the meaning of Baptism, how its full meaning is expressed only by the union of them all.*” If, again, it be objected that he must still assume the Scripture view and the Church view to be the same, he replies, confidently, “*not if you can find another that coincides equally with the letter of Scripture, the spirit of Scripture, the scheme of Scripture.*” If, again, it be asked, But is this view to be forced upon you? he answers, “not unless you *want it*. If there are no wants in your mind and heart which require such an idea of Baptism, and will not be content without it, I may allege *the union of discordant opinions, the authority of the Church, the consistency of Scripture*, in vain. In your case (that of his Quaker friend,) I know there are such wants.”—Pp. 75, 76.

In another place he says, to the same purpose: "I have now set before you *my idea* of Baptism, *portions* of which are acknowledged by each of the parties in our Church, the acknowledgment of which (*my idea*) in its completion, would, I believe, lead to the *reconciliation of all these differences*."—P. 107.

Can words be stronger and plainer in proof of what I have ascribed to Mr. Maurice? On this subject of Baptism, at least, on his own showing, is he not alone right, and all others only partially so, and partially wrong? He alone is in possession of that "large, deep, and satisfactory principle, which is free, and frees from all perplexities and contradictions; the only view which reconciles discordant opinions, satisfies the forms of the Church, the whole of Scripture, and the wants of human nature." I am not saying now that this is necessarily a conceited and presumptuous position; Mr. M. thinks he protects himself from this charge by the observation that "*he has been led to this view by the forms of the Church, not by his own wit.*" Although how it happens that other persons have not been led by these same forms to this same view, or to what these forms speak except to our understandings, or wits, he does not say. I wish, chiefly, that Mr. Maurice's position should be fairly understood and admitted; and I say that, as he himself states it in the strongest way, it is, that all existing views of Baptism are partially wrong, and each of them contains only a portion of that view which is the true view, the Scripture view, the Church view, and of which he is the expounder.

And here it will be of consequence to notice the sense in which Mr. M. uses the expression "the Church's view," or similar expressions. He does not mean by this the expositions of any individuals and authorities within the Church, or of any *catena* of them; all these come under his term schools or parties. He means by it, the truth which the Church, in all its parts, forms, and ceremonies, taken together, is *designed* to teach. According to him there has never been a particular, accredited, and complete *Church view* in the sense of the view of the Church's authorities and divines. According to him, the Church, as a whole, apart from any opinions or expositions by her children, is the only witness of the Church's view, and *all* its expositors are "*schools*" within the Church. I say, there never *has been such a witness*,—for now Mr. Maurice distinctly professes to have collected from the forms of the Church that view which is co-extensive with them all,—comprehending and expressed by all. This will more fully appear by what follows: "You have heard," says Mr. M. "of a progressive Christianity, a Christianity for the nineteenth century, superior to and destined to supersede the Christianity of all previous centuries. The whole style of these letters will, I presume, acquit me of entertaining any such notion as this; but there is hardly any notion so absurd or dangerous that has not its foundation in an important truth."—P. 108. And what is this important truth? It is this: that the Church has an infancy, a boyhood, and a manhood; that the age of the Fathers was its infancy, the age of the Reformation its boyhood, and this work, the Kingdom of Christ, is the harbinger of its manhood.

Again, let the appeal be made to Mr. M.'s own words: "High-Churchmen," he says, "appeal in support of their view of Baptism to the Fathers of the Christian Church." And the principal notion which the Fathers held concerning Baptism, he says, was the general one "of being adopted by God into His family. Now this seems to me (Mr. Maurice) just as it should be,—this feeling, I think, is the one which God would communicate to His *infant* Church. The truth that men are constituted in Christ, and that they must exert a direct faith in Christ, if they would enjoy the privilege of being children of God; this truth, it seems to me, *was intended* to be brought into distinct consciousness at a *later period*, and was brought out *at the Reformation*. Then first, it began to be clearly understood, that Baptism is a sacrament which applies to all stages of life, and not merely an act instituting a man into a position from which he falls afterwards." "The Evangelical party set up the doctrines of the Reformation against that of the Fathers; and are right so far as this, that the Reformers did see some things that their predecessors did not see." "*If the age of the fathers was the infancy, that of the Reformation the boyhood*, we need not fear to call the time when this truth" (*my idea of Baptism*) "*shall be realized, the manhood of the Church*." And then he adds, "I have not shrunk from explaining to you what I consider is the imperfection of *each existing sect or system* in our Church, and even of the views prevailing in *each age of the Church*." Again, I say, can words make Mr. Maurice's position and profession plainer than these words make it? He distinctly says that all persons, parties, and ages of the Church, Fathers, Reformers, ancient and modern divines, have been only partially enlightened on the subject of Baptism; that each held only a portion of the truth; and that all the different portions united in one make up that true and full idea of it, which is *his idea*. From this it is clear, as I have said, that "the Church view" does not mean, with him, the view of the Church held and taught by any of her body, but that view which the whole Church system was designed, *according to Mr. Maurice*, to teach, and which he alone, as yet, has realized. According to this view of the matter also it follows, that Evangelicals, Dissenters, and Quakers, have, in the same way as High Churchmen, Reformers, and Fathers, "a portion" of this *his idea*. Each—in much the same way, some more, some less—contributes his share to Mr. M.'s "Church view."

Now all this may be true, and deep, and philosophical, and Catholic, in Mr. M.'s sense of the word; only let it be fairly understood what it is we are holding up to admiration when we are praising Mr. M.'s work on the Kingdom of Christ. Let him not be confounded with Fathers, Reformers, or modern High-Churchmen: these are all parties within the Church, according to him. He belongs to none. He belongs to the Church in no sense that others do. He stands alone in his exposition of its doctrines. His view is absolutely his own view, so far as it is comprehensive and satisfactory; and every one else's, inasmuch as every one may find his own view somewhere or other in it, and somehow or other "accounted for and justified."

Mr. Maurice may be right, and every one else may be wrong; but, unless he is so, then surely with such pretensions as his, he is very conceited and very presumptuous. There is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, in this, as in other cases. These pretensions are either very true and sublime, or very ridiculous. Be Mr. Maurice what he may, be his talents what you will, be he altogether right, or altogether wrong, *he claims* to be altogether, and *alone* altogether, right, and imputes imperfection, defect, and error, to "all sects and systems, and even ages of the Church." This is his position; he has none other. By this he must be tried. It is Mr. Maurice against the world. We must make our choice.

But, further, I think it is but fair that we should know what Mr. Maurice's opinion concerning the modern advocates of High-Church—or, as they profess, ancient Church doctrines, is. If Mr. M. is right, the modern assertors, or expositors, of these opinions are most wrong. It seems to me most inconsistent to praise both in the same breath, or in the same work; it is positively a contradiction in terms. I am not saying which is right; I only say both cannot be. I assert, then, that, in apportioning the different parts of his one "deep, large, and satisfactory" idea of Baptism to the different sects and ages of the Church, the modern High-Church divines have, according to Mr. M., the least share of truth, the greatest of error. I declare that of no system within, or sect without, the Church, does Mr. M. speak in terms of such severe censure, as of Dr. Pusey, for instance, and his friends. Kind and liberal to dissenters of all kinds, thanking them for the share they have contributed to the preservation and discovery of truth,—to Dr. Pusey, and his friends, he deals out the strongest reproofs that are to be found in his book. Hear, again, his own words: "I now turn to the High-Church view of Baptism," he says.* "I mean to show wherein I think it inconsistent with itself, and with the idea of a Church." (P. 91.) "The doctrines of this party are nowhere so ably and so eloquently expressed as in the tracts of Dr. Pusey, entitled, 'Scripture View of Baptism.'" "These doctrines," says Mr. M., "turn upon the principle that God does, in the act of Baptism, change the nature of the person partaking that ordinance. "No other idea of regeneration," he says, "except that which is implied in the words 'change of nature,' has ever struck Dr. Pusey as possible." He then reasons out the conclusion that this notion goes "to destroy the idea of the Church, and to introduce a *Genevan* individualizing notion in place of it." He first makes Dr. Pusey consider Baptism "as an act done in an instant, and accomplishing its purpose in an instant; *not* as the sacrament of constant union, the assurance of a continual living presence;" and then drives him to the conclusion that those who, after Baptism, wander into sin "must be content, by much prayer and fasting, to seek for God's mercy,

* An omission of some laudatory terms in the text in this place may seem unfair; but I cannot, on consideration, think it so. I rather think these laudatory terms calculated to deceive. Mr. M.'s opinion of Dr. P.'s opinions is as I have given it. Does it make it any better that, in the same page, he speaks of him in high terms, as a most able and excellent man?

which may, perhaps, *though there is no certain promise* to uphold the flattering expectation, once again redeem them out of sin and hell." "Where is the minister of Christ in London, Birmingham, or Manchester, whom such a doctrine, heartily and inwardly entertained, would not drive to madness?" All he can do is to tell wretched creatures who spend eighteen hours out of the twenty-four in close factories and bitter toil, corrupting, and being corrupted, that if they spend the remaining six in prayer, he need not add fasting, they may, perhaps, be saved. How can we insult God, and torment man, with such mockery?" "If we are to believe Dr. Pusey, we have now a *worse than Calvinistic* message to deliver to our hearers."

Now place this language in contrast with the following:—"The Friends, in support of their principles, may have declared themselves at war with everybody, and everybody with them. With this conviction on their minds, they may have *denounced* opinions, as inconsistent with their theory, to which I most inwardly and heartily subscribe. They may have used language respecting persons who maintained these opinions, which I think most extravagant and unreasonable. But, through all this confusion, I perceive certain great truths maintained by these Friends, with a power and vigour which have scarcely been surpassed, and *for the sake of which*, I, for my part, can well forgive all the hard language used by them *against institutions that I believe to be not only of incalculable benefit but of divine appointment.*" (P. 7.) Again: "William Penn did indeed make war in a most furious and reckless manner upon that belief, of the distinct personality of the Father, Son, and Spirit, without which the doctrine of the Trinity is mere mist and vapour," but because he did, as Mr. M. thinks, shake some other false notion of the Trinity, he is "not disposed to believe that he did harm to the Church or the world, by the very wild language he used." (P. 52.) That is, although the Friends derided and persecuted the Church, denied and denounced the most sacred doctrines and divine institutions,—though they railed in the most furious way against the true doctrine of the Trinity, yet, because they taught, in their way, some fragment of truth, and destroyed, as Mr. Maurice thinks, some erroneous notions, they are to be recognised and claimed as doing more good than harm; and then, practically, while Dr. Pusey's name and teaching is so brought forward as to leave a most painful impression of them, the Friends are brought forward as useful agents in the cause of truth, in spite of the most open heresies.

It must not be imagined that I write this to convince or convict Mr. Maurice to himself. I do not suppose that he is in the least ashamed of all that he has written, nor have I hope that he will become so. He glories in this patronage of heretics and censure of Catholics; it is his boast; it is peculiarly the distinctive mark of his theory. All heresies point to a truth—involve or contain a truth; therefore heretics are witnesses for truth; witnesses, too, in a decided way for *their truth* than the Church itself. This is one of Mr. M.'s theories. Again, all opinions and systems, whether of parties, or ages, are *schools* only within the Church; are only

partially right, and partially wrong ; and therefore are to be set right : this is another of his theories. But, though I have no hope, of course, of convincing Mr. M. that he is wrong, when I am only quoting his own language, and drawing out his peculiar views, I have hope that some who may have been led to think of Mr. Maurice as a Catholic and Churchman, in the ordinary sense of those words, from finding him praised in your Review, and classed (as he has been several times,) with the names of Mr. Newman and Archdeacon Manning, as if of the same school of thought and theology (I am not ashamed of the word "school" in this sense), and of the same rank of intellect, I hope that some persons may be led to doubt the propriety of such praise and such a classification. For my own part, I am utterly at a loss to conceive on what principle any one can put together the names of Newman, Manning, and Maurice, except on the principle of contrast. Mr. Maurice himself disclaims the connexion. He is no more one with them than with Luther or Penn, except in the accident of belonging to the same ecclesiastical polity. I have read the works of all ; and while I feel the greatest reverence and admiration for the former, I feel repelled at every point from the latter. This does not determine who is right ; I am quite aware of that : Mr. Maurice may be very right, and all the others wrong ; but it shows the inconsistency of praising both in the same breath, and classing them together. And, be it observed, the occasion and object of my writing these letters, is not so much to prove Mr. Maurice wrong, as to prevent his name and works being circulated under false colours ; as if he were what he most certainly is not,—a Catholic or Churchman, in the sense in which those words are and must be understood by the readers of your pages. Let Mr. M. be praised as the advocate of a *new idea* of Baptism ; for instance, differing from that of the Evangelical or of the modern High-Churchmen. Let him be praised as *denouncing* elements of the teaching of both these schools, and most particularly the latter, and I have no objection ; but let him not be classed and confounded with Churchmen, in the ordinary sense, and with such Churchmen as Newman and Manning. It is most unjust to him, for he disclaims it. It is most unjust to them, for, I am sure, they, too, disclaim it.

In conclusion, Sir, I would ask Mr. Maurice himself, or any of his admirers, what is his rule of faith ? what his measure of truth and error ? Is not his book the most extraordinary instance of the exercise of private judgment on record ? It is private judgment exercised upon the whole body of the Church, as well as upon heretics and schismatics, from the beginning till now. The Bible is the ordinary subject for private judgment with ordinary men ; but the Bible and the Church, the opinions of all ages and all men, are the materials of Mr. M.'s private judgment. He surveys, and examines, and analyzes all ; detects the truth and error of each ; severs them, and then combines the truth of all in one "large, deep, and satisfactory" idea. What is this but an exercise of private judgment ? What is to prevent my differing from Mr. M. ? and to what authority can he refer me for his opinion but himself ? Why should not I have "*my idea*" of Baptism as well as he ? Why may I not think "*my idea*" larger and

deeper than his? Why may it not seem to me to reconcile Scripture, the Church, and human nature, better than his? Why may I not deal with Mr. M. as he has dealt with Dr. Pusey? On his own principle it is a mere contest of intellect, and an appeal to popular opinion. I repeat, then, that Mr. Maurice's Kingdom of Christ is so far from being a Catholic book, that it is most anti-Catholic in this, if in no other, sense: that it is the most extravagant instance of the exercise of private judgment, having no other ground to rest on, nor principle to appeal to, that can be produced.

Apologizing for the length of this letter, into which I have been led by my desire to give full specimens of what I object to in Mr. Maurice's writings,

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant.
G.

SEES OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

IN a paper issued by the Clerical Committee of St. Asaph, which is reprinted in the *British Magazine* of last month, reference is made to a document signed by a large proportion of the clergy in the dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol, the purport of which was to declare that the union of these last-mentioned dioceses "has never had their consent, and that they believe it to be disadvantageous to the Church in these dioceses."

This document has never yet been made public; but as there seems to be now some degree of misapprehension on the subject, it appears to be due to the Bishop, and to the Church at large, to make known the real nature of their declaration; and they have reason to believe that such a statement will be satisfactory to his lordship.

It will be seen that the document in question is addressed *not to the Primate*, but to *their Proctor in convocation*, as the most proper organ of communication with their Bishop, and with the Right Rev. Prelate and noble Duke, from whose statements, as reported in the public prints, they felt it their duty to express their dissent.

And it should be observed, above all, that the clergy took occasion to express to his lordship, "their most dutiful and lasting obligations for his lordship's constant, laborious, and self-denying exertions to encounter the heavy responsibilities imposed upon him."

Copy of a letter from the REV. R. W. HUNTLEY to the LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

— My Lord,—Your lordship is probably aware that a paper, a copy of which I enclose, has lately been circulated in your lordship's dioceses. As there is nothing in it with which I do not concur, I have no hesitation, now that it has obtained a large number of signatures, in begging permission to lay it, in my official capacity, before your lordship. I have added to it the names of those clergy, arranged in alphabetical order, who have supported the views of the original requisition. Your lordship will find that they amount to 150 in the whole. Since I have made the list, however, a few more names have dropped in, consequently the number is rather greater than that presented. I am able to say that it is the wish of the clergy who have affixed their names to the

enclosed statement, that the Duke of Wellington and the Bishop of London should be apprized, in a respectful manner, of the contents of it; they would have requested me, in the first instance, to have taken this step for them, had they not felt that they would have appeared to have passed by your lordship if they had so done, while they would have deprived themselves of an opportunity of expressing what, in common with their brother clergy, they most sincerely feel, their dutiful and warm affection to your lordship, personally, for the pious, judicious, and fatherly guidance with which your lordship has constantly laboured to preside over the sees to which Providence has called you. I shall be obliged by being informed whether your lordship will take upon yourself the charge of laying the contents of this communication before the two peers in question, or whether, with your permission, I shall do so, in a concise and formal manner. I am invited by my friend, Mr. Estcourt, to have the honour of meeting your lordship at Estcourt, on the 21st instant; but I cannot yet say whether my engagements will permit me to accept the invitation; in case I am there I will ask your chaplain whether it will be agreeable to your lordship that I should then take your commands, and if I am prevented waiting on Mr. Estcourt, I will take the liberty of sending over a servant with a note on the subject.

I am, my lord, with great truth,

Your lordship's obliged and obedient servant.

R. W. HUNTLEY.

P.S. I ought, possibly, to add, that, of the clergy who, in their letters to me, from various reasons, decline to sign the circular, the whole, with the exception of about three, consider the union of the sees to have been disadvantageous.

Boxwell Court, August 10th, 1843.

*To the REV. R. W. HUNTLEY, Proctor in Convocation, for the
dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol.*

WE, the undersigned, clergy of the dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol, have seen with great pain a statement attributed to the Duke of Wellington, as made by his Grace in the House of Lords, that "since the union of the sees of Bristol and Gloucester, he had not heard of any complaint whatever of any evil arising from it; and yet both these were very important dioceses, and the government of the Church was there carried on to the general satisfaction of the inhabitants."

We have seen, also, with similar feelings, a statement of the Lord Bishop of London, that "the legislature had united the sees of Gloucester and Bristol with almost the unanimous consent of the Church."

We feel it to be an imperative duty to express, in some way, our decided dissent from these statements. We therefore request you, as one of our proctors in Convocation, to take the earliest opportunity of waiting upon the Lord Bishop of these dioceses, associating with yourself such of the clergy as you may think it convenient, and of stating respectfully to his lordship that this union never has had our consent, and that we believe it to be disadvantageous to the Church in these dioceses, notwithstanding his lordship's constant, laborious, and self-denying exertions to encounter the heavy additional responsibilities imposed upon him, by which he has deserved the affection and gratitude of the Church in general, and for which we also beg of you to express to him, particularly, our most dutiful thanks, and lasting obligation.

Signed by 168 of the clergy of the dioceses of
Gloucester and Bristol.

*Copy of a letter from the BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL to the
REV. R. W. HUNTLEY.*

Estcourt, Aug. 19th, 1843.

My dear Sir,—Allow me to acknowledge your very obliging letter, accompanying a paper relative to certain statements attributed to the Duke of

Wellington and the Bishop of London upon the union of the sees of Gloucester and Bristol, with the list of the clergy by whom it is subscribed.

Whatever were the words spoken by these personages on the occasion referred to, in neither case did they originate in any communication from me.

As, therefore, I am not personally involved in the question, it may, perhaps, be superfluous in me to do more than return my cordial thanks for the kind and favourable expression regarding myself which this paper contains. Of the good opinion here expressed by so many of my clergy I earnestly wish that I were more worthy. I can only say that I will, with the blessing of Providence, labour to deserve such approbation by the discharge of my diocesan duties in the best way that my ability admits. Under these circumstances, since you allow me an option, I had rather decline being the channel to convey their sentiments to the Duke of Wellington and the Bishop of London. I believe that the clergy are all aware of the fact, that the union in question was far from being a measure sought or desired from me. After an Act of Parliament, passed about seven years ago (without any expression of dissent or remonstrance that I know of), had legalized that union, circumstances over which I could have no control, led to an application being made to me to undertake the care of the united diocese. At that time I apprehended greater inconvenience from the union than has actually been experienced, though I did not anticipate the affliction of impaired vision, which befel me in the following year. But when it is considered that my refusal to undertake the charge would have postponed for 'an indefinite time, what is, I believe, admitted to be a most beneficial measure to the Church, the erection of the see of Ripon, and that it would have subjected me to great suspicion and censure, I cannot believe that any one of my clergy would have advised or wished me to act differently.

Believe me to be, with the greatest respect,

My dear Sir,

Your most faithful brother and servant,

J. H. GLOUCESTER & BRISTOL.

*Copy of a Letter from the Rev. R. W. HUNTLEY, to the
LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.*

My Lord,—I have the honour, with the consent of the Bishop of the dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol, to beg permission to place the enclosed paper in your lordship's hands. It relates to certain words said by the Newspapers to have been used by your lordship, in the debate on Lord Powis's motion, relative to the Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor. The paper has received 129 signatures in addition to those of the requisitionists, and I am daily receiving more; while of the clergy who have by letter declined signing the document, all, with the exception, I believe, of three only, agree in considering the union of the two sees as disadvantageous. So that already, as I am informed, more than half of the clergy of the dioceses have pronounced against the measure. The clergy are fully prepared to hear that your lordship's language has been misreported; because it is notorious to the kingdom at large that the consent of the Church has never been asked, either to this, or to any of the measures of the Church Commissions, except, in a general way, in Convocation in 1841, on which occasion it was withheld. As regards the present arrangement of these dioceses, I believe I am correct when I say that the whole of that part of the Diocese of Salisbury, which the state has placed under the guidance of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, protested against the transference. As regards the deanery adjoining myself, and lately under the Bishop of Salisbury, I have a correspondence which then passed between the Rural Dean, the Bishop of Salisbury, and the present Archbishop of Canterbury, in which the then Bishop considers the transference "an innovation without an improvement;" and the Archbishop kindly promises to lay the

case before the commission, and leaves the Rural Dean in the impression that that part of the measure would be reconsidered, so that neither in the lawful way in convocation, nor in any particular manner in these dioceses, does the consent of the Church appear ever to have been obtained.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your most obedient servant,

*Boxwell Court, Dunkirk, Gloucestershire,
August 22, 1843.*

R. W. HUNTLEY.

*Copy of a Letter from the LORD BISHOP OF LONDON to the
Rev. R. W. HUNTLEY.*

Tunbridge Wells, 4th September, 1843.

Rev. Sir,—I have to acknowledge the favour of your letter, and the paper by which it was accompanied. Upon referring to Hansard's Debates, I find that I am reported to have said, on the occasion of the Earl of Powis's motion, "The principle of the scheme now proposed in respect to these Bishoprics was one which had already been adopted in respect to other Bishoprics, with success and general approval. The Commission had recommended that the Bishoprics of Gloucester and Bristol should be united, and they were united by general consent."

Not having any notes of my speech, I cannot speak positively to the precise expressions which I employed, except that I am sure I said nothing about "the consent of the Church." If, however, I *had* used those words, no person hearing me would have understood me to mean anything more than that tacit acquiescence, which was to be inferred from the absence of objection at the time, it being, as you observe, notorious to the kingdom at large that the consent of the Church had never been formally asked to the measure in question.

Permit me to remark, that the transfer of a Deanery from the Diocese of Salisbury to that of Gloucester, is a question quite distinct from that of the union of the Sees of Gloucester and Bristol.

I have the honour to be, Rev. Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

The Rev. R. W. HUNTLEY.

C. J. LONDON.

Copy of a Letter from the Rev. R. W. HUNTLEY to the DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

My Lord Duke,—I have the honour, with the consent of the Lord Bishop of the Dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol, to ask permission to lay the enclosed paper before your Grace. It has been lately circulated in the above-mentioned Diocese, and has already obtained 168 signatures; while of those clergy who have by letter to myself declined signing it, from various reasons, the whole, with the exception of about three, consider the present union of the two Dioceses to be disadvantageous to the Church. So that more than half of the clergy of the Dioceses have now pronounced against the measure, while I am yet receiving additional signatures.

The clergy of those Dioceses can readily understand that your Grace "had never heard of any complaint," and that, therefore, your Grace would naturally infer that the union was generally satisfactory, because we feel ourselves under no common obligations to our Bishop. He is a Prelate who, in addition to an administration of his Sees marked by great kindness and judgment, in times not unembarrassing, has also, by increased personal exertions on many most important points, and in sacrifice of income to a large and unusual annual amount, claimed from us great personal gratitude to himself, and thank-

fulness to that Divine Power who has set him over us. These feelings have kept us silent under an arrangement which has always vexed us, lest we should appear in any, even the slightest, manner to cast a reflection on our Bishop, whom we so highly reverence and value. But we feel sure that your Grace's sense of justice will permit us to apprise you that this silence on our part does not arise from acquiescence in the union. It is our wish, as the Church feels great grief at the result of Lord Powis's motion, to avoid any course on this occasion which shall, in any way, create agitation; therefore this paper has been delayed till its present date; and I am requested to place the enclosed in the hands only of your Grace, the Lord Bishop of London, and the Earl of Powis, with such a short and general notice of it in some of the papers as may suffice to inform the clergy of these Dioceses, that their feelings have been forwarded to the parties interested.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's most obedient servant,

R. W. HUNTLEY.

Boxwell Court, Dunkirk, Gloucestershire,

August 22, 1843.

Copy of a Letter from the DUKE OF WELLINGTON to the Rev. R. W. HUNTLEY.

London, August 24, 1843.

F. M. the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Huntley.

The Duke mentioned, in debate in the House of Lords, a fact of which he could himself alone have a knowledge: viz. that he had never heard of dissatisfaction with a particular arrangement. The paper transmitted by Mr. Huntley gives no contradiction to that fact as stated. He is now informed of the dissatisfaction therein stated. But, having no control over the arrangement in question, which is in truth beyond that of the signers of the paper as well as of himself, the question requires no further attention from him.

The Rev. R. W. HUNTLEY.

Boxwell Court, Dunkirk, Gloucestershire.

REVIVAL OF CONVENTUAL INSTITUTIONS.—No. IV.

(Testimonies continued.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

SIR,—Will you do me the favour to insert, by way of Appendix to the authorities in behalf of the modified revival of Conventual Institutions, the following account of the present state of Mary Wandesford's Charity, (see CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, Feb. 1844, p. 260,) with which the kindness of a distinguished correspondent in the north has supplied me; and also another communication with which I have been favoured, as well as additional testimonies from writers of the day.

"April 11, 1844.

"The Charity of Mary Wandesford is still prospering under the trusteeship of the Archbishop and a select number of the Chapter of York. A convenient house, without Botham Bar, is assigned for the residence of the ten single women, as described by her will, which commonly goes by the name of the Old Maids' Hospital. It seems to be a valuable institution, which might advantageously be enlarged, as there are said to be always a number of candidates for the vacancies. They have a Chaplain, a respectable old Clergyman, who is

one of the Minor Canons of the Minster; but, whether from the smallness of the endowment, 10*l.* per annum, being insufficient to secure the object of daily service, or from any other cause, it is said that the service is now performed only on Sundays at the hospital. The Chaplain has enough to do with his other preferments, a populous parochial cure in York, and a distant chapelry in a village a few miles off, besides the Cathedral service; so that it would be scarcely possible for him to officiate daily at the hospital. The endowment being so small is probably the reason why the trustees have found this impracticable. In other respects the Charity appears to be faithfully administered; and care is taken to secure the appointments to persons of that class who are designed by the terms of the will."

I would fain hope that the time is drawing on when, from deeper and more enlightened views of Christian charity, an increase of such foundations, both for men and women, and *especially for the aged and infirm Clergy*, may be looked for; and I would trust, that in the settlement of such institutions, effectual provision may be made, by suitable liberality of endowment, to secure for the inmates the services of a resident Chaplain, and the daily offices of the Church.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
THE COLLECTOR OF AUTHORITIES, &c.

16, Lansdown Place East, Bath,
May 15th, 1844.

SIR,—I beg to send you an extract from the preface to the 2nd part of "The Reformed Monastery," a small 18mo, bearing the following on its title page—"The Reformed Monastery, or the Love of Jesus; a sure and short, pleasant and easie way to Heaven; in Meditations, Directions and Resolutions to love and obey Jesus unto death. In two parts. The 4th edition, revised and enlarged. London: printed for Charles Brome, at the Gun, in St. Paul's Churchyard, the west end, 1649." It is dedicated to the Rt. Rev. Father in God, John, Lord Bishop of Oxford, and is signed L. B. I have no idea myself who is the author in question, and should be glad to know. The following remarks, however, are very much to the purpose; and, perhaps you may think them worthy of being introduced into any future catena on the monastic system and institutions.

I am, Sir,
Your very obedient Servant,
WILLIAM LONG.

"Not that I would deny that places for religious retirement might afford many great advantages, in order to greater devotion and heavenly-mindedness; for I bewail their loss, and heartily wish that the piety and charity of the present age might, in a first and primitive measure, restore to this nation the useful conveniency of them. Necessary reformatations might have repurged monasteries as well as the Church, without abolishing of them; and they might have been still houses of religion without having any dependence upon Rome. All men are not inclining to, nor fitted for, an active life. Some would be glad to find a place of rest and retirement for contemplation: some, who by melancholy, or by the 'terrors of the Lord,' are frightened from their sins, and from the civilized world, into Quakerism, into an unhappy sullenness and apostasy, would perhaps exchange their silks and laces for the coarser garments of mortified professors of a monastic life; and find among them that happiness

and peace of the soul, which they vainly seek for in their wretched and deluded brotherhood. Some, who, upon great afflictions and sudden changes of fortune, fall into a state of sorrow and tedious sadness, and are left in the world to struggle with the temptations of a discontented mind, would perhaps take sanctuary in a religious house; and give themselves up wholly to Jesus; and forget their temporal sorrow by heavenly joys and meditations; and, at last, bless that storm and shipwreck which cast them into that unknown land of rest and safety. Some, that are forward, and ready to promise well, and take good resolutions, have not strength enough to keep them; but are prevailed upon by the importunity of those temptations they meet withal in the converse of men; they, perhaps, being fled from those occasions of sin, might, by the good example and good instructions of a religious society, secure themselves, and stand to their holy engagements. Some, who never loved the world, or that are grown weary of it, or have passionate longings for Heaven, would willingly free themselves of the cumbrances and distractions of worldly business, to enjoy the leisure and opportunities of meditations, devotion, and other spiritual exercises. And some, that are much taken with the strict lives, and beads, and orisons of Papist friars, would look home, and spend their commendations on the purer religion, and better ordered lives and devotions of those, in this Church, that should wholly devote themselves to God. However, 'tis not to be denied, but that men are much affected and influenced by the place, the company, the way of living, and the outward circumstances wherein they are engaged; and I believe it might be now as true a proverb as ever—*Benè vixit, qui benè latuit*; He lives best and most safe who is least acquainted with the world, and lives farthest from it.

“I might add further, that such pious foundations or restitutions might be so ordered as to afford a very great advantage to our Church and religion. For thence, persons of good parts and great piety, devoted to the advancement of the true Christian faith, and free from those cares and cumbrances that are upon others, might be sent as missionaries, to make it their business to reclaim persons of all sorts from schism, errors, and heresies, and even from looseness and irreligion.

“Not but that we have an abundant supply of persons, very well fitted for that blessed employment, from our great seminaries of learning. But their necessary attendance upon their ministry, and particular cures, besides other avocations, deprive them of the leisure and opportunities of running after their strayed sheep. They can well guide and feed such as duly keep within their folds; but such as break out and wander, they have not time to seek after. And yet great is the number of these, especially about great towns; where small encouragements and stiff opposition are a great hindrance to the gaining of converts. This excellent and charitable work could be best done by them that should have nothing else to do.”

“We are, perhaps, too apt to judge of these (Monastic) Institutions by their issue, and by the aspect they wore when in their decline, they were brought into contact with an increase of knowledge, and under a searching and no friendly inquisition. But it is impossible to overrate the blessed effects which, under the special guidance of God, they were the means of producing, in keeping alive and diffusing the light of Christian truth during these (the middle) ages of ignorance and social disorder. *For they presented to the eyes of men the Kingdom of Christ as a visible body and form of society;—they exhibited that society held together by a spiritual rule;—men's hearts and consciences controlled by an invisible influence, and by faith in an unseen power, which enabled them to overcome themselves, live in obedience and peace, and be active in religious service. They at once asserted and embodied the existence of a spiritual authority apart from, and far above the reach of temporal power. Within them Christians of more pious and thoughtful hearts sought a home, secure*

from the storms of the world around; mind was brought into contact with mind; all that remained of learning and philosophy found there a sanctuary, and by being allied to religion, was saved, and became its hand-maid in civilizing and converting. The solemn and stated ceremonial, and unceasing round of services, impressed the pagan mind with the reality of unseen things, and formed a powerful contrast with the savage sacrifices offered to those beings whom superstition had invented.

"Besides this, the inmates were not mere solitaries; but the numerous brotherhood found their allotted tasks in the practice of all the arts, the production of manufactures, the education of youth, the copying of the Scriptures, the cultivation of learning, and the active offices of charity. It could not be, too, but that the holy austerity they exhibited, the spirit of obedience, the power of the Christian Faith, the blessings of civilized life, should attract the unsettled tribes amongst whom the convents rose, and to whom they became the present dispensers of light, as indeed they contained in germ the civilized advancement of subsequent ages. Within them, moreover, was found an asylum for the oppressed and injured, for orphans, for redeemed slaves, for helpless infirmity. Within them schools were formed for the instruction of the young, and of the newly converted; here was nursed the spirit of Christian enterprise, and native missionaries were trained and sent forth, sometimes into the surrounding country, sometimes into distant lands, to bear the knowledge of the Redeemer. Thus were gathered together all the main instruments for evangelizing a heathen country; hence, under God, tribes were converted, and the kingdom of Christ extended; until what religious men founded in piety, princes afterwards established on worldly policy for the civilization of their dominions."—*Grant's Bampton Lectures*, 1843, pp. 123—5.

"Study what a Bible Christian is; be silent over it; pray for grace to comprehend it, to accept it; and next ask yourselves this question, and be honest in your answer. This model of a Christian, though not commanding your literal imitation, still is it not the very model which has been fulfilled in others, in every age, since the New Testament was written? You will ask me, In whom? I am loth to say: I have reason to ask you to be honest and candid; for so it is as if from consciousness of the fact, and dislike to have it urged upon us, we and our fore-fathers have been accustomed to scorn and ridicule these faithful obedient persons, and in our Saviour's very words, to "cast out their name as evil for the Son of Man's sake." But if the truth must be spoken, what are the *humble monk* and the *holy nun*, and other regulars, as they are called, but Christians after the very pattern given us in Scripture? What have they done but this, condemn in the world the Christianity of the Bible? Did our Saviour come on earth suddenly, as He will one day visit, in whom would He see the features of the Christians He and His Apostles left behind them, but in them? Who but these give up home and friends, wealth and ease, good name and liberty of will, for the Kingdom of Heaven? Where shall we find the image of St. Paul, or St. Peter, or St. John, or of Mary, the mother of Mark, or of Philip's daughters, but in those who, whether they remain in seclusion, or are sent over the earth, have calm faces, and sweet plaintive voices, and spare frames, and gentle manners, and hearts weaned from the world, and wills subdued; and for their meekness meet with insult, and for their purity with slander, and for their gravity with suspicion, and for their courage with cruelty; yet meet with Christ everywhere,—Christ, their all-sufficient, ever-lasting portion, to make up to them, both here and hereafter, all they suffer, all they dare, for His name's sake."—*Newman. Sermons on Subjects of the Day*, pp. 327, 329.

THE ANCIENT CATHOLIC AND MODERN SOCIETY SYSTEM OF CHURCH ENDOWMENT CONTRASTED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

SIR,—The very great importance of the subject must be my apology for calling your attention to the accompanying document; and perhaps the following questions and considerations may serve as an introduction to its contents.

Has the Church been provided with any legitimate system of endowment, which, by Divine appointment, will increase with the increasing number of her children? or is she dependent on the guinea subscription list; or on what the State chooses to give her? As the Gospel is to be preached to every creature, common sense seems to require that every creature should pay proportionably for its propagation and support. High authority has fixed a *quota* as the amount of contribution. Ancient Christendom—and, as a part of it, ancient England—submitted to this appointment, and it is confirmed by English laws. Is the Catholic rule now to be neglected, when he who runs may see the want of it? Is private judgment to rule the question, and is every man to do that which is right in his own eyes? Again,—Are there no sacred principles which are the common birth-right of the Clergy and the poor? Have we no scriptural protests against consigning the poor to the State, or supporting them on secular views? Have we no ancient statutes enforcing the payment in full of a sacred tribute to the Church, and assuming or providing that a portion of it should be assigned to the poor? Are not the poor, as, in one sense, the representatives of their Elder Brother, entitled to a share of the sacred tribute, which is due primarily to Him who is a Priest FOR EVER after the order of Melchisedec?

Such questions as these may, perhaps, suggest that there are some parts in the sacred system of the Church which are yet in abeyance; and that it is only by their practical adoption that we can cure our social evils, or provide for the spiritual wants of the masses of the people. We might, indeed, as well hope to pay off the national debt by voluntary subscription, as expect that any of our modern schemes should bring the one hundred and thirty million souls of the English empire within the pale of the English Church. When we have principles laid up in the Church and constitution of England to do this mighty work, how sad it is that, instead of developing them, the Bishops and the Clergy should be forming associations, and supporting societies which are nothing but the voluntary, or private judgment system in disguise!

But, what is far worse than all this, we are going backward, instead of forward. We are pulling down, with heedless and (but for our ignorance) sacrilegious hands, the model system of Church endowment which the piety of former ages had constructed, and which laws of a thousand years' duration have secured to us. If it were not a certain truth, it would not be believed, that, at a time when the want of Church endowments is most deeply felt, the Primate of all England could be giving his sanction to a Commission which goes to destroy that sacred system to which all the Bishops and Clergy owe the revenues of their bishoprics and livings,—a Commission which abro-

gates those ancient statutes that contained in themselves seeds, by the propagation of which the Gospel would be *effectually* planted in England's metropolis, in England's manufacturing towns, and in England's colonies.

Too many of the Clergy have been caught in the tempting trap which has been unconsciously laid for them. They must use all fair means to extricate themselves; but they must not hope for a remedy by any alteration in the assessment-book; but rather they must go back to early times, and reconcile their flocks to a second adoption of their old endowment deeds. The Clergy who are still free must, on no account whatever, accept any award, but throw themselves upon the consciences of the people—take their stand on sacred ground—appeal to the oath of their Sovereign. The constitutional law is still on their side; and if that is to be respected, no commutation of tithes is valid without their free consent. Meanwhile, they must be careful to show, in every possible way, that, in their opposition to this measure, they are not actuated by any spirit of faction or of filthy lucre, but solely by a determination not to betray what they know to be the truth. Nor should they suppose that by adopting this course, they are embarking in any visionary crusade, or joining any forlorn hope; but rather, that they are attaching themselves to a band SURE of victory, because its watchword is, THE SUPREMACY OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW OVER A MODERN ACT OF PARLIAMENT, AND RESPECT AND REGARD TO PRINCIPLES HELD SACRED THROUGH THE LENGTH AND BREADTH OF ANCIENT CHRISTENDOM.

Yours faithfully, C. M.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,

The Humble Petition of CHARLES MILLER, M. A. Clerk.

Sheweth,

That your Petitioner is Incumbent of the Living of Harlow, in the Diocese of London.

That your Petitioner desires to call the attention of your Right Honourable House to an Act, called an Act for the Commutation of Tithes in England and Wales, 6 and 7 of William IV., c. 71.

That your Petitioner cannot but acknowledge that this Act of the Legislature is quite in accordance with the present feelings and habits of the English people, who, perhaps, may be ready to form themselves into Religious Societies conducted upon the Voluntary principle, yet are, nevertheless, quite averse to give Tithes, or to adopt any fixed proportionate system of Contribution in the service of true religion.

But that the Tithe Commutation Act is quite at variance with the religious character and spirit of the English Constitution, and that wise and statesman-like policy, which, regarding the universal practice of Ancient Christendom, and looking to the real origin of Church Endowments, and the real means of increasing them, has hitherto secured to the English Church the enjoyment of her revenues by attesting with civil sanction the sacred principle on which they were granted.

That your Petitioner earnestly entreats your Right Honourable House not to be influenced in this question by any modern prejudices, or by any modern school of theology or politics, but to regard existing wants, to examine the Constitutional Law of England, and other authorities, in favor of this petition,

to mark the evil which is resulting from the neglect of its principles, and the good which has resulted from the practical adoption of them.

That Bishop Andrewes has observed that two Patriarchs—as many Prophets—Christ—His Apostles—the whole Church—Fathers—Councils—History—both Laws, civil and canon—reason—the imperfect pieces and fragments of the heathen, and finally, experience itself have brought in their evidence for Tithes. (*De Decimis*, 1629.)

That, either these authorities must be disregarded, or that to give Tithes of all is obligatory upon all, as an essential part of Christian Worship,* and as the appropriate practical thanksgiving for that Divine blessing through which “the earth brings forth her increase,” and our trade prospers.

That Spiritual Destitution, with all its concomitant evils, prevails to an alarming extent in those parts of the Metropolis and Manufacturing Towns which have been built since the true doctrine of Tithes has been exploded.

That to build Churches and to provide Pastoral superintendence with Parliamentary Grants of Public Money is a practice, which, though recently defended and partially adopted, has no sanction, either from natural religion, or from the patriarchal, or from the Jewish dispensations, or from the practice of the Christian Church, or from the Constitution of England; that Church Societies are utterly inefficient; and that the real remedy of existing evils is to be found in the practical development of that ancient system, which requires from every Christian a proportionate contribution in the service of true religion, and which provides for the infirmity of human nature by fixing a quota as the minimum of its amount.

That the appropriation of the Tithe of the produce of the earth and the tenth of every Christian's income, for the use, not of the Clergy, but of the Church, is a part of that Divine scheme which would make provision for preaching the Gospel to every creature, and that, where this practice has prevailed, every Christian has been provided with a Church, an Altar, and a Minister, and every Minister with the means of subsistence.

That though the sacred principles which the piety of former ages has bequeathed to us are forgotten, yet that, through the wholesome operation of our ancient Tithe Laws, in most of our villages, in our old towns, and in parts of our metropolis, we may even yet see substantial proofs of the value of the institution of Tithe as the basis of Church Endowment; but that, if we would rightly estimate our forefathers' wisdom in upholding it, we must compare the fruits of their system with the miserable results of our own endeavours, by Societies, to raise adequate funds for the support and effectual propagation of the Gospel; and that this comparison must of itself predispose your Right Honourable House to a favourable consideration of the prayer of this Petition.

That it appears, from a Report of the Commissioners appointed by his late Majesty King William the Fourth, that in the year of our Lord 1831, the net annual income of the Incumbents of England and Wales amounted to the sum of three millions, four thousand six hundred and thirty nine pounds; and that these are the fruits of that system which the piety and laws of our forefathers have bequeathed and secured to us; that it appears from a recent Report, that the income of the Society for promoting Additional Curates in populous places for the year 1842, amounted to ten thousand three hundred and eighty-five pounds, five shillings, and one penny; that the income of the Pastoral Aid Society for the year 1843, amounted to seventeen thousand five hundred and sixty-two pounds, nineteen shillings, and eleven pence.

* We are not only to worship God with our lips, and give him praises with our tongue, which is but an inferior and contemplative worship; but He has required that we should pay Him an active worship,—that is, worship Him with our substance. This is a necessary part of that glory which we must give to God, and as such preferable to verbal praises as deeds are more than words. The Psalmist describes this plainly, Psalm xcvi. 8. “Give unto the Lord the glory due unto His name.” What is that glory? The next words show it.—“Bring an offering, and come into His courts.”—*Leslie*, vol. ii. 819. 1721.

That one of these Societies enjoys the patronage of Her Majesty the Queen, the two Archbishops, and other Bishops; that the other Society has also extensive support, and that, if it be considered, at the same time, that there is an immense mass of property practically exempt from all Ecclesiastical Taxation, it must appear to your Right Honourable House, from the small sum collected by these Societies, that the system of contribution adopted by them is essentially erroneous; that it can neither remove the existing deficiency in Church Endowment, or be in conformity with any Scriptural rule or principle, or with any practice which either the ancient Catholic Church, or the Church and Realm of England have received.

But that the Church and Constitution of England are provided with a principle to meet the growing evil; for that, as the present Bishop of Llandaff* has observed, the Church of England was not endowed by carrying about the box for contributions, but by the piety of our forefathers dedicating and by law confirming to her service a portion of the produce of the land, and that to increase her endowments, this great exemplar must be copied by the miner, and by the manufacturer, (and, as your petitioner would add,) by the lawyer, by the physician, by the tradesman, by all according to their means who would acknowledge that it is the Divine hand that maketh rich; and who would conform to that sacred ordinance which requires that they who preach the Gospel should not only live by the Gospel but of the Gospel.

That Sir Robert Peel has observed that offerings made to Him, through whom our affairs prosper, and to uphold His ordinances, are natural expressions of piety and thankfulness; but that Tithes are offerings, and that the *unconscious* declaration in favour of this petition, by this distinguished statesman, proves the native force of truth, that the sacred principles of the Tithe system find a home in the natural workings of the human heart, and that they commend themselves to the protection of your Right Honourable House by their origin as well as by their results.

That, at a meeting held on the 4th day of April, A.D. 1837, at Chelmsford, in the county of Essex and diocese of London, Lord Rayleigh in the chair, Sir Brook Brydges observed, that "If we, as a nation, or as individuals, did not honour God with our substance, and give to Him the first-fruits of our increase, we must expect a curse not a blessing;" that this solemn warning may serve to remind your Right Honourable House of the true protective principle, the basis of all sound legislation, as assuredly it tends to vindicate the claims of this petition, by adding to the unconscious testimony in its favour.

That your petitioner is fully sensible that it is the especial office of the Church, by the charges of her Bishops, by the teaching of her Clergy, and by the due and prescribed use of the offertory service, to call forth and to keep in continual action those sacred principles which the present Bishop of Llandaff, Her Majesty's Prime Minister, and Sir Brook Brydges have so truly declared to be the proper basis of Church endowment and national prosperity; but that the laws of this country, for a thousand years' duration in their defence, prove that they are proper subject matter for protection by civil legislation, and also, in the judgment of your petitioner, that it is alike the wisdom and the duty of your Right Honourable House still to uphold them.

For that Tithes have in this country been made over to the service of God and the Church, by a deed of endowment, presented and consecrated at the Altar; † that this is the sacred groundwork of the laws of Edward the Confes-

* Speech at Abergavenny, 1839.

† In the year 855, King Ethelwolf did renew this (a former) grant in a more solemn manner, dedicating and vowing the tithe of all the lands in England, in *Sempiterno Graphio in Cruce Christi*, as it is expressed, and was the manner, at that time, of the most solemn vow; and tendered the charter by him signed, upon his knees, offering it up and laying it upon the great Altar of St. Peter's Church, in Westminster; the Bishops receiving it from him on God's part. And this was done, not only with the consent of both Lords and Commons, of whom an infinite number was present, but all the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and Nobles, did subscribe it, with

sor,* and of succeeding statutes; but that the Tithe Commutation Act arranges the Clergyman's income or views merely secular, and that it does not show either any regard to the sacred principles of Tithes, or to the sacred charters and sacred laws which dedicated and confirmed the use of them to the Church.

That your petitioner, however, cannot but acknowledge that the Tithe Commutation Act, in its disregard of sacred principles, has a precedent in that statute of King Henry the Eighth, which impropriates Tithes to laymen; but that your petitioner would remind your Right Honourable House that that statute has proved as disastrous in its effects as it was unholy in its origin.

For that, to compensate the Church for this loss of her sacred patrimony, the charge of her poor was made over to the state, and this compromise has been followed by a progressive increase in poor rates, a progressive decrease in charity, and a progressive estrangement of the several orders of society from each other.

That moreover, since the fatal sanction given to lay impropriations, the sacred principle of Tithe has been less and less regarded, and no such additional contributions have been cast into the Treasury of the Church, as to enable her to maintain a sufficient number of clergy to administer the sacraments and to preach God's Holy Word to the people.

That the Tithe Commutation Act perpetuates and increases these evils, for that it obliterates from the English laws every vestige of the ancient Catholic system of Church endowment, and thereby, as far as can be done by a human statute, cuts off all hope of any substantial increase in Ecclesiastical Revenues, and all prospect of a return to that Apostolic rule which requires the Church to provide for her poor.

That your petitioner, in pointing out these grievances, is praying your Right Honourable House to defend a great principle; that he is not seeking protection for any vested interest; that he sees fully the justice, the wisdom, the necessity of such an appropriation of the Tithes of the Church as may best promote the purpose of the Church, and that he would gladly see such a division of Church Revenues as has been proposed at Leeds, made compulsory in his own parish, and other parishes, by the law of the land.

That your petitioner also suggests that a fund should be created for the redemption of Lay Tithes to the Church by requiring the payment of tenths in full from every Bishop, and from every incumbent, that the Tithes so redeemed might be appropriated to increasing the number and amount of existing endowments; and that, independently of this advantage, the entire appropriation of Tithes to the Church, the payment of tenths by the Bishops and the other Clergy would very materially tend to reconcile the Laity to the payment of the sacred tribute.

That your petitioner will cheerfully submit to any such tax upon his income as will promote, either within or without the precincts of his parish, the pious purposes for which his living was endowed; but, although he is fully sensible of the hostile spirit against Tithes, and that neither the Bishops nor the other Clergy of this age have as yet said or done anything in defence of them, yet that he knows also that the sacred principles for which he is contending are incorporated in the religion of which he is minister, and in the constitution of the country of which he is a citizen; and that he has learnt from history the danger and impolicy of buying off the approach of an enemy by the surrender of that which is sacred.

That he cannot, therefore, be a voluntary agent in this matter, and that to give, as in the Tithe Act, the Primate of all England power to nominate

the greatest applause of the people. And it was sent and published in every parish-church throughout the kingdom."—*Leslie, Works*, vol. ii. 848. 1721.

* These laws ordain that tithes of all productions of the earth must be paid, because they are due to God; and that tithes of all our increase are to be paid to him who gives us the nine parts with the tenth.

a member of a Commission which goes to destroy forcibly the sacred system on which the Church of England was endowed, is manifestly at variance with the principles of the English Church; and that to give power to Her Majesty's Secretary of State to nominate two other members of such Commission, is to deprive the Clergy and their churches of those rights which are secured to them in the Coronation Oath, especially as that oath is to be interpreted by the oath taken by the sovereigns of England previous to 1688, and in which express mention was made of the laws of Edward the Confessor.

That your petitioner earnestly entreats your Right Honourable House not to be misled by the apathy and silence of the Bishops and the other Clergy, but carefully, deliberately, and impartially, to examine the merits of this petition, and to judge of it by the authorities which your petitioner has adduced, and to show, either by the immediate dissolution of the Tithe Commission, or by some such substantive enactment, that your Right Honourable House, acting upon precedents of a thousand years' duration, neither abandons, nor calls upon others to abandon, that sacred system of Church endowment to which the Bishops and the other Clergy owe the revenues of their bishoprics and livings, and which, if duly developed, will produce funds for the Propagation of the Gospel in every corner of the British Empire.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

Harlow Vicarage, April, 1844.

CHARLES MILLER.

KING EDGAR'S PROCLAMATION.

"Here is manifested in this writ, how King Edgar considered what might be for a remedy, in the pestilence that greatly harassed and diminished his people widely through his kingdom.

"This is then, first, what he and his *witan* thought, that this unfortunate state of things was earned by sins, and by disobedience to God's commandments; and chiefly by the subtraction of the bounden tribute which Christian men should yield to God in their tythe-payments. He bethought and considered the divine course by that of the world. If any agricultural tenant neglect his lord's tribute, and render it not to him at the right appointed time, one may think, if the lord be merciful, that he will forgive the neglect, and take his tribute without punishing him. If he then, frequently, through his messengers, admonish him of his tribute, and he then hardeneth himself, and thinketh to hold it out, one may think that the lord's anger will wax to such a pitch, that he will allow him neither property nor life. So, one may think, our Lord will do, through the boldness with which common men resist the frequent admonition which our teachers have given about our Lord's bounden tribute, which are our tythes and church-shots. Then bid I, and the archbishop, that ye provoke not God, nor earn a sudden death in this present life, nor, what is worse, a future one in everlasting hell, by any subtraction of God's rights: but let every one, whether poor or rich, who has any cultivated land, render to God his tythes, with all pleasure and liberality, as the act teaches, which my *witan* enacted at Andover, and now again at Wiltbordesstane with a pledge confirmed. Moreover, I bid my reeves by my friendship, and by all that they possess, that they punish every one of those who pay not this, and break the pledge of my *witan* with any prevarication, even as the foresaid enactment teaches; and in the punishment let there be no forgiveness. Whether a man may be so poor as to be tempted into encroachments upon that which is God's, to the ruin of his soul, or so hasty-tempered as to think little of that which he does not consider as his own, that surely must be more his own which lasts for ever, if it be done with a truly cheerful mind.

Then will I that God's rights stand everywhere alike in my dominions; and that God's servants, who receive the payments that we make to God, should live clean lives, that they should through their purity intercede for us to God. And I and my thanes enjoin our priests what is taught us by the pastors of our

souls, that is, our bishops, whom we should never fail of hearing in any of the things that they teach us for God, that we, through the obedience that we yield to them for God, may earn the everlasting life which they persuade us to by teaching, and by the example of good works."—*Soames' Anglo-Saxon Church*, 3d ed., p. 305.

KING'S OATH.

Episcopus.—"Sir, will you grant and keep, and by your oath confirm to the people of England, the laws and customs to them granted by the kings of England your lawful and religious predecessors, and, namely, the laws, customs, and franchises granted to the Clergy by the glorious King Saint Edward, your predecessor, according to the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this kingdom, and agreeable to the prerogative of the kings thereof, and the ancient customs of this realm?"

Rex.—"I grant and promise to keep them."

Episcopus.—"Sir, will you keep peace and godly agreement entirely (according to your power) both to God, the Holy Church, the Clergy, and the people?"

Rex.—"I will keep it."

Episcopus.—"Sir, will you (to your power) cause law, justice, and discretion, in mercy and truth, to be executed in all your judgements?"

Rex.—"I will."

Episcopus.—"Sir, will you grant to hold and keep the laws and rightful customs, which the commonalty of this your kingdom have; and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lieth?"

Rex.—"I grant and promise so to do."

Then one of the Bishops reads this admonition to the King, before the Bishops, with a loud voice :—

"Our Lord the King, we beseech you to pardon, and to grant and to preserve unto us, and to the Churches committed to our charge, ALL CANONICAL PRIVILEGES, and due law and justice; and that you will protect and defend us, as every good king ought to be protector and defender of the Bishops and the Churches under his government."

The King answereth,

"With a willing and devout heart I promise and grant my pardon, and that I will preserve and maintain to you, and to the Churches committed to your charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and justice; and that I will be your protector and defender to my power, by the assistance of God, as every good king in his kingdom in right ought to protect and defend the Bishops and the Churches under their government."

Then the King ariseth, and is led to the Communion-table, where he makes a solemn oath, in sight of all the people, to observe the premisses, and, laying his hand upon the book, saith,

THE OATH.

"The things that I have here promised I shall perform and keep, so help me God, and the contents of this book."

This oath is to be found in the records of the Exchequer, and is published in his (King Charles) Majesties answer to a Remonstrance of the 26th of May, 1642.

The same oath, for matter, you may read in an old manuscript book, containing the form of coronation, &c., in the Public Library at Oxon.—*Extract from Basire on Sacrilege*, p. 170. London, 1668.

The following vow, made by Charles I., concerning the restoring the Church Lands, is extracted from Nelson's "Address to Persons of Quality and Estate," (Appendix 6, 1715) by a correspondent in the *British Magazine* :—

"I, A. B., do here promise, and solemnly vow, in the presence, and for the service of Almighty God, that if it shall please His Divine Majesty, of His infinite goodness, to restore me to my kingly rights, and to re-establish me in my throne, I will wholly give back to the Church all those impropriations which are now held by the Crown; and what lauds soever I now do, or should enjoy, which have been taken away, either from any Episcopal see, or any cathedral or collegiate church, from any abbey, or other religious house; I likewise promise, for hereafter, to hold them from the Church, under such reasonable fines and rents as shall be set down by some conscientious persons, whom I promise to choose with all uprightness of heart, to direct me in this particular. And I most humbly beseech God to accept of this my vow, and to bless me in the designs I have now in hand, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Charles R. Oxford, 13 Ap. 1646."—*The Progress of the Reformation in England, by the Rev. Francis Fulford*, pp. 26, 27 (a note). Rivingtons, 1844.

Right views of tithes expired with the non-jurors. Queen Anne's churches were built and endowed by a tax upon coals. The Church in Canada was endowed with reserved lands, which, from want of cultivation, have been called reserved wildernesses. Guinea subscriptions and casual donations are but developments of the voluntary principle; and until we can learn that the payment of tithes is a positive duty, there can be no hope whatever of any effectual propagation of the Gospel. Happily, on the principles of the constitutional law of England, the Tithe Commutation Act is not worth more than a piece of waste paper, though it serves as a veil to intercept from our eyes the brightness of truth. The obvious course for the Clergy is, to protest and to petition; on no account to avail themselves of any award of the Commissioners, but to appeal to the consciences of Englishmen, and to the *ancient* laws of England. The Church is here forsaken by her Bishops. It is melancholy, indeed, that the Primate should be seeking for contributions for foreign missions, while he is sanctioning a Commission which is sapping the foundation of Church endowment at home.

But notwithstanding these untoward circumstances, the English Church and Constitution are provided with weapons to meet existing evils. Time will develop what Bishops and Clergy have been tempted by modern prejudice to suppress. Truth will avenge herself, and put those to the blush who have dared to compromise that sacred system of Church Endowment which was universally adopted through ancient Christendom, and which it was the glory of the English Constitution to uphold.

C. M.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

Bp. of LONDON, <i>June 2.</i>	Bp. of SALISBURY (for B. & W.) <i>June 2.</i>
Bp. of CHICHESTER, <i>June 2.</i>	ABP. OF YORK, <i>June 9.</i>
Bp. of EXETER, <i>June 2.</i>	Bp. of ELY, <i>June 9.</i>
Bp. of HEREFORD, <i>June 2.</i>	Bp. of DURHAM, <i>June 30.</i>
Bp. of LICHFIELD, <i>June 2.</i>	Bp. of WINCHESTER, <i>June 30.</i>
Bp. of LINCOLN, <i>June 2.</i>	Bp. of WORCESTER, <i>July 21.</i>
Bp. of PETERBOROUGH, <i>June 2.</i>	Bp. of NORWICH, <i>Aug. 23.</i>

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	Preferment.	Diocese.	Patron.	Val.	Pop.
Adams, H. G.	Cornwood, v.	Exeter.....	Bishop of Exeter	£405	1080
Barrow, G. S.	{Thorpe next Haddis- coe, R.}	Norwich....	Lord Chancellor	175	101
Betts, W. K.	Ch. Ch., Norwich, P.C..	Norwich....	R. of St. Clements	...	621
Burdon, J.	English Bicknor, R.	G. & B.	Queen's Coll., Oxford..	360	576
Carter, J.	Glaistdale, P.C.	York.....	Archbp. of York	79	1021
Clowes, T.	{St. Lawrence, Nor- wich, R.}	Norwich....	Lord Chancellor	82	2783
Darell, W. L.	Fretherne, R.	G. & B.	Rev. R. C. Christie.....	282	242
Dugdale, R.	Ivegill, P.C.	Carlisle....	Trustees	46	124
Escott, G. S.	Barnwood, v.	G. & B.	D. & C. of Gloucester..	195	383
Everard, E.	Bishop's Hull, P.C.	B. & W.	Rev. H. Rawlings	122	1263
Fellowes, T. L. ...	Lingwood, P.C.	Norwich....	Rev. E. Goddard.....	55	473
Fox, J.	Hayle, P.C.	Carlisle....	Trustees	...	...
Golding, H.	Stratford, St. Mary, R.	Norwich....	Duchy of Lancaster.....	296	647
Gunton, J.	Marham, R.	Norwich....	Earl of Lichfield	281	698
Hopper, R. L.	St. George, Bristol, v. ...	G. & B.	V. of St. Augustine's ...	285	8318
Hughes, H.	Manorbear, v.	St. David's	Christ's Coll., Camb. ...	...	691
Hutton, C. G.	{St. Paul's, Manches- ter, P.C.}	Chester.....	Manchester Coll. Ch. ...	293	...
Jackson, T.	Wadworth, v.	Peculiar ...	W. Walker, Esq.	110	681
Jeune, Dr.	Taynton, R.	G. & B.	D. & C. of Gloucester..	321	634
Jones, C. W. J. ...	{Loddiswell, v. se. Buckland	Exeter.....	Col. W. J. Jones	286	1069
Lamb, T.	St. Mary, Preston, P.C..	Chester.....	Trustees.....	290	508
London, C.	{St. John's, Lacy Green, P.C.}	Lincoln	P.C. of Prince's Risboro'	90	910
Longlands, W. D.	Gerrans, R.	Exeter.....	Bishop of Exeter	258	816
Maude, T.	Hasketon, R.	Norwich....	Trustees	...	...
Mayers, M. J.	Langham Bishops, v.	Norwich....	Bishop of Norwich.....	146	383
Napier, C. W. A. ...	Evercreech, v.	B. & W.	Hon. J. Talbot.....	226	1449
Phillips, J. B.	{St. Andrew's, Man- chester	Chester.....	Trustees	...	...
Pitt, J.	Readcomb, R.	G. & B.	J. Pitt	373	248
Powell, R.	Bury, v.	Chichester..	Lord Chancellor	59	611
Richardson, B.	Egton, P.C.	York.....	Archbp. of York	33	1128
Robinson, T.	Muncaster, P.C.	Chester.....	Lord Muncaster.....	97	337
Woodgate, G. S. ...	Pembury, v. ....	.....	Rev. S. Woodgate	353	1093

APPOINTMENTS.

Brine, E.	{Second Master of the Free Gram. School of Charles I., Kidderminster.	Heurtley, C. A. ...	{Bampton Lecturer for 1845. B.D.
Harvey, R.	{Rural Dean for the County of Middlesex.	Senior, J. LL.D. ...	{Camden Lect. at Wakefield. (Vice-Principal of the Training College, Chester.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Bailey, J., Ceylon.
 Buckoll, J., Vicar of Great Limber.
 Dineley, G., M.A., Rector of Churchill, Worcestershire.
 Garnett, W., of Barbadoes.
 Kendall, J., Vicar of Budbrooke, Warwickshire,
 & Master of the Earl of Leicester's Hospital.
 Kendall, N., M.A., Vicar of Talland.
 Leighton, Sir John H., Bart., of Trinity Coll.,
 Cambridge.

Powell, J., Vicar of Bitteswell, Leicestershire.
 Richardson, B., Incumbent of Glaisdale, Egton,
 and Goathland, near Whitby, Yorkshire.
 Slingsby, H. J., Rec. of Stour Provost, Dorset.
 Still, P., Rector of Cattistock.
 Syer, B., Rector of Kedington, Suffolk.
 Vicars, G. C., late Curate of Barlaston.
 Thomas, E., Rector of Mortil.
 Turnour, E. J. M.A., at Cranley.
 Whitty, W., Curate of Rathvilly.

 PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

 INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT, BUILDING,
 AND REPAIRING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

REPORT read at the Annual General Court, May 21st, 1844, being the Sixteenth after its incorporation, and the Twenty-sixth from its formation. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair:—

In presenting to the General Meeting of the Society the Report for the past year, the Committee desire, in the first place, to mention, with deep regret, the severe sufferings, and fatal termination of them, by which the Society has been deprived of its late Secretary, the Rev. William Johnson Rodber. They cannot omit the opportunity of expressing to the members of the Society at large a feeling, in which they are convinced all will share, of grateful remembrance of the assiduity and single-heartedness with which he laboured in the service of the Society from its first establishment, for a period of nearly six-and-twenty years.

From paying this tribute, most justly due, to the faithful and devoted service of one who had deeply at heart the Society's interest, and gave his best exertions to its cause, the Committee will proceed to report the operations of the past year, and to state the present circumstances and prospects of the Society.

The number of applications received in the course of the year ending March 31, 1844, was 201, a number greater by 43 than the applications made in the preceding year; and greater also, with a single exception, than the number of cases brought before the Society in any one year since its institution; the number of applications in 1840 having alone exceeded those of the present year by 4.

The number of Grants made during the past year is 119, exceeding by 23 those of last year, which, however, from several causes, explained in the Report, were below the usual average. Of the Grants made during the past year, there have been for building *additional Churches* and Chapels, 49; for enlarging or otherwise increasing the accommodation in existing Churches and Chapels, 47; and for rebuilding, with enlargement, 23. The number of *additional Churches* towards the building of which Grants have been made during the past year exceeds by 6 those of the year preceding; which again exceeded those of any former year. And this is a circumstance to which the Committee cannot but call attention. During the first ten years of the Society's operations, the number of new Churches for which application was made never exceeded 2 in any year; in some years there was not one: within the last seven years it has risen from 15 to 28, the number reported last year (27) equalling, as was observed in the Report, the total number during the first six years of the Society's existence. It must never be forgotten that, in the first institution of the Society, as indeed its very name bears witness, it was the "enlargement" of existing Churches that was chiefly contemplated, and that the growing necessity, and the conviction of that necessity, which have led to the efforts to build new Churches in so many populous districts, while it is a most gratifying and encouraging fact to those who have at heart the interests of their country and of religion, entails at the same time heavier charges upon a Society like this,

and calls for a great increase in the means placed at its disposal.

The sum voted in Grants made during the past year, amounts to 22,020*l.*, being an increase of between 5,000*l.* and 6,000*l.* upon the expenditure of the year preceding. The additional accommodation is for 38,020 persons, of whom 32,896 will be provided with the means of attending public worship without expense. It will be observed how very large is the proportion of free sittings thus provided, being little less than 33,000 out of 38,000; a larger proportion than in any former year. though, indeed, it has been, throughout, the invariable rule of the Society that no aid should be granted where half the accommodation provided was not entirely free and unappropriated.

Beside these new cases, additional aid has also been granted, in some few instances, in which improvements had been suggested during the progress of the work, which were approved by the Committee, and by which a considerable increase was made in the accommodation provided.

Among the cases which have been brought before the Committee during the past year, and to which Grants have been made, may be mentioned, in the Diocese of London, one parish, with a population of 42,000, with church-accommodation only for 3,800, of which 850 only were free, where a new Church is to be built, capable of holding 600, 300 free; another parish, with a population of 8,000, and with church-room only for 750,—300 free; where, by the building of a new Church, the accommodation will be doubled, 750 being added, 450 free; another parish of 36,000, with church-room only for 2,200,—300 only free; where, by the building of a new Church, 1,000 will have church-room provided, all free: in the Diocese of Chester, a parish of between 60,000 and 70,000, with church-room for less than 6,000, only 900 free; where, by a new Church, additional accommodation for 1,000 persons will be provided, 500 free; another parish in the same diocese of upwards of 46,000, with church accommodation only for 6,000,—2,000 free; where, by the enlargement of a Chapel, 330 additional sittings will be provided, all free: in the Diocese of Ripon, a parish of upwards of 29,000, with church-room for little more than 5,000,—1,500 free: where a Chapel is to be built, containing 500, 300 of them free: in the Diocese of St. David's, a parish of 3,000, with church-

room only for 350, all free, to which, by the building of a new Chapel, 230 additional sittings will be provided, 200 of them free. Many more cases might be cited of the like spiritual destitution; but these few the Committee have thought it well to extract from the tables which will be appended to the Report, as showing what pressing claims are continually coming before them, in the appropriation of the funds, unhappily so limited, which are placed at their disposal. The cases just referred to, among others, have been most carefully considered by the Committee, and the utmost assistance afforded which the Society's means would allow.

The recent enactment of the Legislature, by which will be effected the division of large parishes with a view to more effectual pastoral care and superintendence, has already occasioned a considerable call upon the Society's resources. In the three months of January, February, and March, of the present year, the Committee have made Grants to the amount of upwards of £2,000 towards the building of nine new Churches or Chapels, to be in whole, or in part, endowed from the funds placed at the disposal of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In these cases the population is often large; in many instances distant two or three miles from any place of worship belonging to the Established Church. In one instance, in the Diocese of Chester, there is a population of upwards of 400 at a distance of three miles from the nearest church; the moral tone of the population of the district is described as being "at the lowest scale;" and where, as the Committee are informed, "a liberal Grant will encourage the local Committee to make further exertions for building Schools and Parsonage-houses," the site being given, and the funds chiefly obtained from parties who will not be personally benefited by the Church. In another place, in the same diocese, there is a district containing 1,200 "principally small cottagers, and literally without the means of attending Divine worship;" the applicant, the Clergyman of the parish, contributing £1,000; £500 for the proposed Church, and £500 for a Parsonage-house. In another case, in the Diocese of Lichfield, there is a township containing a population of 800, "distant two miles and a half from the nearest Church, the inhabitants poor and totally uneducated," where, in addition to £400 contributed towards the Church, a like sum of £400 has been raised towards building

a Parsonage-house and Schools. And these cases, it is to be expected, will be daily multiplying. The Committee have received intimation that many other applications, arising out of the late measure, will shortly be brought before them; to meet which, their present means are wholly insufficient.

The Committee feel that the measures thus in progress for bringing these outcasts, for so indeed they may be termed, within the reach of the Church's ministrations and pastoral care, warrant, and make necessary, a strong appeal at the present time, for greatly increased support to this Society. If we believe that the first step in the work of evangelizing these neglected districts has been taken in the best way, when a Clergyman has been placed among them, without waiting for a Church to be built, it must be *from the conviction* that where the ministrations of the pastor are supplied, the foundations of a house of God will ere long be laid. It cannot be that Churchmen, with due feeling for the decencies of religious worship, and sensible of the powerful influence of those sacred associations and impressions, which, under such circumstances, are especially important, will be content, that a body of Clergy thus called into existence shall be left to perform the public offices of the Church in licensed school-rooms, or other places, unsuitable to the holy purposes to which they are thus, occasionally, from necessity, converted. A great demand must arise for assistance in Church-building in such districts: and it will be recollected that until some provision be made from public sources, it is to this Society, with its Diocesan Associations, that the country must look for the supply of its necessities in this respect; the Parliamentary Grants placed at the disposal of her Majesty's Commissioners for Building New Churches in Populous Places being now nearly exhausted.

Another source from which must be anticipated a great increase of application to the Society, is in the effort now making, on so large a scale, by the National Society, with the aid of its Special Fund, towards establishing Schools in the Manufacturing and Mining Districts. As it is one consequence of the building of a new Church, that Schools speedily follow, so, on the other hand, the establishment of new Schools makes the want of Churches, in which the children of such Schools may attend divine worship, more strongly felt. And these wants, thus created, it may be observed, were fore-

most in the view of those who first drew the attention of the Government, now nearly thirty years ago, to the want of Church-room for the population, and whose efforts led to the establishment of this Society. In a memorial addressed to Lord Liverpool, in 1815, reference was particularly made to the Schools which had been erected by means of the National Society, established a few years earlier; and it was urged, "that the benefit of these Schools must be in a great measure lost, and the object of them remain unobtained, if places for public worship were not provided for the children therein educated, both during the period of their instruction, and after they shall have quitted the schools." The same argument applies now as powerfully as then; and it cannot be too strongly stated, that the great effort which the National Society is now making in the cause of the education of "the poor in the principles of the Established Church" will be but imperfect, or will be, partially at least, (it is to be feared,) turned to evil, unless it be followed up by a strong and united effort to provide the children thus placed under religious instruction with the means of attending the public services of the Church with full advantage.

The Committee must now advert to the state of the Society's finances. They have to report, in the first place, that the collections made under the authority of the Royal Letter, issued towards the close of the year 1842, have produced to the 31st of March last, from 8,840 returns, the sum of £30,818; and the Committee do not venture to hope that the sum above named will be materially increased; and the total sum to be expected will fall somewhat short of the average amount received from the same source in former years; that average being about £35,000.

The Committee have specially to acknowledge donations of £100 each from J. Brown, Esq.; from Chas. Hoare, Esq., the Society's late Treasurer, this being his eighth donation to the same amount; from the Rev. Dr. Spranger; and from the Hon. John Simpson; also the like sums from four anonymous donors; and one of £125 from another anonymous contributor. Legacies to the amount of £790 have been bequeathed to the Society by the Rev. D. M. Bourne, Miss Simcoe, H. Stocking, Esq., and William Vale, Esq. The Committee have also received remittances from the Diocesan and District Societies and Committees,

to the amount of £1,722. Though this sum falls somewhat short of the usual average, the Committee must again, in their present Report, call the attention of the Annual Court to the great assistance rendered to the Society by these Associations. It will be borne in mind that those of them which make remittances to this Society, remit but a certain portion of their funds, not more than one-fourth, commonly, of their annual subscriptions, and a still smaller proportion of their donations; the benefit conferred by them must not, therefore, be estimated simply by the amount of their contribution to the general treasury of this Society, though this is, indeed, most valuable, and calls for grateful acknowledgment.

It is with much satisfaction that the Committee observe some increase during the past and present years in the amount of Annual Subscriptions; and they cannot but hope that augmentation may be made, progressively, from this source to the funds of the Society, as well as by the donations, which, in the past and former years, contributed in so large and liberal measure from a limited number of individuals, have mainly enabled the Society to continue hitherto its labours in the work of Christian piety and charity committed to it.

The present amount of Grants up to the 31st of March, was £55,015. And the sum in the Society's hands, to meet this demand, was £62,931 11s. 3d., leaving a disposable balance of only 7,916 11s. 3d. Of this sum it must be added, though the present Report, strictly speaking, belongs only to the year ending with the 31st of March, £7,065 has been pledged in Grants voted at the two Committees of last month and the present, reducing the above balance to £851 11s. 3d.

The Committee feel it absolutely impossible, though their treasury is thus nearly exhausted, to withhold the aid so earnestly sought from every quarter. They feel convinced that, when the case is known, as they trust it may soon be, and felt in all its urgency and importance, the liberal contributions of a Christian people will not be wanting to enable the Society to go on in its "work of faith and labour of love." Especially would they make their appeal to those who are deriving large incomes from those densely populated manufacturing and mining districts, the spiritual necessities of which so painfully pressed upon the consideration of the Society, and its sadly limited means.

As a specimen of these urgent cases, the Committee cannot refrain from adducing, before they close this Report, the instances of the two parishes of Manchester and Stockport, which have recently been brought before them. The parish of Manchester, containing a population of half a million souls, is stated to have within it seven entire townships without Churches, with an amount of population in each, varying from 1,200 to nearly 5,000, respectively, altogether upwards of 20,000, exclusively of the large town districts. In Stockport there are three townships, containing populations of 1,400, 3,300, and 5,300, respectively, in like manner destitute of Churches. And there are other similar cases. It must be acknowledged, with all thankfulness, that much indeed has been done, and this irrespectively of the mass of population in the great towns themselves. Upwards of 50 Churches have been built within the last ten years, only in the Diocese of Chester, providing for more than 220,000 souls, "all of whom were heretofore debarred the ordinances and ministrations of the Established Church." And in the ten years between 1831 and 1841, the provision of Church-room in Cheshire and Lancashire has "increased in greater proportion than the population, yet there is a fearful deficiency" still. Taking one in three, or thirty-three per cent., as the best amount to be provided of Church-accommodation, there is reported in twenty principal towns and parishes of Lancashire and Cheshire only, a deficiency of Church-room for an aggregate of upwards of 227,000. In a communication lately received from the Diocese of Chester, it is said, "We want *immediately* 25 new Churches in Cheshire, of which 13 are most urgent cases, averaging 4,000 souls to each. We require 132 for Lancashire, of which 120 are urgent. We calculate on about 50 of these coming under the Clergy Endowment Act; on 11 being built from local resources; perhaps 12 are hopeless."

In this condition of things, it must be the fervent hope and prayer of every one who has the welfare of his country at heart, that it may please Almighty God to move the hearts of his servants to a large measure of bountifulness, and that every member of our Church may be brought to feel the urgent obligation which lies upon him to lend his aid, according to the ability with which he is blessed, to this great and holy work.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

AN APPEAL TO THE STATUTES.

Has Dr. Hampden the right of stopping Divinity Degrees? That is to say, is the consent of the Regius Professor of Divinity necessary for obtaining a Divinity Degree?

This is a simple question of fact, and must be decided by an appeal to the Statutes. The Regius Professor is what the Statutes of the University make him, and nothing more. No vague undefinable powers belong to him simply from his title of Regius Professor. The title of itself confers nothing: whatever powers may accompany it must depend upon academical law for their existence.

Do the Statutes of the University then give the Regius Professor this power? They do not. Any one may satisfy himself on this head by merely looking over the Statutes relating to the subject. From the Exercises in the Schools, in the first instance, up to the granting of the grace in Congregation, to the Presentation, and the Degree, they do not once mention or imply such a right, as belonging to the Regius Professor.

1. The Statute which regulates the performance of the Exercises for Divinity Degrees is as follows:—

Tit. VI. Sect. vi.

§ 2. *Exercitia pro Gradu Baccalaurei in Theologia præstanda.*

“Statutum est, quod is, qui ad Gradum Baccalaurei in S. Theologia promoveri cupit, priusquam Gratiam proponat, bis in disputationibus Theologicis pro Forma Opponentis principalis, (id est, primo vel secundo loco disputantis) munere perfunctus fuerit, et semel per duas horas in Schola Theologica pro Forma responderit.

“Quodque ante hujusmodi Disputationes, Quæstiones, una cum nominibus Opponentium et Respondentis, per septem dies integros significentur, programme affixo valvis utriusque exterioris Portæ Scholarum, ac insuper muris Collegii Omnium Animarum, et Oriel, qua Australis et Occidentalis parietes Platemæ versus in angulos coeunt.”

This Statute, which was formally enacted in 1833, is the one upon which the Exercises for Divinity Degrees now rest. And this Statute, so far as the letter is concerned at any rate, does not give the powers, now claimed, to the Regius Professor—for one plain reason

—that it does not once mention his name throughout. But let us allow it to be interpreted by an ancient one, (Tit. viii.) abrogated now, which speaks of the Regius Professor as “*moderator*,” in the ordinary theological disputations, of which the disputatory exercises for Divinity Degrees are supposed by some to have been a branch. It then simply remains to see what the meaning of the word “*moderator*” is. Dr. Johnson, citing the old authorities, gives it,

“*One who presides in a disputation to restrain the contending parties from indecency, and confine them to the question.*”

“How does he seasonably commit the opponent to the respondent, like a long-practised *moderator*.” *More.*”

The part of “*moderating*” then only gives the Regius Professor certain regulating and managing functions with respect to the Disputations which are held for the Degree: it gives him no sort of power as to granting or withholding the Degree itself. The office of moderator in the Exercises is wholly distinct from that of Judge of the Degree, and therefore the Regius Professor has clearly no control over the Degree, so far as this stage of the proceedings is concerned.

2. After the performance of the Exercises comes the Supplication for the Grace in Congregation. And here, again, Congregation is the sole arbiter. The three parties which compose Congregation, viz. the Majority of Regents, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Proctors, grant the grace. And all that any other party, be he Regius Professor of Divinity, or any one else, can do, is to suspend the Degree three times; after which, he is obliged to give his reason for doing so, and the validity of this reason is decided on by Congregation.—Corpus Statutorum, p. 83.

3. With respect to the Presentation of the Divinity Candidate, there is no ground whatever for making the Regius Professor of Divinity the necessary Presenter. His name is not mentioned in the Statute regulations on this point. The Professorships of the other departments, too, are not invested with any such privilege; and why should it attach to the Divinity Professorship more than to the others?—Corpus Stat. p. 94.

4. The form of conferring the Degree is performed by the Vice-Chancellor solely.

Thus, from first to last, from the performance of the Exercises to the conferring of the Degree, the Statutes afford no jot of ground upon which a prohibitory power of the Regius Professor over Divinity Degrees can rest itself. And it would be as impossible to bring forward academical custom in support of such a power. For, as a matter of fact, Regius Professors of Divinity not only never have prohibited Degrees, but have never claimed the power of doing so. Dr. Hampden, if he asserts this claim, is the first asserter of it.

In this state of the case, it only remains, with reference to the Regius Professor's expression, "*non sufficit pro forma*" recently heard in the Schools, to say,—that if he meant it, as he seems to have done, to act as a prohibition on the Degree, it was a simply null, idle, and futile, unauthoritative, unstatutable assumption on his part; that as such it imposes no kind of legal obligation on the Vice-Chancellor to refuse the Degree; but throws him entirely, should he choose this alternative, upon the authority of his own single irresponsible *veto*.

May 1, 1844.

AMERICA.

"DEATH OF THE REV. ARTHUR CAREY.—It is with peculiarly sad emotions that we record the departure of this young divine.

"His constitution was naturally delicate, and he was dangerously ill a considerable part of the winter, when his physicians advised, as the only measure likely to prolong his days, that he should seek the milder air of the Island of Cuba. He breathed his last as the vessel in which he was embarked was entering the harbour of Havana!"—*Gospel Messenger*.

The following is from the *New York Churchman*:—

"ARTHUR CAREY is no more for this world. He died, 'without a gasp, groan, or struggle,' on the 4th of April, within sight of Cuba, at the age of twenty-one years and ten months; and on the next morning (Good Friday) at six o'clock, about fifteen or twenty miles north-east of Moro Castle, at Havana—the ensign hoisted at half-mast, and the crew all mustered on the quarter-deck,—his body was consigned to the deep, in the hope of a blessed resurrection, in that day when 'the earth and the sea shall give up their dead.'

"At a meeting of the Vestry of the 'Church of the Annunciation,' held on Monday evening, the 30th of April, 1844, all the members being present, the following Preamble and Resolutions, presented by the Secretary, were unanimously adopted.

"The Vestry of the Church of the Annunciation, in the city of New York, having received the painful intelligence of the death of Arthur Carey, late the Assistant Minister in their Church, and desirous to testify the deep sense of the bereavement which they have sustained, have therefore—

"Resolved, That this Vestry respectfully tender to the afflicted relatives of the deceased, and especially to his excellent father, whose melancholy duty it was to commit to the deep the earthly remains of a beloved and most dutiful son, their unfeigned sympathy and condolence, under this afflictive dispensation of Divine Providence. Earnestly and affectionately do we commend them in this their hour of sorrow, to 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,' and under its benign influence to that humble and confiding faith in 'the love of God' which brings the wounded and stricken heart the comfort and strength of 'the communion of the Holy Ghost.'

"Resolved, That although but recently connected with this Parish in the office of an Assistant Minister, the brief services of Mr. Carey deserve to be remembered by us with lasting gratitude. Young in years, yet profound in knowledge, and having evidently drunk long and deep of the pure fountain of Holy Scripture under the guidance of the Church Catholic, and of the Anglican branch thereof in her best and purest days; in his style of preaching, simple, direct, and practical, seeking to inform and guide the judgment, and to purify the heart; in his disposition, docile and calm, forbearing and forgiving, yet, when duty required, firm and decided; in his deportment, exemplary and unobtrusive; in his habits, uniformly pious and devout, and possessing a simplicity, sincerity, and perfection of character which is rarely attained by any human being, he has inspired us with a profound respect for his character as a Clergyman and a Christian, and left behind him a memory which we shall never cease to cherish with sentiments of reverence and love.

"Resolved, That now that the mighty ocean has closed over the earthly remains of our beloved brother, and in the calm retrospect of the events connected with his ordination, we cannot withhold our expression of gratitude to the Bishop of this Diocese for that firmness to which, under God, we have been indebted for the services of him whose loss we now deplore. A more orthodox and pious Christian, a more intelligent and exemplary Churchman, we humbly think, has not existed among us; and while we presume not to sit in judgment on those who opposed his admission to the ministry, we cannot but bless God for his memory, and thank Him for having made us members of a Church which has had such men to serve at her altars as ARTHUR CAREY.

"On motion—Resolved, That an attested copy of the foregoing preamble and Resolutions be transmitted to John Carey, Esq. the father of the deceased; and to the *Churchman* for publication.

"On motion of Robert D. Weeks, Esq., seconded by Chief-Justice Jones, it was further—

"Resolved, That the Reverend Rector be and is hereby requested to furnish for publication, in pamphlet form, a copy of the sermon preached by him on Sunday morning last, on occasion of the death of the Rev. Arthur Carey, the late Assistant Minister in this Church.

"Attest, FLOYD SMITH, Secretary."

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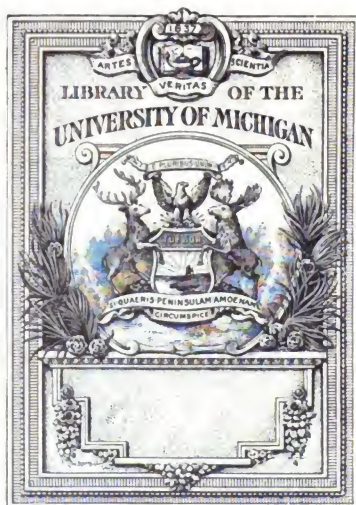
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THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

JANUARY, 1845.

- ART. I.—1. *Charge delivered by the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, at his Triennial Visitation, held in August, 1844.* London: Rivington.
2. *Horæ Decanicæ Rurales.* By WILLIAM DANSEY, M. A. *Prebendary of Salisbury, Rural Dean.* London: Rivington. 1844. Second Edition.
3. *Rural Synods.* By the Vicar of Morwenstow, Cornwall. London: Edwards and Hughes; Burns. 1844.

A REVIVAL of discipline is now actively going on within the Church of England. The clergy and laity are no longer contented with the performance of divine service in their churches, and the legal regularity of ecclesiastical duties; they are not satisfied with the laborious ingenuity of those who think that by the intricate and uncouth verbiage of Acts of Parliament the Church will be adapted to the exigencies of the times, and rendered capable of withstanding her enemies, and satisfying all the wants of her flock. The insufficiency of modern legislation, and the mere administration of property for the attainment of those great ends, has now become an undeniable proposition in the eyes of all but pedants or superficial reasoners. Instead of confining themselves to these things, Churchmen now inquire into the origin and nature of institutions which have long been neglected as antiquated rubbish, or at least as no longer required in these enlightened times. They look back to ancient experience, instead of relying on their own inventive powers. They no longer suppose that to the present generation was reserved the faculty of intuitively knowing all the arcana of ecclesiastical policy and government; and they see the danger of wounding, by experiments and new inventions, principles which have their roots deep in the Divine institutions of the Church.

NO. XLVII.—N.S.

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We look upon Mr. Dansey's book with peculiar interest, as an indication of this improved state of public opinion and feeling in ecclesiastical affairs. A few years ago such a book would have been considered a mere matter of antiquarian curiosity. Sylvanus Urban would have made honourable mention of it, and it would have lain on the table of the Society of Antiquaries beside a broken pot or a pair of rusty spurs, while the active men, carrying on the real business of the Church, would have turned away to an Act of Parliament, the report of a society, or papers printed by order of the House of Commons. But there is now no danger of its being neglected by practical men. It will be read and studied with a view to the revival of the institution of rural deaneries in all its completeness, and not as a mere record of what that institution was in former times. It will be read, not as a mere history of the past, but as affording practical knowledge for the future; and in that practical light we propose to bring before our readers the leading points of Mr. Dansey's book, and the chief principles and features of the institution and government of rural deaneries.

We must, however, begin by taking a somewhat wider range than the author of the *Horæ Decanice Rurales*, in order to enable the reader to form a distinct idea of the place which that institution occupies in the economy of the Church.

The office of the parochial clergy is held by the canonists to be of divine institution;* for, as the bishops represent the apostles, so the parochial clergy represent the seventy disciples. It is, however, clear, that during the first two centuries there were no separate titles or benefices, and no distinct parishes. The whole diocese of each bishop was governed and administered by the bishop as one parish, with the assistance of the body of his clergy who resided with him at his episcopal see. Thus the clergy formed an ecclesiastical senate, over which the bishop presided. They performed their functions under his direction, either in the town where he resided, or in the churches to which, from time to time, they were sent. Thus the bishop alone held a permanent office or benefice; and the revenues of the Church, which consisted in the alms and offerings of the faithful, were received by him, and he distributed them amongst priests, deacons, and inferior clergy, and the poor. Moreover, he did nothing of importance without the advice of his clergy. He was the president and supreme head of the assembly of the clergy. Thus the Fourth Council of Carthage says, "*Ut Episcopus in Ecclesia et consensus Presbyterorum sublimior sedeat*;"† and St. Ignatius says, "*Omnes episcopum sequimini ut Christus*

* Van Espen, *Jus Eccles. Univ.* par. i. tit. iii. cap. 1, *passim*.

† Decret. Dist. 95. Can. 10.

Patrem, et Præbyterorum Collegium ut Apostolos." "Et Diaconos revereamini ut ex Dei præcepto administrantes." "Sine Episcopo nemo quidquam faciat eorum quæ ad Ecclesiam spectant." But the same St. Ignatius calls the body of the clergy *consistorium sacrum, conciliarios et assessores Episcopi* ;* and in the passage cited above he speaks of them as the College of Apostles; and St. Jerome says, "Et nos habemus in Ecclesia senatum nostrum, cætum Præbyterorum."†

We dwell upon these passages because they refer to very important principles of ecclesiastical polity, which have a direct bearing on our subject. They show the character of the authority exercised by the bishops in the early Church. That authority was essentially different from the authority exercised by temporal sovereigns and civil rulers; and this distinctive character is clearly referred to in the Scriptures as essential to the government of the Church instituted by divine authority. We mean a character of moderation and deliberative prudence totally different from tyranny, or even mere despotism,—a combination of monarchical authority with humility and gentleness, which leads the ruler to distrust his own judgment and seek the advice of others, and to avoid the display of power. It is from analogous principles that the laws of the Church have ever been called not laws, nor edicts—but *canons*, or rules.

The chief persons in the assembly, or ecclesiastical senate, after the bishop, were the archpresbyter or archpriest, and the archdeacon. They were the heads of the two orders of priests and deacons, and usually held their offices by right of seniority of ordination.‡ The archpriest officiated in the absence of the bishop, and acted as his representative, while the archdeacon was entrusted with the chief management of the funds of the Church. Such are the leading features of the constitution of the Church in the first three centuries.

In the fourth century the increase of the Church, which spread from the cities into the provinces and rural districts, rendered a change necessary. The bishop and his clergy could no longer satisfy the wants of their growing flock. We accordingly find that particular priests were appointed to perform spiritual duties in specified districts away from the bishop's see, and thus only a part of the clergy remained with the bishop, the remainder being scattered about in different parts of the diocese.

* Συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.—Philadel. viii. Τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων.—Magn. vi.

† Van Esp. eod. tit. viii. cap. i. § 1, p. 119.

‡ Fleury, Inst. au Droit Eccles. tom. i. c. xviii. p. 160. Van Esp. par. i. tit. vii. cap. i. p. 167.

Out of this change arose the institution of Chapters; for the bishops chose certain persons among the clergy to perform the duties of counsellors, which had formerly belonged to the whole body. But that selection was not fully introduced before the tenth or eleventh century.* Previously to that time, the clergy in the immediate vicinity of the bishop's throne formed his ordinary council, by whose advice he always acted, unless the importance of the matter to be determined required the convocation of a diocesan synod.

The rise of monastic institutions had an important effect on the bodies of secular clergy. In the fourth century, St. Eusebius, travelling through Egypt, saw in that country a community of anchorets living under an abbot, and having all things in common. He was subsequently elected Bishop of Vercelli, in Italy, and he instituted in that city a society of clergy resembling the lay association which he had seen in Egypt, including the archpriest, the archdeacon, and a decanus, or dean. St. Augustine, who at that time taught rhetoric at Milan, heard of this new foundation, and when he became Bishop of Hippo, introduced the monastic mode of life among the clergy of that Church. These two great men thus founded the institution of Canons Regular,† whose constitution was afterwards formed and settled by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle and St. Crodogang.

The societies of canons regular were no more than the adaptation of the ancient episcopal communities to the monastic or ascetic life. The ascetics were chiefly devoted to the contemplative life and the ascetic practices of devotion. To these the canons regular added the discharge of those active duties which belonged to the ecclesiastical senate of the diocese, and the ordinary council of the bishop, preserving their ancient dignitaries, the archpriest and the archdeacon; the latter of whom, however, was usually not a deacon according to the primitive institution of the office, but a priest set over the deacons, and performing the functions of the ancient archdeacon.

From this combination of the monastic system with the ancient ecclesiastical assemblies, arose the introduction of the title of Decanus, or Dean, into the latter. The decanus was originally a chief of ten monks; the subdivision of the anchorets being necessary in the Egyptian monasteries, which were composed of very great numbers of brothers.‡ But the decanus, or dean, of the capitular bodies was the same person as the archpriest, and presided over those assemblies as the

* Van Esp. par. i. tit. viii. cap. i. § 2, p. 119.

† Ibid. tit. vii. cap. i. addit. p. 91, 92.

‡ Reg. Sti Benedicti, cap. 21.

representative of the bishop. He was the head of the priests, and the vice-bishop over them. From these cathedral archpriests and deans were derived the rural archpriests or deans.

While the system of the three first centuries existed, there was but one archpriest, as there was but one bishop, which Van Espen shows from a passage of St. Jerome.* The multiplication of the faithful, however, brought about a change in this respect.

The cathedral archpriest could not preside over the whole clergy of the diocese distributed about an extensive tract of country; archpriests were therefore appointed to preside over and direct the clergy in the rural districts. Those officers were called rural archpriests or rural deans. Their functions consisted in the same superintendence over the clergy of the district which was exercised by the cathedral archpriests over the clergy immediately around the bishop.

It is remarkable that after the establishment of the parochial clergy the same system was carried out among them which had existed in the earlier ages. The bishop, in the first centuries, himself directly governed all his clergy. When they increased in numbers he was assisted by the archpriest. When they still further increased, rural archpriests were instituted. The rural archpriest was a vice-bishop—the representative of the bishop in his rural deanery, as the cathedral or urban archpriest was the representative of the bishop and vice-bishop over the urban clergy. Thus the jurisdiction of the bishop was carried by representation into every part of his diocese. Every rural deanery was a diocese in miniature, but without injuring the unity of the authority vested in the bishop, from whom all the ecclesiastical jurisdiction emanated. The rural archpriest was still not the ordinary, but the officer of the bishop, and responsible to him as the great and supreme governor of the Church. These principles are to be found in Canon XII. of the Council of Ravenna, held in the year 904, the text of which (given by Van Espen) we will lay before our readers.

“*Ut singulæ plebes archipresbyterum habeant: propter assiduam erga populi Dei curam singulis plebibus archipresbyteri præesse volumus qui non solum imperiti vulgi sollicitudinem gerant verum etiam eorum presbyterorum qui per minores titulos habitant, vitam jugi circumspectione custodiant, et qua unusquisque industria divinum opus exerceat, Episcopo suo renuncient, ne obtendat Episcopus non egere plebem archipresbytero. Quod si ipse gubernare valeat qui est valde idoneus, decet tamen ut partiatur onera sua, et sicut ipse matri-*

* *Epist. ad Rusticum.*

præst, ita presbyteri præsent plebibus ut in nullo titubet ecclesiastica sollicitudo." "Cum tamen ad Episcopum referunt ne aliquid contra ejus decretum adicere presument."*

A remarkable point in this canon is, that the bishop is required to appoint archpriests even *si ipse gubernare valeat*. The canon says, *decet tamen ut partiatuŕ onera sua*. The policy of the Church has ever been, that the bishop should not be overwhelmed with business. The contemplative part of the pontifical character has ever been a matter of solicitude to the ancient councils and fathers. The bishop is the Vicar of Christ. The holy serenity of the pontifical office must, indeed, be maintained; and the bishop must, therefore, be protected from a distressing and engrossing pressure of duties, which would necessarily disturb that serenity, interfere with his practices of contemplation and devotion, and render him unable to exercise his paternal solicitude towards both his clergy and his laity. "*Decet ut partiatuŕ onera sua*." Thus, in the early ages, the bishop shared the burthens of his office with his whole clergy, and afterwards the law provided him with a variety of officers, whose duty it was to alleviate the burthen of his arduous functions. Under this point of view the institution of rural deans is especially important. It is not merely a matter of convenience for local government, but it has a bearing on the maintenance of the episcopal office in its full sacredness and majesty. And here the reader has an instance of the way in which details of ecclesiastical government, which seem to be mere matters of convenience, are intimately connected with great principles. This shows how important the study of principles is in ecclesiastical public law and government. The study of principles is very important in temporal affairs; but it is still more so in spiritual government, for this reason—because the standard of spiritual government is far higher than any human practice. That standard is to be sought in abstract truth, because experience must fall short of its excellence. It must be discovered by the investigation of principles *à priori*, and not by experience and practice, though experience and practice are necessary for the safe application of those principles to any given state of circumstances. Yet we constantly see ecclesiastical legislation carried on, not only without investigation of principles, but without the guidance of experience. We see contrivances devised *pro re natâ*, by mere ingenuity. May the Church be speedily delivered from such crude and dangerous innovations! But let us return to our subject.

Mr. Dansey has collected the chief authorities relating to the

* Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. cap. i. addit. p. 83.

distinction between urban or cathedral archpriests and rural archpriests, and we will now lay them before the reader as a specimen of the industry of the learned author.

“Urbani dicuntur, (in the words of Duarenus,) qui in urbe et in majori ecclesia officio suo funguntur. Cum enim episcopus propter absentiam forte vel occupationes suas non possit omnia episcopi munia vel solus vel una cum presbyteris obire, sed curas suas cum eis parti necesse habeat; utilius visum est ex presbyteris unum cæteris præponere qui ea quæ ad presbyterorum officium pertinent partim ipse exequatur partim aliis facienda prescribat; quam omnibus simul presbyteris id committere ne contentio aliqua inter ipsos ex communione administrationis oriatur. . . . Archipresbyteri vicani nullam in urbe potestatem nullum ministerium habent sed in majoribus celebrioribusque pagis constituuntur. Ac singulis præter ecclesiæ propriæ curationem certarum ecclesiarum certorumque presbyterorum qui videlicet per majores titulos habitant, inspectio, observatioque committitur.’ See also Morin. de Sacris Ordinationibus, par. iii. Exercit. xvi. cap. ii. 23, p. 215. Boehmer. Jus. Eccles. Protestant, tom. i. lib. i. tit. xxiv. pp. 582-3. And Morisan. de Protopapis, cap. vii. p. 104, where the twofold distinction is extended to the Greek as well as to the Latin Church:—‘quemadmodum in occidentali ecclesia archipresbyterorum duo genera erant quorum alii quidem quos *urbanos* dicebant cathedralibus ecclesiis incardinati essent; alii vero quos *rurales rusticos forenses paganos vicanos* cognominabant pagorum presbyteris post sublatum præsertim usum chorepiscoporum ita mandato episcopi præessent ut plebis capita parochique constituerentur: haud secus in ecclesia Græcâ præter cathedralium *protopapas* seu primos post episcopum in ecclesia cathedrali presbyteros in numeri occurrunt horum *protopapæ* et plebium *curiones*.’

“The distinction here made is the popular one generally received; but Bishop Kennett’s is somewhat different,* though he refers to Duarenus as his authority. Severing altogether the cathedral archipresbyters from the deans rural of his interesting episode, the parochial antiquary says of the latter, These deans were constituted over a certain number of churches within a large city, and were then called *decani urbani* and *vicani*, or else over the like extent of country churches, and were then strictly called *decani rurales*. Gibson, too,† applies *urbani* in the same limited sense to the exclusion of cathedral deans, but *vicani* he uses as a synonyme of *rurales*.

“Upon this view, the reader will perceive that urban and vican deans were merely rural deans set over parochial churches and their incumbents *in urbe* or *in vico*, distinct from cathedral deans, whose presidency was only over persons. But I prefer the popular notion of Bishop Atterbury (no very high authority in these matters), because it is supported by the *Summa Silvestrina*, fol. xxxix. (which makes the archipresbyter *civitatis* the same as *ecclesiæ cathedralis qui alio nomine dicitur decanus*), and by such learned canonists as

* Paroch. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 339.

† Codex I. E. A. tit. xlii. cap. viii.

Cardinal Hortiensis, Panormitan, Lyndwood, Augustin Barbosa, Ferro Manrique, Galganetti, Van Espen, Molanus, and others, as well as the above cited author, *De Sacris Ecclesiæ Ministeriis ac Beneficiis*.

"To quote only a few: 'Est autem duplex archipresbyter,' writes Augustin Barbosa,* 'unus *urbanus*, et alius *ruralis* seu *foraneus*: *urbanus* est qui in urbe degens dignitati præest cathedrali, vel collegiatâ ecclesiâ; *ruralis* vero seu *foraneus* qui ruri ecclesiæ præest parochiali seu plebanâ . . . et hic proprie videtur dici decanus . . . non quod necessario decem præesse debeat sed quia facta translatione et perfectione denarii numeri, decanus solet appellari omnis ille qui alicujus ordinis primus et præcipuus est.'

"'Archipresbyteri sunt in duplici differentia,' says Ferro Manrique, 'alii namque dicuntur *civitatenses* . . . alii autem *rurales* seu *plebani* . . . archipresbyter *ruralis* seu *plebanus* sollicitudinem plebanæ suæ tam in rusticis tam in sacerdotibus in divinis et vitæ circumspeditione gerant.'

"Molanus having noticed the archipresbyteri civitatenses, subjoins: 'Reliqui vero pastores pastorum usitate dici solent decani rurales vel decani Christianitatis: sed hodie archipresbyteri suarum regionum dici malunt.'

"To speak in the phrase of the present age,' § says the scrupulous pastor of Great Badworth, 'the urban we may call cathedral deans, the vican, deans rural.'

"From these brief but sufficient definitions and explanations of the archipresbyteral duties, the reader will understand, *in limine*, their distinction, nature, and character; though our present business is only with the titles of the office, not with its duties.

"Of the first here defined, the urban, or cathedral archpriest, his origin and office, it is foreign to my office to say anything otherwise than as sharing with his more humble namesake the title of archipresbyter and decanus, or assimilating, in some of his functions, with his vical representative." ||

We must here remark that our author has confined himself too strictly to the subject of rural deans. We have shown that those officers are derived from the urban, or cathedral archpriests; and, without examining the origin and nature of the latter officers, it is impossible to form a comprehensive and clear idea of the precise position which rural deaneries occupy in the scheme of the church's constitution. It is indeed dangerous to separate the study of any one ecclesiastical institution from the consideration of the portions of the constitution of the Church to which it properly belongs. All the parts of the system fit together with such nicety, and all are pervaded by

* Barboſ. de Canon. et Dignitat. cap. vi. p. 64, de Archipresbyteris.

† D. M. F. Manrique de Præcedentiis et Prælationibus Ecclesiasticis, Quæst. vi. p. 36. i.

‡ Molan. de Canoniciſ, lib. ii. c. viii. p. 157.

§ Ley's Defensive Doubts, p. 44. || Horæ Decaniæ Rurales, vol. i. pp. 8—13.

such extensively ramified principles and theories, that no portion of it can be really understood if considered by itself. This defect of Mr. Dansey's plan we have endeavoured to supply, so as to put the reader in possession of the general information required for the thorough comprehension of the subject. Having done this, we will, in future, endeavour to adhere more to the plan of Mr. Dansey's work.

The learned writer is of opinion that the first assistants of the diocesan bishops were the chorepiscopi, or villan bishops, mentioned in the Tenth Canon of the Council of Antioch, and he argues that the rural deans succeeded to those prelates. We, however, prefer the opinion of Van Espen and Hericourt, who consider the history of the rural archpriests, or rural deans, to be unconnected with that of the chorepiscopi. It seems, indeed, natural, that when the numbers of the clergy increased, and they spread over the country, the same system whereby the bishop was assisted in his government in the city, should be extended to the agrarian districts. In the city where the bishop resided he was assisted by the archpriest, as the head of the order of priests; and it was most natural that an officer of the same nature should be appointed to perform the same duties in the country. And it is to be observed that the office of the rural archpriest could not clash with that of the chorepiscopus, any more than that of the cathedral archpriest could with that of the bishop. The chorepiscopus was a subordinate bishop, under the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishop, and having a limited territory within the diocese; and the rural archpriest was the chief of the priests within his deanery, as the cathedral archpriest was the chief of the priests in the episcopal city.

We, however, admit, that while the institution of chorepiscopi was in full vigour, the rural deans necessarily were less conspicuous and important than they became after the suppression of the former.

Van Espen, in commenting on the Tenth Canon of the Council of Antioch, holds that the chorepiscopi were probably originally real bishops, having the same authority over their dioceses which the bishops in the cities enjoyed over theirs, and differing from the latter only in respect of the inferiority of those dioceses. He believes that when the Church increased in extent, its government followed the temporal government, and thus the bishops of cities assumed a supremacy and jurisdiction over the lesser bishops presiding over small towns and rural districts.* In the same way the bishop of a metropolis or capital sometimes acquired the prerogatives of a metropolitan, or arch-

* Van Esp. Schol. in Canon. Antioch, Can. x. Op. omn. tom. vi. p. 502.

bishop, over the bishops of a province. This theory certainly renders the history of the chorepiscopi intelligible. And there may also have been cases where a chorepiscopus was appointed as an inferior bishop within a diocese, and originally under the authority of the diocesan bishop. These obscure questions of ecclesiastical history are, however, not matters of great importance, because no principle depends on their solution; we will, therefore, no longer dwell on them, but proceed.

Mr. Dansey learnedly establishes that in England the British Church underwent the same process of development which we have described above; the bishops at first living in common with their clergy, and afterwards establishing parochial divisions, and parish priests, in the eighth century.

“ How soon after the organization of the parochial clergy on this new footing *archpresbyters* were appointed to overlook them and their flocks, it is difficult to determine. Scope is afforded for the commencement of their inspectional services in aidance of the bishop at the date referred to; but it does not appear that they were carried into being until more than two centuries after. At least no church-record affords any tidings of them, within the writer’s knowledge, in our own islands.

“ In France, the first foundation of parish churches, and ordinary cures, was much earlier than in England; and so also was the vican archipresbyteral institution of higher antiquity in the former than in the latter country. In French Councils and Capitularies mention is made of rural parishes and priests in the fifth century, and of archpriests in the sixth.

“ But probable as it is that the whole machinery of the Gallican Church police would speedily find its way into Britain from the constant intercourse between the two countries, such does not appear to have been the case as to this particular department of spiritual office. The system of country *archpresbyterates*, or *decanates*, with their attached superintendents, does not appear among us until the eleventh century; owing, perhaps, to the multitude of our first parochial divisions, and paucity of distinct congregations and incumbencies, which, for a time, called not for such appointments. Besides, such as they were, they were visited every year by the highest ecclesiastical officer. The bishops annually went about their dioceses in order to an inquiry and correction of miscarriages; visiting, parochially, every church, and manse, and pastor, and flock. They visited, indeed, before the division of parishes at all. The Council of Clovishoe, under Archbishop Cuthbert, orders diocesans to visit their *parochiæ* (dioceses) once a year, and to teach the people of all conditions, and of both sexes, *utpote eos qui raro audiunt verbum Dei*; prohibiting all pagan observances, &c. (Can. iii.); and the same injunction is repeated in the Council of Celceyth (A.D. 735). After the division of parishes, annual episcopal visitations continued to be parochially made, as appears from the Constitutions of Archbishop Odo (A.D. 943, Can. iii.),

the bishops going about their dioceses every year, and vigilantly preaching the word of God.

"While, then, Church discipline was thus supported by the diocesan in his own person through the whole *parochia*, we have no reason to expect the introduction of any official deputies; and none, accordingly, are found between the bishop and presbyter with any office or jurisdiction in the diocese at large. By degrees, however, the ecclesiastical condition of the country changed, and the spiritual government of the faithful became too arduous for one episcopal overseer or visitor to manage. Parishes originally coextensive with the largest manorial limitations, commensurate, as I have said already, with our modern rural deaneries, were again and again subdivided, till at last they reached the comparatively small bounds, and multiplied distinctions, which now, for the most part, obtain. Every new proprietor, by grant, or purchase, of a partitioned lordship, was naturally desirous of a new place of worship, a resident minister, a parochial circuit proper to his own estate; accommodations which the diocesan pastor liberally ceded for the advancement of Christianity."*

This account of the origin of parochial churches in England is particularly interesting. It shows the historical grounds of that intimate connexion between the Church and the natural aristocracy of the country—the feudal proprietors of the soil—the effect of which has been most valuable to both. It also shows the nature of rights of presentation or advowson. Those rights are now too much considered and treated as mere property, to be bought, and sold, and disposed of, like other property; but we are taught by history, and by all the writers on ecclesiastical law, that they are held by their possessors as the representatives of those founders and benefactors to whom they were granted by the gratitude of the ancient Church, not for purposes of emolument, but as a sacred and honourable trust, and an everlasting pledge of that gratitude. But we will return to our author.

After describing the great increase of churches which, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, was a subject of complaint, because it impoverished the older foundations, he continues as follows:—

"To reduce and preserve the multiplied cures within the pale of discipline we may suppose that about this time (the reign of the Confessor) a certain number of incumbencies, or presbyterates, were thrown together, and constituted an archpresbyterate—*districtus archipresbyteri ruralis*—at the sole and arbitrary appointment of the bishop of the diocese; or as population thickened within the limits of the same, and new churches arose, that a certain number of contiguous cures, in classes of ten or more (the ecclesiastical in this matter

* *Horæ Decan. Rur.* vol. i. pp. 78—81.

copying the civil state) were severed off from the primary jurisdiction, and modelled into deaneries; or, in other words, dioceses were broken into archpresbyterates, and then again remodelled into decanates, and placed by the diocesan under the vicarious tutelage of deans rural, who still preserved, in ecclesiastical language, the title of archpriests. ‘Archipresbyteri dicti videntur Decani,’ says Morinus; ‘eo quod antiquitus dioceses erant per decanias divisæ quibus præerant archipresbyteri; ut videre est in capitul. Carol. Calv. iii. t. iii. Conc. Gall.’”*

We cannot concur with the hypothesis of our author, which would make rural deaneries inferior archpresbyterates, or subdivisions of archpresbyterates, for of this we see no sufficient evidence. And, indeed, Mr. Dansey himself, in a note to the passage extracted above, adds: “Or the archpresbyterate may represent Bishop Stillingfleet’s primary parochial division or section of the diocese corresponding to the modern rural deanery.”

As for the supposition (which our author himself discourages, at p. 100) that the name of decanus, or dean, was derived from the civil state, we have already shown that that title was introduced into the Church by the monastic institutions of the third and fourth centuries. It must, therefore, have been perfectly well known as the title of an ecclesiastical office when the English dioceses were subdivided; and it is, consequently, needless to seek for any other origin, especially as we know that monastic bodies existed on a very extensive scale in the British Church. With respect to the time when the arrangement of rural deaneries took place in England, Mr. Dansey believes it to have been the middle of the eleventh century, if not earlier.†

With regard to the right of election of the rural dean, it is vested, by the Common Law of the Church,‡ together with the power of removing him from office, in the bishop and the archdeacon. “Quia cum ab omnibus quod omnes tangit approbari debeat et commune eorum decanus officium exerceat, communiter est eligendus, vel etiam amovendus.” Mr. Dansey, however, shows elaborately and learnedly that the law in this respect varied at different times and places. He informs us that in the West, the archpresbyters were originally chosen by their own clergy, subject to the bishop’s confirmation; and he cites the Seventh Canon of the second Council of Tours (A.D. 567), providing that when their election had been ratified by the diocesan, they could not be removed by him without the consent of the electors.§ Still, however, it is to be remembered, that the archpresbyter, or rural-dean, always was the bishop’s officer,

* *Horæ Dec. Rur.* vol. i. p. 84.

† *Horæ Dec. Rur.* vol. i. p. 85.

‡ X. c. 7. Tit. de Officio Archid. (Decret. Innocent III. A.D. 1214.)

§ *Horæ Dec. Rur.* vol. i. p. 112.

deriving from him all his jurisdiction. The election of that officer by any other persons must, therefore, be considered merely as the designation of a person by whom that delegated jurisdiction should be exercised. And this is the more evident as there is reason to believe, that in the ninth century the people, in some places on the continent, shared in the election of the rural archpresbyters. But to return to our own country. In the king's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, (1660,) the nomination of rural deans is recognised as vested in the bishop: "rural deans, as heretofore, to be nominated by the bishop of the diocese." In the proceedings in Convocation about rural deans, A. D. 1710, the Upper House seems to have been desirous of restoring to district clergy the power of electing their rural deans, subject to episcopal confirmation alone; but they proposed that the rural deans should be appointed only for three years, unless the bishop should see cause to alter that term. The latter part of the projected Canon was pertinaciously resisted by the Lower House, who wished the archdeacon to share with the bishop jointly the power of removing rural deans.

As for decanal appointments in modern days, they are much influenced by local usages. There is no general rule of election and institution, and every diocese adheres to its own customs.

"In some places," says Mr. Dansey, "the mandate of election proceeds by the bishop's grant from the archdeacon alone, as (to quote from our insular usages) formerly in the diocese of Canterbury, and at one time, seemingly, in that of Lincoln; in others, from the bishop and the archdeacon jointly, that is, from the bishop, through the archdeacon, as now-a-days in the diocese of Exeter, where the clergy are the actual electors. In others, again, from the bishop alone, as in the dioceses of London, Bangor, Bath and Wells, Chester, Chichester, Ely, Hereford, Lichfield, Llandaff, Norwich, Oxford, Peterborough, Winchester, Gloucester, and Bristol, St. Asaph's, St. David's, Worcester, and Salisbury; in the latter of which the office is, on the authority of our venerated diocesan himself, entirely dependent on the personal jurisdiction of the bishop, the archdeacon having nothing to do with the appointment, except so far as the bishop may desire him to mention the names of clergymen eligible to the duty, which has been occasionally done by the rural presbyters themselves, but in neither case with any power of nomination, as in official right. Such, likewise, was the constitution of the office in the days of Bishop Ward, and also in those of Bishop Fisher, in the diocese of Sarum. And yet to show how much the usages of the Church have varied at different periods, in relation to the economy of this office, even in the same diocese, we find traces of an opposite custom to that now prevalent, in the early constitutions of the diocese of Sarum. . . . Clearly showing that, in the days of Bishop Poore (A.D. 1222), and Bishop Bridport (A.D. 1256), the institution of deans rural was, partially at

least, a matter of archidiaconal concernment in our diocese. Nor, indeed, in that of Winchester has the act of appointing been always with the bishop, to the exclusion of the archdeacon, though in the present age the latter is no party to it.”*

With respect to the duration of the office, we are informed by Mr. Dansey that it is held now in England generally *durante episcopi beneplacito*. In the diocese of Exeter it is an annual appointment, and in that of Winchester it is the same, in the instance of the older institution (still nominally kept up), while in the new foundation, under Bishop Sumner, it is of unlimited duration, as in the other dioceses of England.†

We recommend particular attention to the very judicious observations of our author on this part of the subject. He recommends that rural deans should not be annually changed, on the ground that an annual officer is not likely to be so efficient as one whose tenure is more permanent. The annual rural dean ceases to be in office at the very time when he has become fully acquainted with all the churches under his jurisdiction, and thoroughly used to his duties; besides which, he, in many instances, has not time to carry out and finish measures which he has commenced. He cannot acquire experience, which must be required for the thorough performance of the duties of an office of trust. These reasons are well worth consideration.

We will proceed now to a very important division of Mr. Dansey's book—that which relates to the functions of rural deans.

The Canonists call them *Pastores Pastorum*, because they have the care of all the clergy within their district.‡ They are vice-bishops within their deaneries, for the maintenance of discipline, and of the due performance of all ecclesiastical functions. But they are not *ordinaries* with respect to their clergy, as the parochial clergy are with respect to their parishioners. The rural deanery is a mere office, and neither a dignity nor a benefice, and its jurisdiction arises entirely by delegation from the bishop.§ These are the general principles regarding the functions of rural deans.

Bishop Gibson denies the right of parochial visitation to rural deans; but that learned prelate clearly refers only to visitation *as ordinary*, for our author abundantly shows, that rural deans have visited, as the bishops' delegates, for a thousand years, in every part of the Church. Van Espen, indeed, commences his chapter on the Visitation of Archpriests, by saying—

“As the archpriests are bound to superintend and watch over all the pastors and ecclesiastics in their districts, they must take notice

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 127—129.

† Ibid. p. 156.

‡ Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. cap. ii. p. 83.

§ Ibid. p. 83.

whether any thing is neglected relating to the due government of the parishes subject to them, and the cure of souls: it is, therefore, evident, that the exact and frequent visitation of the parishes under their authority, is among the first duties of the archpriests, whereby they may acquire a knowledge of the parishes, and correct those things which require correction, or report them to the bishop. And, in all the synods, the archpriests are enjoined to visit every parish in their district, at least once in every year.”*

This annual visitation seems to have been onerous to the clergy, who were bound to entertain the archdeacon and his attendants; and Mr. Dansey has collected some curious regulations of divers synods, limiting their liability in this respect, that the visitations might not be rendered less frequent, and also requiring the archpriests to visit in person and not by officials. Among the documents relating to this subject, not the least curious is an indulgence granted to the clergy of Berkshire, by Pope Alexander III. in the year 1271, exempting them, among other things, from presenting hounds and hawks to their archdeacon. We must not, however, necessarily infer that the archdeacons of Berks, in those days, were what would now be called “sporting characters,” for hawks and hounds were, in the feudal days, used as part of the paraphernalia of rank and dignity, as well as for more obvious purposes, and the presents referred to were probably usual marks of respect to a superior.†

Mr. Dansey gives a very interesting account of the articles of inquiry, which rural deans were required to observe in their visitations, and we cannot refrain from laying before our readers one of these regulations, regarding the duties of foraneous vicars, made by St. Charles Borromeo, in the fifth Council of Milan, A.D. 1579. It demands that profound respect to which all the writings of that great saint are entitled. The foraneous vicars are to inquire:—

“... Qui parochorum in primis zelus in animarum salute procuranda; quæ in sacramentis ministrandis sedula diligentia; quam frequens in pascendis verbo Dei fidelibus officium; quæ denique in omnibus parochialis muneris partibus vigilantia quæve assiduitas. Quæ populi in Christianæ charitatis operibus exercitatio, quam religiosus festorum dierum cultus, quam pia in ecclesiis conversatio, quæ in doctrinæ Christianæ scholis frequentia: tum denique de reliqua omni ejusdem populi disciplina, et in via Domini progressu. Post videant qui singularum ecclesiarum præsertim parochialium status, an si quæ instaur-

* Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. cap. iii. p. 85.

† It may be noticed, however, that in the well-known case of Archbishop Abbot, the common lawyers cited the Carta de Foresta, and argued that the old custom by which a bishop's hounds were escheated to the crown, implied that he might use them. Spelman, however, denied the inference: and it does not seem a necessary conclusion that possession involves a personal use.

rationem desiderant; an debito cultu fraudantur; an sacris vestibus, ornamentis, suppellectileque ecclesiastica ad cultum necessaria instructæ sunt; an denique ulla ex parte incultæ.

“Postremo an si aliqua sint provincialium diœcesanarumque synodorum decreta et edicta, visitationum præscripta, aliave episcopalia jussa quæ executionem non habent; quid item impedimenti aut difficultatis, aut denique causæ sit quamobrem eorum executioni non sit locus, &c.”*

This charge to the rural vicars of the diocese of Milan contains a beautiful summary of the duties of rural deans in their visitations, and of the species of superintending influence which they should exercise over their clergy, and the congregations entrusted to their care.

We come now to the synodical duties of rural deans. They were necessary attendants on episcopal synods, to report concerning matters within their inspection, and thence, according to Somner, Kennett, Atterbury, and others, they are called *Testes Synodales*, from the information communicated by them to the synod as witnesses. But it is necessary to observe that Gibson mentions other *Testes Synodales*, properly so called, who were persons appointed in each deanery to report to the synod whatever they thought worthy of animadversion.

The functions and influence of the rural deans in episcopal synods were formerly very important.

“The Canons of the Church,” says Mr. Dansey, “vary in their injunctions as to the frequency of holding episcopal synods, (still existing, Bishop Stillingfleet tells us, under the type of diocesan visitations,)[†] at which deans rural heretofore made their attestations and presentments. Once a year, at least, such a convention of the clergy, under their diocesan (the most ancient form of synod, though not the most dignified) was assembled.

“At this council of the district, the rural deans of England were rightful coadjutors for deliberating on the affairs of the Church: and when duly constituted, the synod consisted of the bishop, as president, the cathedral deans, in the name of their collegiate body of presbyters, the archdeacons as deputies or proctors of their inferior order of deacons, and the rural deans, in the name of the parochial clergy, as the proper delegates and standing representatives of that body, to consult with the bishop upon all matters connected with the Church and its local discipline.[‡] ‘Ut quæ ex ipsorum judicio reformatione opus habere comperientur communi consilio emendentur.’ . . .

“The number of these synods in each year varied as above stated, at different periods and places, once, twice, thrice—no general rule prevailed. Once, however, may be said to have been the most frequent usage.[§] In council assembled, the deans deli-

* *Horæ Dec. Rur.* vol. i. p. 193.

† *Stillingf. Eccl. Cases*, p. 2.

‡ *Kennet, Paroch. Antiq.* vol. ii. p. 363. *SS. CC. tom. xix. col. 2292. Can. xviii.*

§ *Horæ Dec. Rur.* vol. i. p. 215.

vered to the presiding bishop their *acta visitationis*, attesting the same by oath; and otherwise informed him orally, or by letter, of the temporal and spiritual circumstances of their respective decanates—particularly delivering to him formal presentments in scriptis of all that was amiss in the rural districts under their charge; and availing themselves of the opportunity of paying the several taxes due on account of the parochial clergy to the diocesan, of which imports, as we shall hereafter show, they were the official collectors. Such was the usual routine in obedience to the oft-repeated injunctions that bade them to be diligent in their delegate responsible overseership, and to report everything to the bishop. But when the matter of their presentment was urgent, and required immediate episcopal interference, they waited not for the slow formality of the periodical synod, but went at once with their complaint to the bishop in private, and received his instructions thereon.”*

We cannot but admire the ancient institution of diocesan synods. There the bishop sat in the midst of his clergy, *assisted by them* in the decision of the important affairs of the diocese. There, in the presence of the whole ecclesiastical parliament, the reports of the rural deans were made concerning the condition of each deanery. The clergy were thus made acquainted with the affairs of the whole diocese; they had the opportunity of consulting with their bishop, and with each other, and seeking whatever assistance they might require. The bishop, on the other hand, was enabled to act with the advice and concurrence of his priests, according to the ancient apostolical constitution of the Church,—not as a despot, or an autocrat, but with the mildness and the modesty of a christian prelate, who desires rather to find wisdom in the multitude of counsellors, than to indulge his own will by acting by his own unaided judgment. This is very different from the formality of a modern visitation, which consists in little besides hearing the bishop's charge after the morning prayers. But institutions have been allowed, in this and many other particulars, to dwindle down to mere form. Business is doubtless transacted more speedily, and with less trouble now when it is confined to a very few hands, than it was under the ancient system of diocesan government. But this is the common trite argument in favour of despotism; and it cannot stand for a moment against the undoubted fact that the autocratic form of Church government is directly contrary to the constitution of the Church in the first century, and even to the practice of the apostles themselves. Thus, however well a bishop may govern his flock under the modern system, that system cannot be really good and sound. We do not blame the bishops, for they take the system as they

* *Hist. Dec. Rur.* vol. i. p. 218.

find it, but we feel confident that, in proportion to the advancement of ecclesiastical learning, the doctrine will more and more prevail that the bishop ought to govern *communi consilio presbyterorum*; that is to say, with the advice either of an ordinary council or chapter, or with that of his diocesan synod. But while we urge the importance of the bishop's council, we do not mean to deny that the real authority and jurisdiction is vested in him alone.

And this is an answer to the arguments of those who say that the form of government which we maintain to be orthodox, would practically constitute many bishops in every diocese instead of one. We do not say that the bishop is to be ruled by his clergy, but that he ought to seek their advice in all matters of importance, according to the ancient practice, and give all due weight and deliberate attention to that advice. Having received and considered that advice, it is for the bishop to act according to the dictates of his conscience and judgment; and he is bound by the opinion of his council only in those cases in which the law restrains him from acting without their consent.* Thus we recommend no republicanism in the Church. These observations naturally suggested themselves to our mind as being required in this place; but we will not engage our readers in a digression, however important at the present day.

The canon law requires the rural deans to act as overseers of the laity as well as the clergy. Van Espen says, "*Decani rurales laicorum suorum districtum mores diligenter observent.*"† And Dr. Kennett writes, that if any Christians lived in any open and scandalous sin, the deans were bound to reprove and admonish them.‡ But the rural deans by themselves, and apart from their chapters, appear to have had no power of punishing lay offenders. This head of their jurisdiction appears to have been confined to presenting or accusing offenders before the archidiaconal or episcopal courts. Whether the rural deans still possess this cognitional power in England, which the Anglican ecclesiastical law vests in churchwardens, quest-men, or synod-men, (vulgarly called sidesmen) is a question which Mr. Dansey does not discuss, but which we are inclined to decide in the affirmative. It is, however, of little practical importance to us, for in the present decayed state of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and of the episcopal office itself, such a power could not be exercised with advantage in England. In fact, its exer-

* See Van Espen, par. i. tit. viii. cap. iv. § 5, p. 128, et ibi cit. S. Carol. Borrom. in Synod. Provinc. V. par. iii. c. 11. Resolut. S. Congreg. Cardinal. apud Piasceum Prax. Episcopor. par. ii. c. 3. n. 8.

† Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. c. 11.

‡ Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. i. p. 233. Kennet, Paroch. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 354.

cise would produce an outcry, and be followed by the interference of parliament. We may safely assert this, for, as our readers are probably aware, a royal commission, composed of not only the highest temporal judges in the realm, but of archbishops, bishops, ecclesiastical judges, and civilians, has lately unanimously recommended the total abolition of the correctional jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts over the laity,—and this recommendation has not been carried into effect only because it has been brought before parliament coupled with proposed enactments obnoxious in the House of Commons on temporal grounds, especially the abolition of the local testamentary jurisdictions.

In fact, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised professedly, *pro salute animarum*, has so totally lost its essential penitential character, and the episcopal office has become so exclusively confined to the administration of property and the superintendence of the clergy, and the performance of episcopal rites, that we cannot expect to see any useful discipline exercised by the Church over the laity in the present state of things. Perhaps a more apostolical state of the Church may obtain at a future time. Then the laity will be ready to submit to the ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and the civil magistrate to receive assistance from the spiritual power.

The first step towards this salutary change would be for the bishops to consider themselves more practically than they now do, the bishops of the laity as well as of the clergy. They are not only *pastores parochiarum*, but they are *pastores gregis*. They should, according to the real nature of their office, take the most prominent and authoritative part in everything that regards public morals, and all that belongs to the moral and religious government of the people. The bishop should not merely deliver a formal written charge to his clergy at his triennial visitation:—he should issue his pastoral letters to his laity whenever the interposition of his paternal authority appears to be required. Those letters should be solemnly read by the bishop in his cathedral, and published by the parish clergy at his command. In that solemn manner the father of the diocese would fulminate his censure and his holy indignation against the offences which the temporal law cannot, or at least cannot effectually suppress, and exhort the violators of the laws of Church and State to amendment and repentance. Sometimes he would give praise to those who have benefited religion, encouraging them to continue their labours, and others to imitate their virtue. Whenever any public scandal was proved, such as that which lately shocked all honest men in the collieries, where human creatures were degraded to the condition of beasts, the

bishop might seasonably exert his spiritual censorship, severely reproofing the transgression of christian laws, and calling for immediate amendment and penitence.

The people would thus be taught by degrees to look upon the bishops as their spiritual pastors and teachers, not merely in theory, but really and practically. They would be led to consider the bishop as the spiritual *custos morum* of the diocese, and his throne as the great tribunal of christian morals and penitence. Some might, perhaps, be refractory, but the force of good sense and good principle would soon check them; and the proudest could not, without incurring ridicule, disdain an authority to which a Cæsar—the successor of Constantine—humbly submitted.

Then the true nature of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in causes of correction would come to be understood and realized: then the true penitential character of that jurisdiction would be felt and appreciated; and that jurisdiction would be exercised in a different manner and with a different spirit. It would be exercised as a part of the power of the keys, and not for the emolument of legal practitioners, nor for the indulgence of private animosities. It would become really what the canonists call *medicinal*, and not, as it now frequently is, vindictive. These results cannot be obtained until the episcopal office is fully understood; for from that office all ecclesiastical jurisdiction flows. When this great change has been brought about, the jurisdiction of rural deans over the laity may become a useful branch of ecclesiastical discipline. These reflections lead us naturally to the consideration of rural chapters, a very important and interesting branch of our subject.

Van Espen cites Canons of the Synods of Ipres, Malines, Cambray, and Namur, requiring the rural archpriests to call chapters of the clergy for the purpose of deliberating concerning the affairs of their district:—

“The object of these assemblies,” says the learned Canonist, “is that abuses, defects, and difficulties may be remedied or prevented, or that they may be accurately ascertained by mutual consultation; after which they must be reported to the bishop, and by his authority what is expedient must be established.” *

Mr. Dansey cites a Synod of Meath, held in 1216, earlier than those above mentioned, in which the following Canon was enacted:—

“Archipresbyteri (decanes rurales) per se aut per suos nuncios diligenter capitula ruralia convocari faciant in præcipuis locis decana-

* Van Esp. par. i. tit. vi. cap. iv. p. 87.

tuum de tribus septimanis in tres tenenda et aliquando extraordinarie ad voluntatem nostram si nobis visum fuerit aliquid in istis conventibus cum clero communicare. . . . In hisce capitulis ipsi præsint et moderentur tractatus cleri de communibus negotiis decanatum." *

The learned writer informs us that in the ancient canon law nothing is said about rural chapters; and that although continental councils and capitularies frequently notice monthly and other local meetings of the clergy, they more rarely mention rural chapters or decanal synods, properly so called. Such, however, occur in the Gallican Church, and he quotes examples in the archdiocese of Rheims, in the 9th century, and others of later date.

In our country there are traces of them in the ecclesiastical laws of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1052 (Canon iii.), and Lyndwood says:—

"Of these (rural) chapters, some are held from three weeks to three weeks; some, once in each quarter of the year, and these are called principal chapters, on account of the greater number of clergy attending them, and because more important affairs are therein transacted; but as they rest rather on the custom of this country than on the common law (*the canon law*), I omit any further notice of them." †

This passage is interesting, as it describes two classes of rural chapters in use in England; one held every three weeks, and the other once in every quarter.

Such assemblies are recommended to the clergy of their dioceses by Atto, Bishop of Vercelli, in the year 1350; and by Riculph, Bishop of Soissons; and so important were they in the eyes of St. Udalric, Bishop of Augsburg, in the tenth century, that he was used to interrogate the parochial clergy at the diocesan synod, whether, among other things, they were in the habit of regular attendance at the local kalendæ, or monthly rural meetings, and the performance of their duties as preachers at them. ‡

Bishop Atto had in view the instruction of his clergy at their rural chapters:—

"We learn by experience," he says, "that good conferences are not less beneficial than reading. We therefore direct and establish that, in every district, all the priests or clergy shall meet once in the kalends of each month for the purpose of conferring together concerning faith, the holy Sacraments, matters of life and conversation, and all the duties incumbent upon them. And if it should happen that any one of them be found negligent or reprehensible, let him be

* *Horræ Dec. Rur.* vol. ii. pp. 1, 2.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 5, 6; *Lyndw. Provinc.* lib. i. tit. ii. p. 14.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 8, 9.

corrected by the rest. But if he will not take care to amend, let them report the fact to his bishop, that he may speedily more severely correct him ; that, when the diocese is visited by the bishop, and when they come to the synod, the disgrace of a few may not be reflected on the whole body." *

The assembling of the rural chapters in small villages seems to have been oppressive to the country clergy in England, and, accordingly, Archbishop Stratford, in the year 1342, enacted that they should be held in the *more eminent* places of the jurisdictions or deaneries ; which put them on a more convenient, and, at the same time, more dignified footing. They, however, subsequently fell into disuse.

" A fruitless effort," says Mr. Dansey, " to revive monthly meetings of the rural deans and their respective clergy in England (under a new modification, the outline of which was probably derived from Archbishop Usher's Synodical Form of Church Government,) was made in the year 1660, by *his Majesty's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs*. In the fifth Canon of that document it is enacted, ' that the rural dean, with three or four ministers of each deanery, chosen by the major part of all the ministers within the same, shall meet once in every month, to receive such complaints as shall be presented to them by the ministers or churchwardens of the respective parishes ; and also to compose all such differences betwixt party and party as shall be referred unto them by way of arbitration ; and to convince offenders, and to reform all such things as they find amiss, by their pastoral reproofs and admonitions, if they may be so reformed : and such matters as they cannot, by this pastoral and persuasive way, compose and reform, are by them to be prepared for and presented to the bishop ; at which meeting any other ministers of that deanery may, if they please, be present and assist,' &c."

And this, our author informs us, is the last evidence of such associations in England.†

Let us now pause and consider these assemblies with reference to the principles of ecclesiastical public law and the practice of remote antiquity.

We have seen that the rural archpriests or rural deans were originally a sort of vice-bishops within their deaneries. As the Church spread itself from the episcopal cities to the whole expanse of the agrarian districts, the bishops became unable to extend their pastoral vigilance over their entire flock ; the rural archpriests, therefore, represented the bishops as spiritual viceroys, and carried the apostolical office, by vicarious delegation, into the remotest corners of the diocese.

* *Horæ Dec. Rur.* vol. ii. p. 8. Capitular Attonis, c. xxix. in *Oper.* par. ii. p. 275, edit. Vercell. 1768.

† *Ib.* pp. 19, 20.

We have seen that the bishop and his clergy, in the first ages, were one body, administering the affairs of the diocese by their mature deliberation, and assisting each other by their learning, their experience, and their piety, under the supreme authority of the pontifical office. The clergy in the rural districts, far from the mother Church, were prevented from participating in this system of government. They were governed by the rural archpresbyters, the vicegerents of the bishop in the country, as the urban or cathedral archpresbyters were in the city.

In this manner the principle of ecclesiastical government by the bishop *communis consilio presbyterorum* is faithfully carried out by the rural dean (the bishop's villan representative) administering his deanery with his chapter. Thus the rural deanery presents a similitude of a diocese governed after the system of the primitive Church,—the dean representing the bishop, and the rural chapter or decanal synod representing the clergy forming the ecclesiastical senate. The dean administers the province allotted to him, presiding in the midst of his clergy, hearing their deliberations, assisting them with his advice,—receiving and maturely weighing theirs,—conferring with them on his and their duties,—encouraging and honouring the good, and correcting such as are deserving of blame. All this is done subject to the supreme judgment of the bishop and his chapter. How harmonious is this scheme! How complete in all its parts!—how conformable to the apostolical doctrines! And yet all this harmony and ancient wisdom has been allowed to decay, and become obscure, neglected, and unknown. There is much to do here besides building new churches! The rulers of the Church say much of *reforming*; it is high time to think of *restoring*. But let us proceed to examine rural chapters more in detail:—

“ Different dioceses of the continent held their periodical sessions of the rural clergy at different times; but the *quarterly* and *menstrual* types were rarely both observed in one and the same continental diocese, whatever distinctions may have prevailed at home.

“ Where both obtained, whether in England or abroad, it may be said that the quarterly were deemed competent to the discussion and decision of matters of rural church polity above the cognizance of the menstrual capitula, and were more fully attended by the district clergy in consequence. They were called, according to Lyndwood, *principalia capitula propter majorem confluentiam cleri et quia in iis de negotiis arduioribus tractari consuevit*. While ordinary matters were transacted at the menstrual assemblies, difficult cases stood over to the quarterly sessions. Nor is it improbable that the latter were courts of appeal from the verdict of the minor and more frequent curiæ.

“ The jurisdiction of both, like that of the rural dean in his indivi-

dual capacity, was for the most part voluntary : but it will hereafter appear, that by delegation or otherwise, the chapters exercised at one time considerable contentious jurisdiction as *Curie Christianitatis*.

"However, not to bewilder the reader or myself at present, let it suffice that the rural capitula in general, whether monthly, quarterly, or occasional, had the same objects in view—the advancement of religion and the interests of the Church, and the detection and suppression of vice within the sphere of their influence and rule. Such was their main design ; and bearing this in mind, we will proceed (after a few preliminary remarks upon the costume of the clergy on these occasions) to the various subjects with which rural chapters in general were properly and at all times conversant ; deferring to our pages those which fell under their cognizance only incidentally and occasionally, and formed no essential part of their original institution."* ;

Such is the plan which Mr. Dansey chalks out for himself. We cannot follow him into all the details of this intricate branch of the subject ; we will, therefore, confine ourselves to the leading points.

The rural chapters were eminently useful as a means of promulgating and publishing recent decrees of provincial and diocesan synods, and also of keeping alive the observance of important ecclesiastical laws by their public recitation before the assembled clergy. A more effectual method of attaining these ends it is difficult to devise.† Moreover, when a canon was read in the chapter, any of the assembled clergy had an opportunity of obtaining advice and explanation respecting any matter arising thereon. It might also happen that some modification of the canon, or in the mode of carrying it into effect, might seem expedient. In such a case the clergy had it in their power to take the matter into mature consideration, and after fully deliberating thereon, to make their opinion known to their bishop, and if necessary to petition the next diocesan or provincial synod.

In our days there are no synods and no canons to publish. This is, therefore, for the present a matter of no immediate practical use. We, however, recommend our readers to look beyond the present imperfect state of church discipline, and to observe how many are the uses to which this institution of rural chapters may be made subservient. It is a portion of a very complete system, every branch of which is nicely adapted to the purposes of the whole ; so that the more the system is completed and brought into operation, the more numerous will be the uses which every part thereof may be made to fulfil.

Another object of rural chapters was to enable the deans to

* *Horæ Dec. Rur.* vol. ii. p. 23.

† *Ibid.* par. v. ch. ii.

obtain from the congregated clergy a perfect knowledge of the moral and religious condition of their decanates, and devise measures for correcting defaults therein, or reporting them to the bishop.

“ At these chapter meetings in general, from the date of their origin to that of their decay, reports were delivered of whatever was amiss in the respective parishes of the assembled ministers, in the economy of their churches or the manners of the clergy and their people; the priesthood being especially urged to tender such presentments in regard to the laity subject to their cure, and the deans or their apparitors in reference to the rectors, vicars, capillanes and other ministers.

“ These subjects were entertained by the dean and chapter for the most part without the intervention of judicial process. They were discussed as in a deliberative assembly, and the ecclesiastical councillors advised such alterations and amendments as the circumstances of each case required; or if necessary, they reported the case to the bishop. But their jurisdiction ended not here;—the court had power, it seems, in some dioceses, of enforcing its proceedings judicially, without any previous reference to the bishop. It could render valid its decrees by compulsion; being authorized so to do by permanent delegation of the diocesan.”*

Mr. Dansey informs us that the use of decanal chapters as courts of information and reformation was not confined to Great Britain, and that it obtained likewise abroad. In support of this statement he cites the synods of Cambray (1586), Antwerp (1590), Bois-le-Duc (1612), and St. Omer (1583). But the most important document cited by him on this subject is from the first provincial council of Milan, held in the year 1565, by the illustrious St. Charles Borromeo. In it the whole economy of such an assembly is circumstantially set forth under the section “*De Vicariis Foraneis*.”

“ The vicars,” says Mr. Dansey, “ were, it is true, mediate between our deans and chorepiscopi, and therefore the local gatherings are not to be identified with decanal chapters, strictly so called; but the approximation of the vicarial to the decanal function is near enough to admit the description of a ceremony in which the reader will see much of the primitive character of these rural deliberative conclaves; much that probably obtained in the *conventus communes* of our Church, spoken of by Lyndwood; and much that in modern practice he might still perhaps approve. Some of the duties mentioned are personal, and not capitular; but it appears better not to dis sever them.

“ The foraneous vicars assembled monthly at the parochial churches,

* *Horræ Dec. Rur.* vol. ii. p. 37.

at each in succession, with the presbyters of their respective districts as already stated, and then the canon proceeds :—

“ ‘ Pridie ejus diei quam in unum locum convenient, peccata sua omnes confiteantur : sequenti die in ea ecclesia in qua coacti fuerint missam singuli celebrent.

“ ‘ Tum universi in choro missam conventualem pro mortuis vel de Spiritu Sancto solemniter more cantent ; in qua eorum aliquis a vicario prius admonitus concionem ad populum habeat.

“ ‘ Confectis sacris et habita processione circa cœmeterium orationibusque consuetis, in domo rectoris illius ecclesiæ unico tantum ferculo contenti, ea qua decet modestia et caritate cibum capiant.

“ ‘ Deinde decernant inter se quæ ad boni pastoris officium et ad curam animarum recte gerendam pertinent : et consulant de incommodis et difficultatibus suæ parochiæ quorum explicatio vel remedium aliorum consilium et operam requirat. Idem autem vicarii libellum de casibus conscientiæ episcopis ac sedi apostolicæ reservatis metropolitani cura edendum reliquis sacerdotibus legent ; et aliquot capita tum horum constitutionum, tum earum quæ in synodo diœcesana decernentur, simulque quidpiam ex probata summa de casibus conscientiæ explicabunt.

“ ‘ Præcipuè autem de presbyterorum vita et moribus quærant, et quales se in pastoralis præbeant cura.

“ ‘ An eorum culpa divinus in ecclesia cultus desideretur ?

“ ‘ An re ipsa præstentur ea quæ episcopi vel alii eorum nomine in ecclesiarum necessitatem earumve reparationem impendi jusserint ?

“ ‘ An libros habeant quos ex decreto habere debent ?

“ ‘ An reliqua in hac synodo decreta servantur ?

“ ‘ De his omnibus, et si quid proprie mandavit episcopus deque aliis quæ ad utilitatem animorum episcopi cognitionem desiderant, ipsum per literas diligenter certiores faciant.

“ ‘ Quoties in urbem venerint primum episcopum adeant deque eorum statu, qui sibi commissi sunt, accurate edoceant.

“ ‘ Curati vero quicumque etiam si quavis dignitate præditi in iisque ad officium suum spectant vicariis quos diximus obtemperent.

“ ‘ Quod si aliqui ad conveniendum negligentes, vel ad mandata eorumdem vicariorum exequenda contumaces fuerint ; episcopi in illos pro modo culpæ animadvertant.

“ ‘ Hi autem vicarii voluntate episcopi ab officio amoveri semper possint ; ac si male id administrarint, pœnas dent ejusmodi episcopi judicio.” *

Thus it appears that, according to the discipline of the holy Archbishop of Milan, the proceedings of the assembly of the clergy under the foraneous vicars consisted of four parts :
1. Devotional practices performed most solemnly in common by all the clergy, and a sermon for the instruction of the people ;
2. Conference and consultation among themselves ; 3. An ex-

* *Horæ Dec. Rur.* vol. ii. p. 40, § S. C. C. tom. xxi. col. 42, 43.

planation, by the vicar, of divers matters regarding the duties of the clergy and of the canons of the diocesan synod; 4. Inquiry by the vicar into divers heads of ecclesiastical discipline.

It also seems that the Milanese vicars were in the habit of laying the state of their respective vicariates before the bishop and receiving his instructions thereon; and Van Espen mentions a similar custom prevailing in Belgium.

"And every year," says the learned canonist, "on an appointed day, let all the archpriests repair to the bishop, and confer with him respecting the condition of their respective districts, and let them lay before him what they have observed both in their visitations and in the assemblies of the clergy and elsewhere, which they judge to be for the benefit of the parishes; and then after mutual consultation and mature deliberation, let them hear what the bishop thinks proper to be established and ordained for the welfare of souls."*

So far we have seen the voluntary jurisdiction of the rural deans in their chapters; but Mr. Dansey informs us that they also possessed a contentious jurisdiction, consisting of several branches.

"The chapter, whether monthly or quarterly, was an inspectional and correctional court of spiritual judicature; wherein much of the contentious jurisdiction which now belongs to the ecclesiastical courts was originally transacted, personal suits were adjusted, and, upon formal presentment made of offenders against the laws and discipline of the Church, the dean, after examination and proof of minor irregularities, admonished the parties and exhorted them to repentance and amendment; while for the guilt of any greater crime, he had power to suspend laymen from the sacraments, and clergymen from the execution of their office: but according to the Dean of Gloucester and the Bishop of Peterborough, he could not proceed to any greater punishment."†

Mr. Dansey, however, produces many authorities to show that these courts were possessed of much more formidable powers of punishing.‡ But we submit to the reader that this question is one of mere historical and antiquarian interest. It might be useful that these courts should exercise the power of admonishing persons guilty of irregularities or other offences; the influence naturally belonging to such assemblies would render their admonitions in many cases highly medicinal, and preclude the necessity of recourse to a higher authority; but they could not be rendered fit to exercise a more penal jurisdiction. Neither the deans nor their chapters would have either the knowledge

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. p. 42. Van Esp. par. i. tom. vi. cap. iv.

† Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. p. 46. Southey, B. of the Ch. vol. i. c. vi. p. 85.

‡ Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. c. v. *per tot.*

necessary to administer justice, or the judicial habits and training requisite for such functions. The probability is that they would render themselves liable to actions at law, and cause irritation and resistance on the part of the offenders and their friends. And this is the more important to be considered, because the administration of spiritual criminal justice is a matter of infinite difficulty, requiring extraordinary tact, temper, and judgment, which can only be acquired by long and laborious study.

The temporal judge has only to apply the law as he finds it to the facts of the case, and proportion the punishment (within the limits of his power) to the circumstances of the offence; but the spiritual judge has a further and a more arduous duty to perform. The spiritual judge must most carefully avoid or suppress scandal, which is calculated to produce a prejudicial effect on the minds of the people, or otherwise to injure the interests of the Church. He must administer the law *pro salute animi*, having regard to the advantage of the soul of the offender, and so as not only to punish him, but also to bring him to repentance. Thus the canonists teach that excommunication is not to be used where its probable effect will be rather to harden and irritate than to amend. The external coercive power is entrusted to the Church by the State, partly it is true for the purpose of maintaining the external order and police of the Church considered as an institution established by law; but this is the inferior purpose, for the civil magistrate could do this. The real and great purpose of that external power is to enable the Church to carry into effect more completely than it otherwise could, that moral and religious discipline which forms the practical part of Christianity. It is to enable the Church to administer completely the spiritual power known under the name of the power of the keys. That power is *purely* spiritual. But there are men who would defy a purely spiritual power. The Church therefore has an external forum and a power of coercion entrusted to her by the Christian prince, which are essential means for the attainment of the very same objects which are the end of the spiritual power of the keys. It follows from these principles that the ecclesiastical criminal jurisdiction is one of the means by which the divine mission of the Church is fulfilled. It is a part of the penitential system of Christianity, and in that sense has a quasi-sacramental character. Whenever it is administered apart from the most lively appreciation and realization of these principles, it loses its real character, and instead of salutary results,—peace, edification, amendment, and repentance,—it causes discord, scandal, and hardness of heart. How arduous, therefore, is the office of the spiritual judge! How few are the persons to whom it ought to be entrusted,

and what care the rulers of the Church should bestow on their selection ! It would scarcely be prudent or judicious in the rural deans and chapters to undertake a task of such magnitude, even if it were entrusted to them by the law, which it never will be ; and we say this, meaning nothing but what is most respectful to them.

The rural courts christian had a civil as well as a criminal contentious jurisdiction. Mr. Dansey produces many authorities to show their power in causes relating to tithes, mortuaries, and other dues, and even in testamentary and matrimonial causes and beneficiary matters. He then proceeds to the consideration of the decay and dissolution of rural chapters, particularly in England.

He attributes that dissolution principally to the 20th Constitution of Cardinal Othobon, A.D. 1237, which introduced the archdeacons to sit in them, and this introduction of a superior functionary or his official eclipsed the rural deans, who were thus discouraged from the customary convening of the chapters.

“ By such means,” remarks Kennet, “ these ancient chapters became obsolete and abrogated, while, so far as they were courts of Christianity, they resolved themselves into one standing ecclesiastical court in every archdeaconry ; and so far as they were conventions of the parochial clergy, they passed into solemn visitations, in which the clergy of every deanery should assemble once or twice a year, but rather cited as delinquents than admitted as judges and co-assessors ; an honour and privilege which remained no longer than they were an ecclesiastical corporation of rural deans and chapters.”*

The revival of rural chapters is the next object of Mr. Dansey's consideration, and very important and interesting it undoubtedly is. He makes many very sensible remarks on the expediency of such a revival ; we have, however, anticipated the chief points of that question. When our readers consider the antiquity of the institution, its harmony with the earliest constitution of the Church, and the many uses to which it may be applied, they cannot, we think, hesitate to say that it ought to be revived. We mean to say revived in its voluntary jurisdiction ; for we agree with Mr. Dansey that its contentious jurisdiction cannot at present be restored with advantage.

We, however, do not agree with the learned writer as to the expediency of reviving these institutions in the shape of *Church union societies*, or in any other shape than that which properly belongs to them *ab antiquo*. Let us have the real old institutions of the Church, and no new contrivances. Let us have

* Horæ Dec. Rur. vol. ii. p. 110, *et seq.*

the old names as well as the old things themselves. We feel confident that Mr. Dansey himself will agree with us. And why should the rural chapters or synods not be revived in their own proper form?

We have before us a record of a rural chapter held in the present year in the deanery of Trigg Major, in the diocese of Exeter, with the sanction of the great prelate who presides over that diocese. That very interesting document begins with the form of citation, and then goes on to state as follows: that is to say,—1. Those of the clergy who complied with the citation met at the vicarage of the church of Morwenstow, of which the rural dean is incumbent, before morning prayer. 2. They walked in procession to Church, which had previously been filled by the laity of the parish. 3. The morning service was performed by the vicar of Poundstock, the junior incumbent. 4. The laity withdrew, and the doors of the church were closed. 5. The clergy assembled in the nave, and the chapter was opened by a statement of the case of rural chapters, read by the dean.

In that statement he very ably, and in a spirit truly churchmanlike, set forth the chief features of the history and functions of rural deans and their chapters; and then submitted to the assembly the following seven rules to govern the proceedings of the chapter:—

“ I. The privileges usually conceded to presidents of assemblies shall reside in the rural dean; *e.g.* power to moderate the language of discussion, to maintain a grave and decent order, and, under responsibility to the chapter, to exercise a sound discretion with regard to what questions he shall submit to the synod.

“ II. Every member who intends to propose a subject for deliberation shall deliver the title thereof, in writing, with his name, into the hands of the rural dean.

“ III. The rural dean may submit that title to the chapter for their consideration. If the larger proportion of the members adjudge it to be a fitting matter for deliberation, it shall be forthwith discussed, or at the next chapter, as shall also be determined by vote.

“ IV. The manner of voting shall be on this wise—the members who object shall signify their judgment by rising from their seats; those who assent shall remain seated.

“ V. The rural dean, under correction of the chapter, shall sum up the minutes of deliberation; if so called on by his brethren to do, he shall submit any single question to the lord bishop for decision or reply; or if there should be conflicting opinions on any important subject, the dean shall, when so enjoined, place them fairly before his lordship for resolution of doubt. But the name of no presbyter shall be stated, nor the side of the question which he espoused.

“ VI. The subjects introduced shall be such as have rigid refer-

ence to the members in some department of their duty as parish priests.

“VII. A correct detail of the proceedings of the first synod shall be laid before the Bishop, and whatsoever therein his lordship shall condemn shall be immediately discontinued.”*

The sixth rule especially is very judicious, as it must ensure the practical utility of the subjects of deliberation, and prevent the chapter from degenerating into a clerical debating society. The rural dean then proceeded to consider briefly certain accessories of the meeting, and among others the surplice, vested in which the clergy assembled in chapter. We must take leave to observe that, in our opinion, he attached too much importance to the surplice, as indeed some other very excellent clergymen have done. The surplice is not a sacerdotal vestment, for it is worn by deacons, and in the continental churches by persons in minor orders. It is, indeed, scarcely an ecclesiastical vestment, for it is constantly worn by laymen in our own and in other churches. As for the typical associations which have been connected with the surplice, they belong more properly to the *Alt.* But we admit that the surplice is a very proper vestment for the clergy in synod, and one agreeable to ancient usage.

The “Record” ends with the following brief outline of the business transacted at the first chapter of the deanery of Trigg Major.

“The seven rules introduced by the rural dean were then separately proposed and seconded, discussed, and unanimously adopted.

“A petition to both houses of parliament now in session was introduced and approved, and the rural dean was called on to sign it in behalf of the chapter.

“A subject was then introduced for discussion, *The admission to other rites of the Church of children who had received baptism from laymen.*

“It was resolved that the above subject be fully considered in the next chapter.

“A proposal was introduced that the rural dean do search for authorities as to the presence of clergymen from other deaneries at such chapters, or of any lay person. The result to be laid before the next assembly.

“A discussion as to the grounds of inquiry into churches, houses, burial grounds, &c. within the jurisdiction of a rural dean. To be stated formally in the next chapter.

“The chapter dissolved.

“The evening service as usual in this church.”

* Hawker's Rural Synods, pp. 15, 16.

With regard to the suggested question of the admission of the laity, there is manifest danger of causing a desire for display by introducing a numerous body of hearers, especially women, who we think ought to be, at any rate, excluded. An assemblage of wives, sisters, and other female relations and friends of the clergy, would endanger the utility and the business-like character of the chapter most seriously. The patrons of churches within the deanery, being by the ecclesiastical law the first laymen in those churches, ought, however, not to be excluded from the chapter. But these we only throw out as humble suggestions to the clergy of the deanery of Trigg Major.

This publication by the vicar of Morwenstow is an interesting document, which we cordially recommend to both clergy and laity, and we trust that the success of this first attempt will encourage others to follow in his footsteps.

The subject of rural chapters thus publicly put forward, could not fail to attract the attention of the bishops. We will confine ourselves to the latest of the episcopal opinions to which we refer, because it is most likely to secure considerable notice at present.

The Bishop of Gloucester, in a charge delivered at his visitation held in last August, expressed himself as follows :—

“ Ever since I have held my present situation I have been in the habit of recommending that my clergy should hold frequent meetings together, to consider the state of their parishes, and to give and to receive counsel on matters of interest or difficulty ; in short, upon all such matters as concern the right discharge of the functions of a clergyman. If such meetings take place under the auspices of the rural deans, it will afford you an opportunity of communicating with your diocesan on all questions that may arise. I shall not disguise from you that one cause which induces me to recommend to you such meetings, is the hope that they may be the means of bringing together in friendly associations persons whom difference of sentiment or party have kept asunder, and much asperity of feeling been imbibed in consequence. Were those individuals sometimes in the habit of meeting on common ground, and for the purpose of advancing objects in which they could concur, and about which no difference of sentiment existed, a great and important object would be gained. In some places, as I understand, the ancient synodical meetings have been revived, with the addition of such solemnities as authority may justify. You are, no doubt, aware of the history of these meetings, which I earnestly recommend to my clergy, intituled, ‘ *Horæ Decanice Rurales*.’ Whether such solemn meeting could be adopted with advantage under the present circumstances of this diocese, I am not prepared to decide ; but in this case, as in the other, I desire to consult the feelings of my clergy, and should it meet your approbation, I shall be happy to give it my sanction, but with the distinct

understanding that questions of a controversial nature shall never be agitated."

There is a more decided tone in this passage than is usually adopted in episcopal charges, touching matters involving a change in the practice of the Church. It may, however, be regretted that the bishop was not still more explicit, and did not take upon himself to decide how far such solemn meetings could be adopted with advantage under the existing circumstances of the diocese. There can be no doubt that his lordship is fully capable of deciding such a question. But on the general question, whether the revival of those assemblies is expedient, he evidently feels no hesitation. His lordship, however, stipulates "that questions of a controversial nature shall never be agitated." By questions of a controversial nature we suppose the bishop to mean especially questions of faith. Discussions of that nature must indeed be most peremptorily excluded, for this plain reason, that *rural synods have no authority to decide matters of that kind*. The same principle must exclude from being entertained in the rural chapters all affairs *not relating directly to the duties of parish priests*, according to the very judicious sixth rule of the chapter of the deanery of Trigg Major. The well-known rules of the civil law concerning *statutes*, or bye-laws, have a direct bearing on this matter. We refer especially to the rules that statutes in derogation to the general law are void,—and that statutes must not be touching matters *extra jurisdictionem statuentis*. There are also some wholesome rules in Coke upon Littleton, respecting local prescriptions, which are very much to the present purpose, and to which we refer our readers.* These are somewhat abstruse points of law. By the way, it strikes us that if the system of rural chapters should be brought into use to any extent, the clergy will soon discover the necessity of obtaining a knowledge of at least the rudiments of ecclesiastical public law, from whence alone they can get a sufficient store of general principles to keep them right in their proceedings. While they confine themselves to their churches and pastoral duties they may do without this kind of knowledge; but when they undertake to govern, the case becomes very different.

Great care will also become necessary in the choice of rural deans. If a crochety meddling person were placed in the office, or an overbearing ill-natured man, great injury might be done to the Church within his deanery, and both the dean and the chapter would be brought into disrepute.

Mr. Dansey has collected together in his appendix a number

* Co. Litt. sec. 165, p. 110 b, and n. 1.

of very valuable and interesting documents, ancient and modern, English and continental, comprising formulæ of appointment, synodical and episcopal instructions, and other documents illustrative of the office of rural dean. We recommend those instruments to the careful consideration of the clergy: they contain a mine of knowledge and experience. And here we must observe a serious omission on the part of Mr. Dansey, that is to say, the omission of an index. His book deserves to be a text-book, and a standard book of reference on the subject on which he treats; but it grievously wants an index, for that very reason. It must go through many more editions, and the learned writer will therefore have ample opportunity of supplying this defect. We, however, feel the defect so strongly (notwithstanding the copious table of contents,) that if we were in Mr. Dansey's place, we should think seriously of publishing an index separately, for the present edition.

Having thus given due praise to Mr. Dansey, we cannot help regretting to find him going out of his way to say,—“*the blessing of bells, or other such absurd ceremonies.*”* Why should the blessing of church bells be more absurd than the blessing of churches or churchyards? In both cases the blessing means no more than a solemn dedication to the purposes of divine service. But, at any rate, why sneer at and apply hard words to the customs of other churches? It would also have been better to have said *St. Charles Borromeo*, than “*the reputed saint Charles Borromeo.*”† That great Christian was as holy as St. Augustine, St. Cyrill, and others, who are universally allowed by our divines the title of Saint; and the fact that he lived a few centuries later than they makes no difference; and that title does not necessarily imply anything that our Church refuses to sanction. But these observations are meant to be most respectful to the reverend author, who indeed would probably concur in them on second thoughts.

Mr. Dansey shows‡ that in England the office of rural dean declined simultaneously with the rural synods or chapters; and Blackstone speaks of them as almost grown out of use although their deaneries still exist as an ecclesiastical division. On the continent this ancient office has had its period of decay, though its declension was not so marked and decisive as among ourselves. Our author cites a great number of continental decrees of councils of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, including the Synod of Trent, having for their object the revival of rural deans.

* *Horæ Dec. Rur.* vol. ii. p. 149.

† *Ibid.* p. 146.

‡ *Ibid.* par. vi. sec. 1, 2.

In our own country no such decisive measure as an ecclesiastical law on this subject has as yet been adopted. Queen Anne, in the year 1710, submitted to convocation, among other heads of business, *the establishing of rural deans where they are not, and rendering them more useful where they are*; but the dissensions which arose between the two houses prevented the passing of any canon founded on the royal proposition. The letter of George I. to the convocation, about business for them, (A. D. 1715,) contains many heads of matters proper for synodical consideration, but no allusion to rural deans. Indeed, from the reign of Queen Anne to the present time, there has been no authoritative movement on the part of the State, or of the Church collectively, for the restoration of this portion of our ecclesiastical government.

Several of the bishops have, however, revived the office of rural deans in their dioceses; and we believe that they have been uniformly found to be a useful addition to the ecclesiastical system of the country. So far a decided improvement has taken place; and the augmented number of commissions issued by the bishops to rural deans of late years, shows that further progress in the carrying out of the institution may be hoped for. But as yet the use made of the office has been narrow in its range, and confined chiefly to the inspection of fabrics. As the subject obtains more public interest and attention, people will enlarge their ideas in this respect. They will see how many things are needed in the Church, of which they previously had no idea. They will discover the imperfections of the practical working of the government of dioceses in England; and, in some particulars, the absence of all government of a real and practical nature. As the progress of civilization causes new wants to be felt, and stimulates men to improve their social condition by providing for the satisfaction of those wants; so the increase of ecclesiastical learning will, by raising the standard of the perfection of government and Church polity in the minds of the clergy and laity, lead them to extend, improve, and revive institutions which they have hitherto neglected, and apply them to a variety of purposes discovered in the rich mines of ecclesiastical antiquity. Thus, when once the institution of rural deans is fully established and understood, a more enlarged view will be taken of the office. It will become evident that its uses are far beyond what those who first revived it imagined; and then this portion of the Church's economy will be made to produce all the fruits which ancient experience, and the principles of ecclesiastical public law, justify us to expect.

ART. II.—*The Historical Geography of Arabia ; or, the Patriarchal Evidences of Revealed Religion ; with Maps, and an Appendix containing Translations, with an Alphabet and Glossary, of the Hamyaritic Inscriptions recently discovered in Hadramaut. By the Rev. C. FORSTER. In 2 vols. London: Duncan and Malcolm. 1844.*

MR. FORSTER, who has been for several years known to the public as the author of *Mahometanism Unveiled*, has in the present work followed out into detail a matter touched upon in the appendix to that book; viz. the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael, a point (as is well known) which Gibbon and his imitators have contested. To add one more to the many evidences by which the research of modern days has fenced round the holy Scriptures, was his object; for, to use his own words,—

“If infidelity could be silenced, and revealed truth vindicated, by exact scrutiny, at a single point, into the Mosaic accounts of the origin of the Arab tribes . . . [*sic*] it was clear that the most valuable results might justly be anticipated from exact scrutiny into those accounts on an extended scale, and as comprising the patriarchal origin of all the primitive tribes of Arabia.”—*Dedication*, p. iv.

Accordingly Mr. Forster occupies himself with endeavouring (and we are inclined to think successfully) to prove, by a process of laborious investigation, that the four great patriarchal stocks, who (according to Moses), together with Ishmael,* peopled the Arabian peninsula—the descendants of Cush and Joktan who preceded, and of Keturah and Esau who followed the son of Hagar—are all extant, (whether we regard them under the appellations of classical or of modern geography) “in the very localities, and along the very lines, where they are placed by ‘Moses and the prophets.’” And it may be mentioned that, in the course of his inquiry, he enters into the long disputed point of the derivation of the word *Saracen*, and concludes by vindicating the Scriptural origin of that celebrated name from the wife of Abraham. For Jacob (he observes) having become sole heir to the *spiritual* fulfilment of the promise in Gen. xvii. 16, its extended *temporal* accomplishment will naturally be sought in the family of Isaac’s first-born, Esau; and this will at once account for the minute and reiterated exhibition of the sons of Esau, or Edom, which we find in Gen. xxxvi.—a genealogical exhibition, in the first part of which (Mr. Forster very pertinently remarks) the sacred writer “enumerates the Edomite

* It will be recollected that he proved the descent of the Arabs from Ishmael, in his “*Mahometanism Unveiled*,” vol. ii. App.

patriarchs *individually*," while in the second he "represents them as the founders and chiefs of potent *tribes* or *nations*." To this race of Esau, then, peopling the whole Arabian peninsula, and not (as we have been too long taught) limited to the neighbourhood of Mount Seir; to this multitude of Edomite nations is to be assigned the distinguished generic matronymic *Saracens*; just as the Ismaelites were called *Hagarenes* from Hagar, and Abraham's other wife furnished their appellation to the *Ketureans*.

We feel bound to declare, that we consider this vindication of the old—though of late well nigh exploded—derivation of the celebrated name in question, to be conducted and established in a very masterly manner, opposed, as it is, to the opinions of the learned Pocock and Asseman, and the affected research of the sceptical Gibbon. (See Pocock, Specimen, p. 33. Asseman in Raheb. Chron. Orient. p. 233. Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ix. 233.)

These geographical disquisitions occupy of course the larger portion of the two volumes before us; but interesting as they undoubtedly are, it is not our intention to enter further into them at present. We will merely observe, that in several cases to which we turned (for we have not been able to bestow on this part of the work in hand the attention it deserves), the results at which Mr. Forster has arrived, coincide with the native tradition at this day; as, *e. g.* that the region of Hadramaut answers to the possessions of the sons of *Hazermaveth*, (mentioned in Gen. x. 26,) and that the children of *Uzal* (ver. 27) are represented by the modern Sanâa. Now we confess to entertaining a very deep respect for the traditions of a country; we believe them, generally speaking, to be of great value; and therefore we are concerned at perceiving the position assigned to another place. Speaking of the sons of Joktan (Gen. x. 30), Moses says, "Their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East." Now, we believe that Mesha, according to constant Arabic tradition, answers to modern *Mecca*. Yet what says Mr. Forster? He rejects (and rightly) the theory of Bockart, which would make Sephar to be the Djebal, or hill country of Yemen, and Mesha to correspond with Muza, near the mouth of the Arabian gulf; and he sets out by inquiring "in what *opposite* quarters of Arabia the Mesha intended by Moses and his mount Sephar lay?" And then, because he admits the position assigned by Bockart to Sephar, that being near the south-western extremity of the peninsula, he looks for the other boundary in the truly "*opposite*," or north-eastern, quarter, and fixes upon the *Zames Mons* of Ptolemy, in lat. 26°, long. 47°, as the site of the Mesha of the

book of Genesis. Now, in the first place, we do not understand why Mesha must be represented by a mountain: Moses says nothing of the kind, while he expressly mentions that Sephar is "a mount of the East." And we should be glad to be informed what is the matter with Mecca, that the native tradition must needs be set aside? It lies quite enough to the north to be considered in an "opposite quarter." And it is surely sufficiently distant to allow of "an interval" adequate "to one of the most numerous of patriarchal families;" the inadequacy of the space enclosed being the ground on which Mr. F. has rejected the limits proposed by Bockart. But the fact is, that our author has been delighted at the success with which Bockart employed the principle of the *anagram*, in the case of the classical Corodamum-promontorium and the scriptural Hadoram; and so he wishes to exercise his ingenuity in the same line, and therefore occasionally (like a child with a new toy) he is a little too much engrossed with his plaything. We may, of course, be mistaken; but it strikes us, that he is, perhaps, rather too fond of applying the *anagram* to the ancient names, after the fashion of the Inquisitors with the thumb-screw, when they would extort a confession of crimes never committed. Zames Mons (it will be seen at once) is wrung out of Mesha by this process.

We could not refrain from these observations *en passant*. We will now proceed to the main object of these pages; which is to direct the attention of our readers to a matter of singular interest, to which our author devotes some hundred or two of pages. It is but remotely connected with the main object of his work—it occurred quite accidentally, and has given a most unexpected turn to, and thrown a mantle of romantic interest over, his researches; it is, to let him speak for himself, no less than—

"The decipherment of an unknown alphabet, and the recovery of a lost language; that alphabet, the celebrated *Musnad*, which was known to Pocock himself only by vague and erroneous report of Mahometan writers, and whose total disappearance was deplored by Sir W. Jones, as the great gap between us and the earliest records of mankind; this language, the once famous and long-lost 'tongue of Hamyar.'"—Vol. i. p. 8.

We beg the reader in the outset not to mistake us; *we* do not mean to assert that Mr. Forster has succeeded in deciphering the inscriptions which have been brought to light: to pass an opinion, either one way or the other, would require far more critical investigation than we have yet been able to bestow on his book. All that we propose doing in the present notice, is,

to give an account *resumé* of the manner in which specimens of the "long-lost tongue of Hamyar" have been brought to light, and of the steps by which Mr. Forster proceeded in deciphering them. We do not mean to say that he *has* deciphered them; we pass no opinion *ex cathedra* upon that: although, if out of regard to our self-constituted office we be expected to say something, we will freely confess that we have discovered no glaring impossibility in what he says;—we will go even farther, we will own that we took up Mr. Forster's book rather prejudiced against it, and we have laid it down decidedly impressed in its favour; our critical eyes have discovered no wanton assumptions, nor detected any unscholar-like mistakes; and we have not read any book for many a long day which has stirred in us a deeper interest. Contenting ourselves, therefore, with this caution—that we wish now to be looked upon as having dropped the pen of the reviewer, and having assumed the more humble office of the expositor, we shall proceed without further delay to place before our readers, for their benefit, a simple explanation of the matter which has interested ourselves.

About ten years ago, Captain Haines, I. N. was sent in command of the *Palinurus* to survey the southern coast of the Arabian peninsula, called the district of Hadramáut, stretching from about long. 45° (or 2° east of the ancient emporium Aden) to some ten degrees to the north-east, or as far as the province of Omân. During the course of operations, Lieutenant Wellsted (the second in command) discovered several inscriptions, all written in the same unknown character, but differing considerably in other respects; some being found cut in stones at Máreb, near Sanaa,* (about 150 miles north-north-east of Aden), some carved in stone at the newly discovered ruins of Nakab el Hajar, (a few miles in-shore, about 3° east of Aden),† some deeply engraven in the solid rock, at the promontory of Hisn Ghorab; and, lastly we may as well mention one discovered only two years ago at Aden itself, by work-people employed in excavating

* "Sanaâ, ville principale dans l'intérieur de l'Yémen."—*Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, t. xxix. p. 20.

† Nakab el Hajar (which lies about eight-and-forty miles in a north-westerly direction from Ain, and marked on the chart in lat. 14° 2', long. 46° 30') otherwise written Nukbel Hajar, stands in the centre of an extensive valley, thickly studded with villages and cultivated grounds, and called by the natives *Wadî Mcifah*. It was conjectured by Lieutenant Wellsted to be the Mæpha Metropolis of Ptolemy; a conjecture which has been confirmed by Mr. Forster, provided that his version of the inscription over the entrance be correct.

At vol. ii. pp. 195—204, he extracts a most interesting description of the ruins, from Mr. Wellsted's own account. Mr. Forster has further presented his readers with a vignette of the ruins and their rocky foundation, and with a map of the route to them drawn (we believe) originally from materials furnished by Mr. Wellsted, for the Royal Geographical Society's *Journal*, by its then secretary.

for a new road. The interest of this our latest discovery in Arabian antiquities consists in this, that, though Aden was the chief emporium of the kingdom of the Homerites, no Hamyaritic inscriptions, previous to this, have ever been found either in the ruins of the ancient town, or its immediate vicinity.

The others are all evidently of nearly the same, and that a very remote, date; while this at Aden bears internal evidences of one much lower, viz. of having been cut in the reign of one of the last of the Homerite princes, *i. e.* within seventy years of the birth of Mahomet. It differs too from the rest in another particular; while *they* were found engraven on the solid rock, or, to quote Captain Haines's letter to the Bombay government, "on oblong marble blocks, generally forming part of a gateway," in *this* specimen we have a circular slab of pure, and very compact, white marble, with a raised rim round it,—brought to light, moreover, "from a depth of twenty feet beneath the present surface of Aden. The inscription," he adds, which "is not so well executed as many others,* is perfectly clear, without flaw or injury. In removing the stone, part was unfortunately broken off by the work-people."—*Forster*, vol. ii. p. 395.

Having said this much of the other inscriptions, it is to those found at Hisn Ghorab that we wish to direct chief attention.

It occurred to Mr. Forster, that if deciphered, they would probably throw light on his researches: but how to read them was the question. They had been sent within the last few years to the most learned linguists of Germany, Professors Gesenius and Rœdiger; the former of whom had given them up in despair, and the latter had confessed his inability to do more than read and render the first word of the chief Hisn Ghorab inscription, (a reading and rendering which he afterwards rejected,) and had pronounced the inscription to be *one of persons speaking of themselves in the first person plural*. Under these circumstances, Mr. Forster, having tried his own hermeneutic powers upon them in vain, had laid them aside; when, turning one day for materials for his work to a rare tract in this country, the "*Historia Imperii Vetustissimi Juktanidorum*" of Albert Schultens, (which happened to be bound up with his copy of the larger work of that author, the "*Monumenta Vetusiora Arabiæ*,") he opened upon a monument, which from the equal length of the two documents, and the apparent identity of their locality, as indicated by the title, instantly struck him as being an Arabic version of the chief of the inscriptions at Hisn

* The writer of this notice has been told, that *thousands* of inscriptions of the same Hamyaritic character have been discovered along the coasts of Hadramaut and Yemen. A fact which does not quite tally with Mr. Forster's "rarity even of inscriptions in the Hamyaritic," vol. ii. p. 81, note.

Ghorab. The title, often before read without attracting any special notice, ran thus:—

“Carmina antiquissima, in Arabia Felice inventa,
Super marmoribus arcium dirutarum,
In tractu littoris Hadramutteni,
Prope emporium Aden.”*

These “most ancient poems” (the history of whose discovery has been fortunately preserved by Schultens) are two translations from the Arabic of Al-Kazwîni, in his Historical Geography. They are stated to have been discovered, and translated out of the original into Arabic, by Abderrahman, viceroy of Yemen, in the course of an official progress of inspection along “the shore of Aden,” (as he terms the coast stretching from Aden eastward,) about A. D. 660—670; a circumstance which proves that, like the inscriptions now discovered at Hisn Ghorab, they were written in a more ancient character than the Cufic then in use; and that, though unknown now, they were decipherable by the Arabs of that day.

Struck, therefore, with the probable identity of the longer of the two “most ancient poems” with the principal of the lately discovered Hisn Ghorab inscriptions, Mr. Forster at once applied a mechanical test to them. He compared the two together; and allowing—in consequence of the great length of the lines of the original inscription—each line of that to represent a couplet of the presumed Arabic version, he found the two documents exactly corresponded as to length, and that the number of letters in the one approximated closely to the number of characters in the other. This correspondence was afterwards increased by procuring a fac-simile of that portion of the original MS. of Al-Kazwîni, from which Schultens informs us he took the Arabic poems of which he gives the Latin version; which MS. is lodged in the University of Leyden. By means of this exact copy our author was enabled to discover that the Arabic poem was not written (as Schultens had, for convenience, printed it) in ten couplets, but like the inscription in ten lines. The context likewise of the poem in Al-Kazwîni’s MS. consists of a prefatory notice, purporting to be taken from the Viceroy’s own account, of the site and main features of the place where he discovered it; all of which correspond exactly with Lieutenant Wellsted’s account of the whereabouts of the Hisn Ghorab inscriptions, and enable us to correct Schulten’s incorrect expression of “*prope emporium Aden.*” Furthermore, the context *between* the poems

* For the sake of the unlearned reader—“Most ancient poems, found in Arabia Felix, upon stones of ruined towers, on the shore of Hadramaut, near the emporium of Aden.”

in the Arabic MS. (being a preliminary notice of the second, also from the official account of Abderrahman) lets in light for the recovery of the still undiscovered inscription, the original of the shorter of the two "poems." Indeed, the description of its site answers so completely to that given by Captain Haines, of a massive ruin on the coast at this day—the site of the castle of Messenaat, in long. $50^{\circ}45'23''$ east, that Mr. Forster predicts the inscription will be found there.*

Putting together these and some few other circumstances, he became satisfied so far of their identity; in other words, that the longer of the two "most ancient poems" of Al-Kazwîni and Schultens, and the longer of the Hisn Ghorab inscriptions, stood to each other in the relation of version and original. Encouraged by the success of his initiatory tentamina, the next point was to decipher the unknown legend. The steps by which (we must say, with consummate ingenuity) he has accomplished this, were briefly as follows:—

From Professor Rœdiger's success in making out the first word *Smak*, "we dwelt," he inferred that, in the four letters of that word he had before him the true powers of four letters of the alphabet of Hamyar.

Again, from the radical similarity of all the Semitic languages, he inferred that the few characters in the Hisn Ghorab inscription similar in their form to letters in the Hebrew alphabet, were likely to possess the same powers; *e.g.* that one somewhat like an inverted gamma (𐤀) answered to the Hebrew resh (ר). And further, from the immemorial connexion between Southern Arabia and the coast of Africa, parts of which have, from most ancient times, been subject to the kings of Yemen and Hadramaut, he deduced the likelihood, that such of the letters as bore resemblance to those of the Ethiopic alphabet, would be found to possess the sameness of power.† Furnished with these elements, he proceeded to make experiments. He pitched upon, first, one word at random, and then another, and read each one as well as he could guess; and then searched in Golius's Arabic Lexicon till he found one not unlike it; and so on with

* The Rev. T. Brockman, of Sandwich, has gone out, with praiseworthy zeal, to look for it.

† Rœdiger had done the same; but unfortunately assumed besides, that a character somewhat like an inverted sigma (the reader will perceive that we cannot give representations of the Hamyaritic characters) must have the same power as the Greek Σ, an assumption which, of course, was fatal to his alphabet.

"That Professor Rœdiger was further right in applying the power of the Ethiopic letters, where there was sameness of form, to decipher the characters of the unknown inscriptions, became also clear to me, from the one instance in which there could be no mistake,—the repeated occurrence of the sign of the first person plural, *nu*."—Vol. ii. p. 98.

others. That he was justified in making the experiment of interpreting the unknown character by the Arabic, would appear, not only from the antecedent assumption of affinity between the Hamyaritic and the Arabic, as the ancient and modern forms of the same language;* but also from a remarkable fact which Mr. Forster states as being known to himself:—

“That *the word* cited by Pocock as a peculiar specimen of the Hamyaritic, viz. *س* (to sit down), occurs, in the Hamyaritic sense, in the present Arabic; and that from Golius's Lexicon it appears, beyond question, that *many* Hamyaritic words are now incorporated in that idiom.”—Vol. ii. p. 99.

There were other marks of identity; such as the recurrence (adverted to in a preceding note), exactly fifteen times in each document, of the sign *na* or *nu*, “only not uniformly in the same parts of the lines:” “its occurrence (as he remarks) always at the *end* of words, as in the Arabic, decides the direction of the writing, which is from right to left.” At the suggestion of a friend, that the I in the inscription might be the Hebrew *Vau*, he was led to compare the single recurrences of this letter; and found the I occurring, singly, three times in the seventh line of the one, and the *و* or *و* also three times in the corresponding line and couplet of the other; and followed in both cases by three single words.

With the progressive enlargement of his alphabet, there came an increased facility of detecting unascertained letters, by their connexion with those already ascertained. Again, the analysis of the first line of the Hisn Ghorab inscription taught him,—

“That, whatever might be the laws of rithm in this primeval poetry, the sense was not necessarily commensurate with each line: . . . the sense, in some instances, falling short of the line; in others, overflowing it.”

Of this the reader will remark a fine instance presently, in the opening description of the rolling swell of the sea. His attention was recalled to this circumstance by a translation, which his recovery of the alphabet afterwards enabled him to make, of a two-line inscription discovered near the long one, lower down the terrace; which contained an account of the inscription with the names of its two engravers; and the first line of which ran thus:—

“*Divided* into parts, and inscribed from right to left, and marked with points this song of triumph, Sarash and Dzerah;”

* See Sir J. Chardin's works, vol. iii.

wherein the word, which we have distinguished with italics, "plainly referred to the lines of the inscription." And this circumstance proved to have a value beside and beyond the light which it threw upon the earliest laws of metrical arrangement; for (as he says),—

"It stood, in itself, an independent and demonstrative proof of the correctness of my translation; since, in every instance, that translation proved to have distributed the sense, in the most perfect correspondence with the artificial divisions of the lines, in the Hamyaritic original."—Vol. ii. p. 342.

Beside the proofs arising from this law of "division," in the process of deciphering, the coincidence of particles and prepositions came in—on collating the Hisn Ghorab inscription with Al-Kazwīn's—to corroborate the completeness of their identity throughout. We have already noticed the common force of the Hamyaritic I and the Arabic *;*; we may now point out, "as a peculiarity of the Hamyaritic idiom, the grammatical effect of 'the points'* in changing the copulative I into the preposition *in*." To adopt our author's own words,—

"The insulated position of the I, in so many instances, at first perplexed me: it was too weak an element to represent a noun or verb; and stood too much apart for an 'and.'"

In this dilemma he turned to its first isolated occurrence, where, in order that it might agree with the corresponding point in Al-Kazwīn, it was necessary to render it by *in*, not *and*;—a sense which, he found, suited best in the other instances of its recurrence:—

"And as the letter clearly had another place and office in *conjunction*, as a prefix to the nouns and verbs of the inscription, I could no longer doubt the object in thus *insulating* °°I°°,—viz. to convert it into a preposition."

* Specially referred to in the engravers' account, as above given. It strikes us as a very singular circumstance, that native engravers, if Sarash and Dzerah really were the engravers, and if the short inscription which relates this was the genuine production of these artists, executed at the same period as the long inscription to which it refers, *i. e.* while this mode of writing was still in vogue,—as very singular that native engravers should have made such pointed allusion to the direction of the writing: at that early period there surely could not have existed, (and, if Mr. Forster's conclusions be right, there did not exist,) any other alphabet than that now discovered: and yet the circumstance just adverted to would appear to argue one of two things, either that the mode of writing from right to left was not at that day universal in the East, or that this inscription is not the handywork of Messieurs Sarash and Dzerah themselves, but of some one at a later day, before the knowledge of the tongue of Hamyar was quite extinct. However, even then it must have been the production of an Arab; and yet was Arabic ever written except from right to left? We repeat, it seems to us, at any rate, a singular circumstance.

We are reminded by this (though not from any direct connexion of the two) of a remark which Mr. Forster elsewhere makes; namely, that—

“The circlets, and other discriminative marks, *attached* in so many instances to letters of the Hisn Ghorab inscriptions, are obviously of the same nature with the vowel and diacritic points, *detached* from the letters of the Hebrew and Arabic alphabets.”—Vol. ii. p. 406.

If this be so, it is a fresh proof of the great sagacity of the learned Chardin, who was of opinion that the alphabet of the Hamyarites was no other than the ancient characters of the Arabs, differing from the Cufic characters which were afterwards introduced; and that they were furnished with vowel-points. (Chardin, *ubi supra*.)

The next step was to direct attention to the prefixes and suffixes; those inherent augmentatives common to all the Semitic idioms. To one example of these latter our attention has already been called (as his had from the first), in the employment of *na* or *nu*, to denote the plural number. As an instance of the former we may mention the employment of *m*, as a prefix, to convert verbs into participles, or noun-substantives.

Indeed, we may say that, generally, the Hamyaritic of the Hisn Ghorab inscription exhibits, in this usage, the same principles with all its kindred dialects. One very singular and important example Mr. F. gives in page 346; it is of the suffixed termination *kab* occurring three times in as many consecutive words, in the seventh line, and which answers to the Arabic **خ**—*res occulta et abscondita*; in other words, *a mystery*.

So remarkable are the agreements, and so completely identified (in Mr. Forster's opinion) are the Arabic and the Hamyaritic idioms, that he pronounces them to be, “instead of two distinct languages, simply two dialects of the same language.” One very interesting specimen of the idiomatic difference of style between the original and the version of Al-Kaswinî, we will give, at the risk of appearing tedious. In the sixth line of the inscription (which we shall presently lay before our readers) we meet with an eulogistic description of their ancient Homerite kings. It appears that in the Arabic there are two words for “kings;” they are, in the plural termination, *Meluk* and *Hasiru*. Of these, the former is the more common word, and is employed by the translator in this place, while the Hamyaritic original has the latter. The cause of its adoption by the poet, as well as of its rejection by the translator, is distinctly explained by the definition of the word *Hasir*, as given by Mr. Forster from Golius:—“**حسير**, *Hasir*, Rex: *quod, zelo obtento quasi, disclusus*”.

"The title *Hasir*, it follows," (continues Mr. F.) "was peculiar to the kings of Yemen and Hadramaut; of whom alone, among the Arab princes, it is recorded," [and witnessed, too, by Agatharchides, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo,] "that they passed their lives shut up in their palaces; and were thus secluded, as by a veil, from the public eye."—Vol. ii. p. 361.

Having thus detailed briefly the steps in the process of decipherment, it is time that we present the reader with his translation of the inscription, of which we have said so much:—

"We dwelt living long luxuriously in the zenanas of this spacious mansion: our condition exempt from misfortune and adversity. Rolled in through our channel

"The sea, swelling against our castle with angry surge; our fountains flowed, with murmuring fall, above

"The lofty palms: whose keepers planted dry dates in our valley date-grounds; they sowed the arid rice.

"We hunted the mountain-goats, and the hares, with gins and snares; beguiling, we drew forth the fishes.

"We walked with slow proud gait, in needle-worked many-coloured silk vestments, in whole silks, in glass-green chequered robes.

"Over us presided kings far removed from baseness, and stern chastisers of reprobate and wicked men. They noted down for us, according to the doctrine of Heber,

"Good judgments written in a book to be kept; and we proclaimed our belief in miracles, in the resurrection, in the return into the nostrils of the breath of life.

"Made an inroad robbers, and would do us violence; collectively we rode forth—we and our generous youth—with stiff sharp-pointed spears; rushing onward

"Proud champions of our families and our wives; fighting valiantly upon coursers with long necks, dun-coloured, iron-gray, and bright bay,

"With our swords still wounding and piercing our adversaries; until, charging home, we conquered and crushed this refuse of mankind."

Such is the long, or ten-line, inscription, graven on the solid rock at Hisn Ghoráb. The reader will bear with us while we venture on a few remarks.*

Line 1. *Zenanas* answers to Seraglio of the Turks, and to Harem of the Arabs.

Line 2. This description of the swell rolling in through a narrow channel tallies most curiously with the account of the

* It will readily be perceived, that though, from their great length, it was impossible to present the lines singly to the eye of the reader, we have so printed them that they can easily be distinguished.

anchorage there as given by Lieut. Wellsted, (at p. 421, in vol. ii. of his Travels,) instead of its being, as one might have supposed, an open roadstead.

Line 4. *Gins and snares*,—literally, “ropes and reeds.”

Line 5. It will at once occur to the reader to compare this with the description in Deborah's magnificent song, Judges v. 30.

Line 6. *Heber*. In the Hamyaritic it is written “Hud,” or rather “Ud;” a proof that it was the name borne by the patriarch Heber (Gen xi. 14) long before the time of Mahomet, instead of being *his* corruption, as alleged by D'Herbelot and others.

Line 7. In the original this is (as we mentioned before) “the miracle-mystery, the resurrection-mystery, the nostril-mystery.”

The eighth and ninth lines present us with a most curious fact, that the combat therein described was fought *on horseback*; so that while the barbarian heroes of the Trojan war (like the savage Britons), so many centuries after, knew no other use of this noble animal, these Adites already exemplified the historical fidelity of the book of Job, when it describes “the horse and his rider.”

The second, or seven-line, inscription (the original of which Mr. Brockman has gone in search of), as translated from the Arabic of Al-Kaswini, runs thus:—

“We dwelt at ease in this castle a long tract of time; nor had we a desire, but for the region-lord of the vineyard.

“Hundreds of camels returned to us each day at evening, their eye pleasant to behold in their resting-places:

“And twice the number of our camels were our sheep, in comeliness like white does; and also the slow-moving kine.

“We dwelt in this castle seven years of good life—how difficult from memory its description!

“Then came years barren and burnt up: when one evil year had passed away, then came another to succeed it:

“And we became as though we had never seen a glimpse of good. They died; and neither foot nor hoof remained.

“Thus fares it with him who renders not thanks to God: his footsteps fail not to be blotted out of his dwelling.”

The only point now remaining is the question of the *date* of these inscriptions. We will endeavour to detail briefly the various evidences, which, in Mr. Forster's opinion, justify the ascription of the very “awful antiquity” which he assigns them. He reasons upon two distinct sets of dates, the first arising from the characters themselves, the second from the subject-matter of the inscriptions.

I. For the first indication of the primitive period of the world to which these characters belong, he takes the *fewness of the letters*

(twenty) which compose the alphabet formed from the inscriptions at Hisn Ghorab. With regard, however, to the completeness of the alphabet, (as he himself allows,) we cannot yet speak with certainty, formed as it has been from so limited materials; it yet derives great probability from the fact, that no new letter is discernible in the more recent inscriptions at Nakab el Hajar, Sanaa, and Aden: at least, so says Mr. F.; but the truth of this assertion must depend upon the correctness of his interpretations, for though (according to him) no new letter *in point of power* has turned up in these more newly-discovered inscriptions, very many have been found new *as to form*. "The next indication of antiquity—the fewer subdivisions of letters—is still more remarkable." And, thirdly, "the unsettledness implied in the interchange, or indifferent use, of similar letters," he gives as another phenomenon "strongly indicative of an early stage, if not of the origin itself, of letters and written language."

II. His second line of induction as to the age, is derived from the subject-matter of the inscriptions:—

"In both these poetical inscriptions, the marks of an early stage of society are not to be mistaken:" and "in the second poem, the pastoral simplicity of the description with which it opens, belongs, most unequivocally, to purely patriarchal times. For the imagery here is literally the same with the opening imagery of the Book of Job."—Vol. ii. p. 94.

Generally speaking, therefore, Mr. Forster agrees, in assigning to them both a very high antiquity, with the tradition current among the Arabs themselves in the seventh century of our era, when the viceroy of the Caliph Moawiyah discovered them. For, in the words of Albert Schultens, (*Monum. Vetust. Arab.* p. 71,) "*Arabes hæc monumenta, quæ certæ ætati assignare nequeant, ea, suo more, ad tempora Aditarum, i.e. vetustissimorum Arabiæ Felicis incolarum, referunt.*" Yet what the Arabs uttered in an adagial sense, our author professes to have discovered to be literally true: for when once master of the characters and words of the ten-line inscription, he was enabled to decipher the two-line one which was discovered near the foot of the former. While the first line of this (which we gave above) contains the names of the two engravers, the second line puts us in possession of the names of the parties between whom the battle, described at the close of the long poem, was fought: and (accommodating the inverted order of the original to the English idiom) runs thus:—

"Aws assailed the Beni Ac, and hunted [them] down, and covered their faces with blackness.*"

* Compare Joel ii. 6.

"This latter line" (continues the translator,) "revealed, at once, the awful antiquity of the whole of these inscriptions . . . Aws (after the name of their forefather Aws or Uz [Gen. x. 23], the grandson of Shem, and great grandson of Noah) being the primitive patronymic of the famous lost tribe of Ad!"*—P. 372.

So much, then, for the *nation* whose handwriting has just been revealed to us. But now for the *period of the world* when we may suppose this monument to have been erected. If the name of Aws revealed the former point, that of the Beni Ac performs no less a service with regard to the latter.

"For Ac" (writes Mr. Forster) "was the son of Adnân; and Adnân—according to the tradition of Mahomet, transmitted through his wife Omm Salma,—was the fourth generation from Ishmael. This, at the common reckoning of thirty years to a generation, would place Ac at that period of Jacob's life contemporary with Joseph, and about fifty years prior to the famine in Egypt, and the surrounding countries; a period at which the Ishmaelites, as we learn from Joseph's history, had already multiplied into tribes and nations."—Vol. ii. p. 350.

The ten-line inscription, then, is an Adite monument, engraven about the time of Joseph. But more closely even than this may we approximate to the true date, by means of the internal evidences furnished by the seven-line poem of Al-Kaswini; for in that we have—

"Specific reference to an event of Scripture history, which, so far as exactness of coincidence can be received as proof, fixes the date of the poem itself to a given point in the patriarchal times. For the seven years of plenty, followed by years of famine, which took place in the age of Jacob and Joseph, not in Egypt only, but 'in all lands,'† is here commemorated with a life and fidelity of description, which preserves to us, in an Arabic poem certainly of very high antiquity, neither more nor less than an abridgment of the relation in Genesis."—Vol. ii. p. 94.

Now in the Mahometan account of the tribe of Ad, (as given by Mr. Sale,) we are told that the descendants of Ad in process of time falling into idolatry, God sent the prophet Hûd (or Heber to preach to them. But they refusing to acknowledge his mission, He, to humble them, "*afflicted them with a drought for four years; so that all their cattle perished*, and themselves were very near it." And that, this visitation failing in its object,

* * Adah, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader, was the name of the first of Esau's three wives, and the mother of Eliphaz, the chief founder of the mighty race of Edom; who (as it is one of the primary objects of Mr. Forster's book to show) still lives in the names and families of his sons, Teman, Omar, &c.; and in the classical Oaditæ of Ptolemy. See Gen. xxxvi. 2, 4, 10; and 1 Chron. i. 36.

† Gen. xli. 54.

He sent "a hot and suffocating wind, which blew seven nights and eight days together," and destroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had believed in Hûd, and retired with him to another place. The close resemblance of this (when winnowed from the chaff of the Koran) with what is recorded of themselves by the lost Adites in the two inscriptions, cannot fail to strike the reader, whether as to their instruction in the doctrine preached by Hûd (recorded in the first inscription); or as to the seven plenteous years succeeded by a famine, and the consequent destruction of all, even to every "foot and hoof" of cattle; and lastly, the one grand cause which drew down upon Ad its awful calamities, recorded in the second Arabic poem.

But since (from this second inscription, concurring, as it does, with the native accounts) the Adites would appear to have been broken down as a nation in that famine, the dates of the two poems can be pretty nearly ascertained. The long one—belonging to the period of their prosperity—must be a little, and but a little, prior to the Egyptian famine; while the shorter poem is as clearly the work of some person who had escaped the general destruction of his nation, and must be referred to a date a few years posterior to the calamity it relates, while the greatness, the guilt, and the annihilation of the tribe of Ad was still fresh in the memory of man.

From the date of the actual inscriptions the mind naturally turns, in the last place, to that of the Hisn Ghorab alphabet. Mr. Forster shall give his conclusion in his own words:—

"The same evidences which assign to this alphabet a date within five centuries of the deluge" [what they are we have shown], "assert its claim to be 'the first alphabet of mankind; for, although the tongues were confounded shortly after that event, there is no reason to suppose that the signs of speech were changed. On the contrary, the extraordinary coincidences of form between the characters used by the most different and distant nations, plainly lead to the directly opposite inference, viz. the common, and therefore the primeval origin of written language. But, if this be so, there is every moral presumption to favour the belief, that, in the Hisn Ghorab inscriptions we recover the alphabet of THE WORLD BEFORE THE FLOOD.'"—Vol. ii. p. 408.

The very singular opinion expressed in these latter words involves so many considerations of extreme difficulty as well as interest, that it would be a mockery of the subject to enter upon them in the confined limits which alone we could at present afford. We must content ourselves with remarking, that there seem to us to be certain difficulties in the way, which we do not see at the moment how to remove; and that, at all events, we must weigh the subject much more fully, before we

can assent to the conclusion which the learned author's enthusiasm has led him to adopt.

We must, in conclusion, again remind our readers that we do not profess to give our warrant for the truth of all that we have been stating. We have merely been endeavouring to excite their curiosity to study a book, which, whatever value we may attach to the author's lucubrations, is certainly not destitute of singular interest. We have been endeavouring (and, we trust, not altogether unsuccessfully) to give a succinct and connected account of the various steps in the process of investigation, and of the arguments by which the author arrives at his conclusions. To do this, we assure the reader, was no easy task. We are not in the habit of considering ourselves duller than most other people; and yet, in so unconnected a shape has Mr. F. sent forth his various bits of facts and scraps of argument; so ingeniously has he contrived to mix up what he could do and what he could not do, what he conjectured and what he has discovered; so perversely has he refused to cancel so much as a single line of all that he wrote by guess-work, before he had succeeded in deciphering a single word of the inscriptions: to such an extent, we say, has he done this, that it was not till after several perusals, and making innumerable references, that we contrived to fix his arguments in our head with sufficient clearness to explain them to others.

While the pen is in our hands, we would beseech Mr. Forster to amend his style a little: somehow, it is terribly tedious. Nearly in every page he indulges one with half-a-dozen little equidistant dots set in a row, like knots on a string,—with what conceivable object it is hard to imagine (as a simple comma or hyphen would have served his presumed purpose much better), unless, as Bentley said to Boyle, it be to show the *knottiness* of his subject. Will he forgive us too, if we suggest to him, in future, not “arbitrarily” to puzzle us with long newly-coined words, but to “pretermit” all such affected Faber-isms? Nor can we repress a regret, that one who really had so much to tell, should have condescended to attempt to add to his own laurels by repeatedly, and needlessly, and wantonly calling attention to the unsuccessful attempts of Professor Rædiger, and that late eminent scholar, Gesenius.

One word more, and we have done. While we are bound to confess that we cannot *quite* make *all* the Hadramutic tally with the Arabic,—*e. g.* the second word in line 6 of the ten-line inscription,—we must, nevertheless, record our persuasion that Mr. Forster has been, in the main, successful; and one very significant proof of this is, that after he had deciphered the long inscription, by the aid of the key unconsciously furnished

by Schultens from Al-Kaswîni (and without which key, he candidly confesses, that "no sagacity of mind or skill in languages could have availed"—Vol. i. p. xix.), he was enabled to translate four other inscriptions and a monogram, of which there is *no* Arabic version. And even though he may have hazarded a few insufficiently supported assertions, and may not be quite borne out in the legitimacy of all his conclusions; and even though he may occasionally herald forth his discoveries with a little too great pomposity, or indulge in a somewhat ludicrous vein of congratulation of "the *ould* country," for one of whose sons it has been reserved to make such discoveries; still we can well understand the enthusiasm and bubbling joy of one who (to say the least) had strong grounds for believing himself to be "conversing, as it were, with the immediate descendants of Shem and Noah; not through the doubtful medium of ancient history, or the dim light of Oriental tradition, but in their own records of their own annals, 'graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever.'"

We must make great allowance for a little want of soberness in one who found himself penetrating thus into the "*cunabula gentium*," and recovering the key to perhaps the most ancient language of the world,—"*so long lost, so much desired, and so fruitlessly sought after by the first names in Oriental learning*;" from the days of Pocock and Laud, to those of Kennicott and Sir William Jones.

If Mr. Forster be in the right, two important results follow. First of all, the question as to the art of writing among the Hamyarites (which was matter of conjecture only with Pocock) is set at rest by the recent discoveries in Yemen and Hadramaut: which discoveries are most important too in another way, as accrediting the account given by Firazabandi, after Ebn Hesham, and cited by Pocock in the Specimen, of a sepulchral inscription, brought to light in Yemen, of a Hamyarite princess, Tajah; who sent messenger after messenger to Joseph in the time of the great famine, and at length perished on failing to procure a supply: these discoveries (we say) are important, both as accrediting that account, by the demonstration they afford of the existence there of written characters in very remote times; and as supplying an independent confirmation of Mr. Forster's correctness in the date he assigns to the seven-line poem.

And, secondly, though nothing of all this can increase the certainty of our Faith, we yet have monuments here which do add a little to our conscious enjoyment of all that, as Christians, we confess, hold fast, and cherish. For, whatever questions may still be raised by the evil spirit of unbelief against that

faith by which we stand, we are here assured that we hold a communion of belief in "the Resurrection-mystery" with the sons of Esau: that pious Job really was no stranger to this same source of comfort (as the Church has concluded from the famous passage in chap. xix. 23—27, though Patrick and other commentators have affected to doubt it); that, in short, the truth which the revelation of Jesus Christ has stamped with a certainty it never had before,—which animates the efforts of the living, and lights up the closing eye of the dying Christian in these latter days of the world's existence,—was known and was cherished 3500 years ago; was indeed the primitive religion of mankind.

- ART. III.—1. *Einleitung in die Christ-Katholische Theologie.* Von G. HERMES. Münster: Erster Theil, 1819; Zweiter Theil, 1829.
2. *Annali delle Scienze religiose.* Vol. IX. 27. Roma, 1839.
3. *Der Hermesianismus und Johannes Perrone, sein Römischer Gegner.* Von Dr. P. I. ELVENICH, Professor der Philosophie an der Universität zu Breslau. 1844.
4. *Die letzten Hermesianer.* Von H. J. STUPP, Königl. Preuss. Justizrathe, &c. &c. &c. Siegen und Wiesbaden. 1844.

THE following passage in the ‘*Pensées de Pascal*,’ very forcibly expresses a truth, which is almost universally acknowledged by Christians, but which it is not always easy to carry into practice: ‘*La dernière démarche de la raison, c’est de connaître qu’il y a une infinité de choses qui la surpassent. Elle est bien faible, si elle ne va jusque-là. Il faut savoir douter où il faut, assurer où il faut, se soumettre où il faut. Qui ne fait ainsi n’entend pas la force de la raison.*’ Human reason is, indeed, a mysterious and an awful gift: like all the gifts of God, it is given for use; more, perhaps, than any other, it is liable to be abused. And the line of demarcation between the use and the abuse is not always so strictly defined, as to remove all doubts, or relieve man from that responsibility, which, according to the will of his Maker is, in every moment of his life, imposed upon him.

This, accordingly, is the question which, age after age, is recurring; which is at the bottom of half the disputes that have agitated the world: What is the use of reason, and what the abuse? In other words, What are its legitimate functions? Of religious controversies especially, the most important in modern times have been in effect, if not expressly, concerned with this subject. And in no country more so than in Germany; from the days of Luther and Melancthon to our own, it is around this point, as around a centre, that all vital questions have revolved. Luther himself has written against the use of reason, in, perhaps, the strongest words which ever flowed from his powerful, but coarse pen; and yet Luther fought the battle of the right of private judgment against deference to authority. He strenuously and unbendingly asserted the supreme right of private judgment in the interpretation of Holy Scripture, and in determining the relative merits of its different books; he as emphatically denied the power of human reason to discern or even to comprehend the divine truths revealed, maintaining even that some of them are in themselves wholly irrational and absurd—a strange inconsistency, into which he was led by the force of circumstances, and which has caused unnumbered woes

to the various Protestant bodies. The same opinions were maintained by his more zealous followers; and seventy years after his death, it was asserted by Hoffmann, a professor at the University of Helmstadt, that whatever is true according to human reason and philosophy, is always false in religion, and *vice versa*. From that time, however, a very different theology began to prevail. The philosophy of Leibnitz and Wolff opened a breach for rationalism; and under that of Kant it deluged the land, and swept away all the landmarks, the confessions, and symbolical books, which had been erected with so much labour. Thenceforward, the learned men of Protestant Germany have worshipped only human reason; and the mass of the people have been given over to materialism and indifference.

Catholic Germany, during more than two centuries, avoided the contagion. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, however, some reforming tendencies became visible, which gave the ecclesiastical authorities at Rome some trouble, and inspired them with distrust, if not aversion, towards German theologians. J. N. Von Hontheim, Bishop of Trier, made, in 1763, under the assumed name of Justinus Febronius, a vehement attack upon the papal hierarchy, in a book ('*De Statu ecclesiæ et legitimâ Potestate Romani Pontificis*') which created an extraordinary sensation throughout Germany, and was translated into several languages. The Emperor, Joseph II., projected extensive plans of ecclesiastical reform, embracing, among other points, the marriage of priests and the use of the vernacular tongue; and the fruitless journey which Pope Pius VI. was compelled to make to Vienna, must have increased the feelings of alienation which subsisted between Rome and her German children; these feelings have been yet more heightened by the liberal views known to be entertained in the Catholic universities of Freiburg, and, until lately, of Tübingen, and advocated, with much success, by such theologians as Stattler, Wessenberg, Werkmeister, Huber, and, above all, Sailer, the late pious and venerated Bishop of Regensburg.

Towards the close of the last century, circumstances well known to our readers had exposed the Church of Rome to peculiar perils. Her discipline was not only endangered by the conscientious reformers of whom we have spoken, but her very faith was assailed by professed Catholics, who had become converts to the prevailing scepticism and infidelity. Even in the ranks of the priesthood, there were, throughout France and Germany, thousands of unbelievers.

George Hermes, at that time (A.D. 1795) twenty years of age, saw not the danger unmoved: and he imagined that it might

best be averted by showing, in opposition to the prevalent false philosophy, that the truth of religion, of Christianity, of the doctrines of the Catholic Church, might all be logically and convincingly demonstrated by the unaided powers of the human mind. It is strange that the same fear which three quarters of a century before had given birth to rationalism in the Lutheran Communion, should now be the means of introducing it into the Catholic. It was to counteract the influence of English empiricism, of which he discerned the atheistic tendency, that Wolff, in 1720, endeavoured to prove, from the light of human reason, the truth of the Christian religion, and of each article of the Lutheran creed; and it was to arrest the progress of French naturalism, that Hermes conceived the same idea, substituting only Catholic for Protestant doctrines. And both resorted to the same method, namely, that of meeting scepticism with scepticism. Wolff, namely, adopted the Cartesian system, which is based upon positive doubt. Divesting his mind of all he knew or believed, and determined to doubt the reality of everything that is proposed to him, he meets, at last, with one proposition,—that of his own existence,—the truth of which he cannot dispute; and taking that as a solid foundation, he builds upon it a system, of which the final conclusion is the creed of his own Church. Between this method and that of Hermes, there is no distinction whatever; although, of course, the result which the latter arrives at, is somewhat different. ‘I philosophised,’ says he, ‘with the determination to accept nothing as ‘real and true, or as not real and not true, so long as I could ‘continue to entertain a doubt.’—*Preface to Philosoph. Introduction*, p. viii.

That our reason was given to us to be employed on religious as well as other subjects, no one of common sense will now be tempted to deny; and even in the Church of Rome there have been those who have done good service to her cause, by adducing philosophical arguments in favour of the revealed truths. Such have been St. Basil, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus; and in modern times, more especially, the right use of reason in religious matters has been vindicated by Muratori, the light and the ornament of the Italian Church. To these writers the defenders of the Hermesian doctrine are very fond of referring; and they endeavour particularly to show a similarity between the line of argument adopted by the last named, and that of Hermes. But the road cannot be the same, if, as we shall show to be the case, the point from which they start is totally different. ‘Credo ut intelligam’ is the motto of a true Christian philosophy; we believe, and from belief we strive to arrive at knowledge. Hermes, on the contrary, seeks

knowledge first, and would then, through knowledge, find his way to faith, reversing in fact, the method, and saying, 'intelligo ut credam.' So we find, no doubt, that the Catholic writers were glad to accept the testimony of science and learning in favour of the doctrines which they believed: but they never imagined, like Hermes, that the belief itself should be based upon the researches of reason. 'If a religion,' says Muratori, 'is derived from God, every doubt of its truth is excluded, *for the divine authority is above even reason itself.*' On the contrary, Hermes teaches that 'the use of reason is unlimited in all that precedes the "dogmatik;" *it must be our sole guide, until it has found us another.*' Thus it is evident that as to the function of human reason at the very outset of our religious inquiries, there is a wide difference, or rather a direct opposition, between the teaching of Muratori, and that of Hermes.

No examination of the method adopted by the latter, could give us a clearer insight into its nature, than the narrative contained in the preface to his 'Philosophical Introduction,' which relates the circumstances by which he was led to adopt it.

Hermes, we have already stated, was twenty years of age, when owing doubtless, in a great measure, to the circumstances of the times,

"The following ideas; God,—revelation,—eternal life,—seized upon, and rivetted my attention, with a force as if they were the only ideas of which I had ever heard. There arose in my mind a number of questions and doubts concerning them, which occupied me day and night; all of which I certainly knew how to answer, but not one of which (I was on further inquiry obliged to confess) I could answer. And, as yet, I had not acknowledged to myself the principal doubt of all, 'whether there is a God;' until at last my conscience,—or by whatever better name you will designate the irresistible power within me, by which I was impelled,—charged me so loudly and so constantly with the dishonesty of which I was guilty, that I resolved to enter upon this question also, and indeed to make it the first of all."

He goes on to describe his dismay at finding that there was not a single book in existence, from which he could derive any aid in this inquiry; and then he proceeds:—

"Sorrowful, but not despairing, I retired within myself, and resolved not to rest, until I had found a convincing answer to my question, even if my whole life should be spent in the search. I began to study with the determination to let all that I might already know, only in so far count for knowledge, as I might now discover it myself."

It was in the year 1795 that he formed this resolution, and it was in 1818, 'having during three-and-twenty years been 'striving unceasingly to gain a conviction, and to maintain it

‘before the judgment-seat of reason,’ that he published his ‘Philosophical Introduction.’

We are not disposed to concur in the fearful charges of hypocrisy which are brought against Hermes by his Romish adversary, the Father Perrone, for having continued during so long a time to discharge the duties of a priest, and to fill the office of professor of theology at a Catholic University, while yet he was doubting the existence of a God. All men who are continually exercising their reasoning faculties, are more or less assailed by doubts; and there is no ground for supposing that Hermes regarded these doubts otherwise than as temptations, and earnestly strove to overcome them. That he adopted a wrong method of doing so, which led him to spend the best years of his life in disquiet and perplexity, does not affect his sincerity, or justify the charge of hypocrisy. And having overcome his doubts:

“Thus I have now,—thanks be to my God, whom I have found,—attained the conviction which I so much desired and sought. I am become certain, that there is a God, that I shall be, and live for ever; I am become certain, that Christianity is divine revelation, and that Catholicism is true Christianity.*—Therefore I now wish with my whole heart,—and what should I be, if I did not wish?—that all men should gain the same conviction, and be united with me, through the same faith, and the same hope, in the One God, and the One Catholic Church of His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.”

It is not necessary for our purpose, that we should institute a critical examination of the Hermesian system. It will suffice to mention that the author,—by means of series of derivations, which bear a considerable resemblance to the Kantian philosophy,—discovers three different grades or states of the reasoning faculties; *viz.* the state of holding an idea to be reality (*das Fürwirklichhalten*); the state of being resolved (*die Entschiedenheit*); and the state of conviction (*die Ueberzeugung*). We need not pursue our inquiries any further; it will be sufficiently obvious that this system is opposed to true Christian philosophy, when we consider that there is no place in it for one most necessary grace of the Christian character, namely faith. It is true that Hermes speaks enough of faith; but he is obliged to give a new definition of it, and to make it identical with one or

* Father Perrone rather unfairly falsifies the sense of this passage, in order to make it appear that Hermes during the whole of this portion of his life was at heart an infidel, and had entirely lost all knowledge and belief of God: “E così finalmente,” (which is not the meaning of the German ‘nun’)—“grazie al mio Dio, ch’io ho ritrovato!”—(the Italian implies a previous total loss, which the German word does not)—“io sono arrivato al convincimento;” on which he makes the following comment: “Lo star vent’anni e più prima di ritrovare il suo Dio, che è quanto dire, non sapere di Dio, nè credere in Dio per vent’anni e più.”—*Annali*, &c. p. 345.

the other of these states of mind which we have named: one or the other, for it does not seem quite clear, with which of the three he is desirous of identifying it. 'Faith,' he tells us, 'all other theologians have defined to be, the *holding a thing to be true* upon the authority of another, of God or of a man; but 'the distinctive words, "upon the authority of another" are 'incorrect.' And in another place he says, 'If we would define 'faith so as to exclude every kind of superstition, we must call 'it a *being resolved or convinced* respecting the truth of something 'recognised.'

Thus we see that the starting point of Hermes, and consequently the whole structure, is essentially rationalism. Rationalism and faith are necessarily irreconcilable with each other: faith in the common acceptation of the term, is, as described by Hermes, deference to the authority of a superior intelligence; while rationalism, on the contrary, is the holding a thing to be true or false upon the decision or the conviction of our own unaided reason. It is in vain that Hermes would persuade us, that when once reason has discovered the truth of the Christian revelation, it is then bound to believe the particular doctrines revealed, even should they be unreasonable. It is a mockery to give to reason the power of deciding on the truth or falsehood of a revelation, unless it is according to the reasonableness of its contents that the decision is to be made. The order of thinking in each individual mind would not be: 'I am convinced of the reasonableness of the revelation, and therefore I will believe its contents to be true;' —'but, I am convinced of the reasonableness of the contents, and therefore I will believe the truth of the revelation.' In his own case, however, Hermes endeavoured to follow the opposite course; with how little success is apparent in his posthumous work, the '*Christ-Katholische Dogmatik*,' which professes to be a defence of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, setting out from the conviction previously obtained, of the truth of the Christian revelation. As he only doubted in order to be able to believe, so now he seems to remember but too well, that it was only by doubting that his belief was obtained.

Hermes was neither a thinker nor a writer of the first order: but he was heart and soul in his system; he toiled at it day and night; and he had a wonderful faculty of inspiring his hearers with a sort of enthusiasm for the cause he advocated. It was, in fact, very evident that he was thoroughly in earnest, and that is, in many cases, the secret of success. In the year 1807 he became professor of dogmatic theology at the academy of Münster in Westphalia; and from the year 1820 until his death, which took place in 1831, he filled the same office in the

newly-founded university of Bonn. During this period he instilled his principles into a great number of admiring pupils, and it is said that in 1835 his system had been adopted in every Catholic university of Germany. He died in honour and renown, and his obsequies were celebrated amid universal sympathy, not only at Bonn, but also at Münster, which he had quitted eleven years before.

Up to the period of his death, and even for some years afterwards, the success of his teaching appears to have created no extraordinary alarm at Rome, or among the Romish party of Catholic Germany. But in September, 1835, a papal 'breve' was unexpectedly published, totally condemning the system of Hermes, and requiring all ecclesiastical authorities not only to discard his works from the seminaries of learning, but also to warn their flocks against 'feeding on such poisonous pastures.'

The papal 'breve' takes a very plain and intelligible view of the whole matter. It very properly avoids singling out particular passages, or heretical statements in the writings of Hermes; and contents itself with a sweeping condemnation of the whole system, on the broad ground, that the author 'has rashly departed from, and even haughtily despised and condemned, the royal road, which universal tradition and the holy Fathers have pointed out, in the exposition and defence of the verities of faith; and that he has paved a dark way to errors of every kind, in making positive doubt the basis of all theological inquiry; and in establishing the principle, that reason is the chief rule, and the only means, by which man can arrive at the knowledge of supernatural truths.'

Here we find the Church exercising her legitimate conservative office, resisting innovation, and boldly opposing the introduction of a fatal rationalism. Unimportant indeed, as the history of German Protestantism shows, is the prevalence of errors, even of fatal heresies, on isolated points, compared with the entrance of a wrong method of arriving at the truth, an erroneous rule of faith. And yet this is the momentous question, which more and more is absorbing all others; which under one form or another is appearing and reappearing, year after year, in every Christian country. It is no longer on isolated points of doctrine that men are disputing; they are doubting whether there be a doctrine? It is no longer whether they are holding the true faith that they are asking, but what is faith? Two views on this subject, and two only, are possible; the one is, that faith is the conviction of the individual mind; the other is, that faith is a deference to authority, the authority of God embodied in His Church. Mystify mankind with as many phrases as we will, it is to one or the other of these definitions

that we must at last return. Conceal it from others and from ourselves, defer the day of choosing our side as long as we may, it is to a division upon this question that we must ultimately come. And even now the division is taking place; all minor differences are falling away; Catholics and Protestants, Churchmen and dissenters, it is according to our views upon this subject, that even now we are ranging ourselves upon the field of battle.

The rulers of the Church of Rome have therefore taken their position upon a wise and a just ground, and deserve the gratitude not only of the members of her communion, but of all sincere Christians. We shall not be suspected of imagining that her doctrines are free from errors; but, assuredly, it were better that one-half of the Christian world should hold them as they are, than that they should resort to human reason to prepare a new creed for them. We have already adverted to the example of Lutheranism: Germany never boasted a theologian who was more orthodox in his adherence to every article of her professed creed, or more eager in its support, than Wolff; and yet he was the real founder of the whole system of the neology now prevailing, with all its blasphemy and unbelief. It is true that Lutheranism had no means of resistance: there was a Church only in name, totally devoid of any real energy or substantial power; and the puny opposition of the temporal rulers, who had made themselves petty popes, served but to hasten the progress of the invading philosophy. Again, and this was even more important, the leaders of the Reformation, in asserting the right of private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture, had established a principle, the consequences of which, sooner or later, were sure to appear and to prevail. The rapidity with which philosophy, when once it showed itself upon the theological arena, carried every thing before it, and became all in all to the German Protestant divines, is the best proof of the inconsistency of which Luther was guilty, when he made human reason supremely capable of judging one set of divine truths, and at the same time asserted it to be utterly powerless, and incapable of taking cognizance of another.

The Church of Rome, on the contrary, has no such difficulties to contend with. Whether the supremacy of her patriarchal ruler is usurped and illegal, or not; it is a real substantial power, and admirably adapted to its purpose. So likewise, in resisting the introduction of a new rule of faith, she is guilty of no inconsistency; admitting that she has herself innovated and permitted additions to the faith; still she has, in principle, adhered to one rule, the royal road which she commends; she has never authorized the use of private judgment; and we are never more disposed to indulge in sanguine hopes for her advance to greater

purity, than when we behold her, as in the case before us, wielding her enormous power with energy and wisdom, and opposing the progress of that false philosophy, which puts on the appearance of an angel of light, only that it may lead those whom it seduces, into darkness and perplexity. If ever Germany regains the character of a religious and a believing people, assuredly it will be owing to the efforts of the Church of Rome, unacknowledged, disowned though they may be by the majority of the nation.

The papal 'breve' appeared, and fell like a thunderbolt among the German Catholic professors; but they had learned their new system too well to resign, without a struggle, their individual convictions in deference to the authority of the Head of their Church. They could not, however, openly resist that authority; and they resorted, therefore, to the excuse, which has invariably been adopted by every party, which has incurred the censure of the Pope, and is not disposed to yield implicit submission. They declared their entire concurrence in the opinions expressed in the 'breve;' they looked with abhorrence upon every attempt to introduce dangerous novelties into the doctrines of the Church; they would willingly abjure any heresies which might be contained in the Hermesian writings; but,—they denied the fact that there were any; they protested that their system was in the strictest accordance with the Catholic doctrine; the Pope, they said, had been deceived by false translations and garbled extracts, and they appealed 'from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better informed.'

Here was abundant matter for another new controversy, or rather for the revival of a very old one. The nature and the extent of the infallibility which is to be ascribed to the Pope, have always been favourite topics with those whose opinions have been condemned by him; and the Hermesians eagerly seized upon this question, and commenced a controversy which is still raging with unabated violence. In doing so, they showed considerable skill; they diverted the public attention from the real point at issue, where they had the worst of the argument, and engaged it in a much more popular question, in which they had decidedly the best. They concealed the fact that the papal 'breve' had purposely abstained from stigmatizing particular passages in the writings of Hermes as heretical; and had rather condemned the tendency of the whole system as anti-catholic and fatal; and they pretended to believe that the Pope was actually ignorant of the real nature of their contents. And in order to strengthen the inference which they drew from this statement, they resorted to the '*distinctio juris et facti*,' an argument which was especially rendered notorious by the Jansenists in the seventeenth century. They had, in truth, an easy

task ; it was easy to show that from the time of St. Augustine, every Bishop of Rome has reversed, not only the decisions of his predecessors, but, in many cases, his own ; and that these decisions and reversals had reference to the most important doctrines, and the most important measures, exercising a powerful influence upon the welfare of the Church, and the purity of her doctrine. It was easy to show that Origen, Paul of Samosata, Arius, Athanasius, Pelagius, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Theodoretus, Abailard, and many others, had been alternately condemned and acquitted, even by general councils, with the concurrence of the Popes ; it was easy to show that the sentences of Petrus Lombardus, the writings of Galilei, the works of Belarmin, the Ecclesiastical History of Natalis Alexander, which were all at a later period commended by Rome, and adopted in her theological colleges, were at one time in the index of forbidden books. It was as easy to show, that with regard to the adoption of most important legislative measures, such as the suppression of the order of Jesuits, a change of purpose has been manifested, which is incompatible with the idea of an infallibility in matters of fact.

But a little consideration will show that this question, so artfully raised, and so strenuously maintained, does not, after all, materially affect the real point at issue. An immense majority of Roman Catholic divines have always admitted the truth of the distinction pleaded by the Hermesians ; nay, the infallibility of the Pope, even on points of doctrine, has been denied by many to be a dogma of their Church. The Irish bishops, in their celebrated declaration of 1826, assert that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, and that they are not bound to believe, that the Pope is infallible. In the 'Catechism of the distinctive doctrines of Catholics and Protestants,' published in 1844, under the sanction of the Archbishop-coadjutor of Cologne, the great mover in Germany against Hermesianism, it is as distinctly stated, that "the Church has never decided that the Pope is infallible." Bossuet relates, that the doctrine of the infallibility was first asserted at the council of Florence, and Fleury names the Dominican Cajetan as its author.

But the question for true members of the Church of Rome, is not whether the Pope is infallible, but whether they are to receive his decisions as if he were. 'The Church,' says Count Joseph de Maistre, who has placed the subject in its true light, 'must, in some way or other, be governed just as every other society, otherwise there would no longer be any catholicity, or any unity. The governing power is, then, by its very nature, infallible—that is to say, absolute ; otherwise it would no longer govern.' 'The question is not merely whether the Supreme Pontiff is infallible, but whether he must be infallible.' The

Pope, according to the present constitution of the Church of Rome, is the governing power, the last tribunal, from which there is, and can be, no appeal; and, therefore, whether his judgment is really correct or not, absolute submission is the duty of all, who would not renounce her communion. Of such submission an illustrious example was afforded by Fénélon, who retracted without reserve all that had been condemned, and submitted himself implicitly to the decision of the papal chair.

And on this view of the subject there can be no distinction between doctrine and fact. Under every government disputed facts, as well as disputed doctrines, must be submitted to some tribunal, from which, if unity is to be preserved, there can be no appeal; and, the legality of the tribunal once recognised, it is the duty of all the subjects of that government to aid in the accomplishment of its decrees.

And in this point of duty the 'last Hermesians' have signally failed. That they should labour for a reversal of the papal decree,—that they should send a deputation to Rome to counteract the influence of the supposed calumniators of Hermes, and to open the eyes of the Pope to the real nature of the Hermesian system,—was perfectly just and natural; but that, until such a reversal was pronounced, and even after their attempt to convince the Pope of his mistake, they should refuse submission, was a manifest breach of the duty, which is due from every sincere Romanist to the supreme ruler of his Church.

The Archbishop of Cologne, the austere and venerable Clement Augustus, Baron Droste zu Vischering, in the execution of his duty of suppressing the Hermesian doctrine, resorted to the following measures: 1. He addressed a circular to all the priests in the town of Bonn, instructing them what answers to return to any questions which might be proposed to them, respecting the Hermesian writings, in the confessional. 2. He published eighteen theses, to which he required the subscription of all the clergy in his diocese. 3. He refused to give his sanction to the courses of lectures announced by the Catholic professors at the University of Bonn. This last measure was followed by the most important consequences; it interrupted the career of all theological students, and concerning the more interesting question of mixed marriages, involved the Archbishop in difficulties with the Prussian government, which ended in his forced resignation of his see: not however, without the admission on the part of Prussia, that the measures adopted for the suppression of Hermesianism were entirely justified, as well as perfectly legal. The new archbishop persevered accordingly in the same course; the negotiations have been carried on during several years, and all the disciples of Hermes have finally submitted, except two of the professors of Bonn, Braun and Achter-

felt, who, with the concurrence of the Prussian government have now been deprived of their offices.

The last work upon our list is the most important among the numerous publications, which have appeared in defence of these, perhaps, very conscientious men, but certainly very bad Catholics. All that has been demanded of them amounts to a simple declaration, that they sincerely and heartily subject themselves to the whole and to every part of the papal decrees respecting the Hermesian writings. The unfortunate professors declare that their consciences will not permit them to comply with this demand, inasmuch as the expressions in the 'breve' imply that the doctrines promulgated by Hermes were erroneous, and that his writings contain heretical statements. This, they say, is contrary to fact; a fact of which the Pope is not an infallible judge, and to his judgment of which they cannot therefore with a good conscience submit.

"Whoever holds with us the firm conviction, that Hermes was not the man which he is described to be in the 'breve,' and that the condemned doctrines are not in reality contained in his works, cannot sign the required declaration, without either making use of a mental reservation, or directly bearing false witness."—P. 6.

Certainly the 'last Hermesians' have inconveniently tender consciences; but as certainly they have taken the very worst method of convincing the Pope that they do not share the dangerous error which is imputed to Hermes. Their whole argument is, in fact, the very clearest exemplification of the Hermesian method. Their formal acquiescence in a certain sentence is demanded; that sentence is founded upon the solemn decision of the very highest authority to which an appeal can be made; an authority to which, by the very constitution of their Church, they are bound to defer. But they dissent from the decision; they refuse compliance with the sentence; and to what higher tribunal do they appeal? To private judgment. Each person, they maintain, must yield or withhold his signature, according as he holds, or not, the individual conviction, that the writings of Hermes contain the imputed errors. What is this but the same principle, which has been used to justify every act of schism, and to swell the ranks of every leader of dissent? Liberty of conscience is the cry, with which authority has always been resisted; and among the Taper and Tadpole school so well described by the author of *Coningsby*, a 'good cry' may sometimes bring a temporary success. But surely every branch of the Catholic Church must be animated by higher motives; or the result will inevitably be that fatal indifference to doctrinal truth, which has speedily become the curse of every part of Christendom, in which individual conviction has taken the place of faith, and liberty of conscience been substituted for a willing obedience.

- ART. IV.—1. *Michelet. History of France. Part I.* Translated by G. H. SMITH, F.G.S. London: Whittaker. 1844.
2. *Thierry. Narratives of the Merovingian Era.* Translated. London: Whittaker. 1844.

WHETHER or no there be any perfect ideal of historical composition, the one best form of writing history for all ages and countries, if we look to experience, we find that in fact each age has ever had a fashion of its own, differing from that which preceded and followed it. We do not speak of writers contemporary with the events they write of. Such, even though the most jejune of annalists, must always have an interest independent of their form. But we speak of regular history, complete accounts of nations or countries, compiled in later times from books and records. Such history is a distinct species of composition, a work of art, having its own principles of taste to be guided and judged by.

Such history, almost more than any other branch of literature, varies with the age that produces it. Contemporary history never dies; Thucydides and Clarendon are immortal; but, on the other hand, no reputation is so fleeting as that of the "standard" historian of his day. A review of the historical literature of any nation will discover an endless series of decay and reproduction. The fate of the historian is like those of the dynasties he writes of; they spring up and flourish, and bear rule and seem established for ever; but time goes on, their strength passes away, and at last some young and vigorous usurper comes and pushes them from their throne. It is not because new facts are continually accumulating, because criticism is growing more rigid, or even because style varies; but because ideas change, the whole mode and manner of looking at things alters with every age; and so every generation requires facts to be recast in its own mould, demands that the history of its forefathers be rewritten from its own point of view. When Hume superseded Echard, his admiring contemporaries little thought that Hume himself would so rapidly become obsolete. Hooke was considered to have exhausted the history of the Roman Republic, and his *Roman History* to be the final book on the subject; but great as is the distance between him and Arnold, it is inevitable, in the course of things, that the next century will have to compose its own "History of Rome." And these mutations of popular favour involve the smaller satellites as well as the great planets of the historical heaven; Mrs. Trimmer and Goldsmith, pale before the rising light of Keightly

and Mrs. Markham, as the subs of office quit their desks when premiers deliver up their portfolios.

Our own immediate age is confessedly rich in works of the historical class. Poetry we have almost none, and but little philosophy; but history has attracted great attention among us. If among the varied merits of the successful writers of history who have appeared within the last twenty years, we were to select one trait which seems above others to be a common characteristic, it would be their vivid descriptive character, their painting their narrative to the eye. The personages of the story go through their parts before us like actors on the stage, with a rich and strongly-drawn background of scenery. We may call this kind of history—pictorial history. All writers, who are themselves gifted with strong imaginations, are masters of description; but with us this style is not a native gift, or a happy genius, but the result of art, to be learnt like other arts, or rather is attained by going through a uniform mechanical process. Take two or three old chroniclers, rapidly select the striking bits, such as will tell, translate them in a quaint antique phrase; and whenever any town is mentioned, get the description of it out of the nearest county history, and the business is done. The herd of superficial writers are, however, the index of the public taste. No reader can be insensible to the spell which such a master-hand as Thierry's wields by means of his graphic narration.

If we are right in thinking that this *picturesque* character is the common feature of our historians now, we may venture further to assert that it is not accidentally so, that it is no isolated fact, but only one instance of our whole moral condition. So prevailing a taste is something more than one of those transient fluctuating fashions which change with each generation of general readers, but one deeply seated in the mind of our age.

An attention, then, to external form, to accuracy of representation, is characteristic of an age of refinement. Such an age implies two things: a state of leisure and tranquillity, and a deficiency of moral energy, arising chiefly from the smoothness with which the current of social life runs down. Leisure gives a wide extent of knowledge and information. Generations of antiquarians have heaped together vast piles of facts, and have thus provided an abundance of raw material ready for our use. The philologist is the historian's pioneer; and no one can pretend fitly to write of any period who has not made himself master of all the facts preserved concerning it; and then the second of the two causes we have named, the quiet and even tenour of existence will determine our interest towards the secondary rather than the primary objects of knowledge. A time of peace and security inevitably tends to foster an umbratile and

academic science. Curiosity is withdrawn from the momentous questions which have interest only for noble souls; and an attenuated pedantry coldly wonders at the "little importance of the points theologians have been ready to die for." Then is the age of little, well-informed minds. It is only when the contest between good and evil becomes sharp and deadly, when men are forced into daily and hourly action in matters where they cannot be indifferent spectators,—it is only in entering heart and soul into the dust and heat of the Church's war with the world,—that the mind comes within the sphere of great principles, and begins to feel their imperious right to control its movements.

"When religion and the interests of the soul are the subjects of debate, the sparks of human energy are kindled as by a charm, and spread with the rapidity of an electric fluid. Opinions work upon actions, and actions re-act upon opinions; the defence of truth or error stirs up the moral powers, and leads men on to deeds of vigour; and the effects of active zeal reflect upon the opinions and systems of men, and raise them to those heights of speculative and logical abstraction, which are the wonder of beholders, and the enigma of future generations."—*Life of S. Germanus*, p. 14.

It would be leading us too far from our subject to show that an over-estimation of the trappings of social life is a prevalent turn of mind among us now. How it pervades all art, painting, engraving, architecture; how it has driven all true acting from the stage; how some have even sought to find an instance to their purpose in Shakspeare himself; for that his Romans are true Romans,—his barons, the genuine Norman barons;—Shakspeare, who seems to have purposely outraged costume, to have wantonly trampled on historical proprieties, as if for the purpose of showing that the true greatness of the dramatist lies in exhibiting man,—the broad traits of human character,—not the peculiarities of national manners.

If, however, it be the fact, that this taste be thus prevalent and deeply seated, the writer of history must conform to it, and endeavour to use it in the best way it admits of being used.

Now, as we well know that mere chronology, or the retention in the memory of facts, is often mistaken for history, and yet that all that is true is, that such dry knowledge is only the alphabet of history; so, though this pictorial history is far from being the proper end of historical science, yet is it a most valuable assistance in the study. "That we do not understand the ancients unless we frame distinct notions of such objects of their every-day life, as we have in common with them, under the forms their eyes were accustomed to; that we should go totally astray if, on reading of a Roman house, a Roman ship, Roman dress,

or the interior of a Roman household, we conceived the same notions which answer to those words in our own days" (*Niebuhr*), is indisputable; but we need continually to remember that such fidelity of conception is but the vehicle of the truths which history seeks to teach us. We must steer between two opposite faults; we must not yield too much to imagination, which is to turn poet; nor, on the other hand, must we confine ourselves to bare cataloguing of facts, which is to act the antiquarian instead of the historian. Both these extremes are deviations from the true path of history, but far from being both equally faulty. The former is the generous error of an early and simple age; the latter, the mean vice of a late and refined one. The former is the tendency of buoyant and high-hearted youth; the latter, of plodding and calculating middle-life. In youth, the ideal is all-in-all to us; and the imagination is all-sufficient to furnish and body forth the shapes which Poetry has drawn for us. Poetry is then the mind's natural aliment; we scorn facts, and prefer the true to the actual. But society will not listen to what it mocks at as "mere theory;" and genius, which seems the common inheritance of the young and ardent, after being often cruelly overthrown by unexpected demands of proof and data for its assertions, either retires altogether from the attempt to make itself heard, or vents itself in the half-reserve of poetry, or more commonly descends into the arena of life to contend now on unequal terms against the sharp pettifogging intellect by which the world's prizes are carried off.

The same distinction obtains between an early and a late age of the world, as between the youth and manhood of the man. An early age dressed history in the garb of fancy; it conceived the externals of man and the forms of art, of which it read or heard, no otherwise than those which it saw every day before its eyes. The Italian painters of the sixteenth century drew the twelve patriarchs and the senators of old Rome both equally in the robe of the citizen of Florence, or the Apostles in a Dominican's gown. Petrarch looks on Stefano Colonna as an old patrician, and Rienzi as a tribune of the people. As in Dante's eyes Virgil was a Lombard; or as in the middle ages the Parthenon was identified with the Temple of the Unknown God, and the Temple of Theseus was supposed a church of St. George. The richness of the Gothic genius thus suffusing with its own hues and colouring, and so blending into one all ages, nations, and faiths, as in the harmonious variety of one of its gorgeous windows, symbolizing the universal triumph of Christianity. In this case, the mind, manly and vigorous, looks at the essential, rather than the accident; at the man, rather than his dress. It goes direct to the substance of history, to that which is really

philosophical in it, and neglects only the shell and husk of history. Its conscience is more active than its taste. It looks at actions to see what may be their ethic content; what instruction for practice they afford. It is a wise, but not a learned age.

But the tendency of a highly civilized age is to be learned and informed rather than wise. Its points of contact with the history of past times are many, but they are all on the surface; it just misses the few deep points on which the life and heart of the old age was centred. It attends to the externals of history, to "the transitory forms which it assumes, rather than to the principles of permanent application which it includes." Correctness of costume is its great aim in writing history. Hence, its personages are like the figures in Madame Tussaud's exhibition, strong likenesses, but of the body and clothes, not of the soul. They are works of ingenuity, not of art. Last of all, a dry, dusty, and soulless antiquarianism comes in and quenches the lamp of history. More than one able historian has made shipwreck on this shoal. In a laborious anxiety to be correct, they have evaporated away all the spirit of their book. It is a much worse symptom when this spirit invades the sacred history of the Church. It has done so, we fear, among us to a pernicious extent. A nation indifferent to the creeds, is seized with a sudden passion for ecclesiastical art. We read Bingham, and fancy we are studying ecclesiastical history. Descriptions of religious ceremonies, the interior of monasteries, the dress and food of the monks, are favourite reading with persons who are quite unable to follow, even in thought, the interior purpose, the inward life, the description of whose outward forms is their every-day study. Far more respectable and consistent indeed than this fashionable coxcombry, which pollutes by its patronising dilettanteism the relics of middle-age art, while it spurns the religion which inspired that art, and can alone give it meaning, was the honest ferocity of the sixteenth century which broke painted windows, defaced coats of arms, cut up illuminated missals, and violated sepulchral monuments—just as the Turks had done at Constantinople,—because they bore the image and print of "the beast."

At the head of the class of the pictorial historians stands Augustus Thierry.* He is no mere antiquarian. His graphic narrative has all the vividness that art can give to description of what the describer has not actually witnessed. Yet he never loses himself in mere ornamental description for description's sake. He uses it for the sake of giving relief to the events. He paints to the understanding through the eye. He stands

* His brother Amadeus has written a laborious History of the Gauls.

thus midway between the contemporary historian of the old age, and the modern antiquarian historian. In the same way as Rubens stands between the old masters, and the miniature Dutch school. For the Flemish artist, transcendent as his merit is, has more affinity with the latter school, which is yet so far beneath him, than with the former. If then the error be guarded against of thinking this knowledge of the external desirable for its own sake—of treating history as if it were a series of *tableaux vivans* intended to please the eye, the picturesque is one of the most happy and appropriate of the forms in which history can clothe itself. It is naturally a great help to a right understanding of the inward thing. “I have seemed to myself,” says one who is certainly not chargeable with neglect of the substantial of historical science, “to gain a far more lively impression of what James I. was, ever since I read those humorous scenes in the Fortunes of Nigel, which remind one so forcibly, that he spoke a broad Scotch dialect.”*

And it is not only the most fitting form, but some degree of it may be safely said to be the indispensable form for modern readers. Perspective is not essential to a picture as a work of art: yet how grotesque and insupportable would be a modern painting which should neglect it! The eye once accustomed to it cannot dispense with it. No one now reads Machiavel or Mitford; yet, notwithstanding all the vast additions made since they wrote to our just knowledge of Greece and Rome, which of the more recent historians who have so far surpassed them in accuracy of detail, in scholarship, in familiarity with the habits and temper of the classical nations, have come near them in the vigour and truth which they threw into that history, in drawing from it lessons of practical wisdom and statesmanlike policy?

We can well understand how a mind, which either by training or accident, has habitually thus cultivated imagination in connexion with historical study, will find one of its highest pleasures in actually visiting the scenes which have been long familiar to it in books. This is the richest reward of the student of history, one of the advantages which his pursuit has over those of a more abstract nature, when he is thus enabled to fix and localize the events on which he speculates, to verify and give material substance to what were otherwise the shadows of names and places. It is this that gives its chief charm to travel. Indeed, the instinct of pilgrimage, as it has been said, “belongs not exclusively to religion at all. It is the simplest dictate of our nature, though piety has consecrated the practice and marked it for her own. Patriotism, poetry, philanthropy, all

the arts and all the finer feelings, have their pilgrimages, their hallowed spots of intense interest, their haunts of fancy and inspiration. It is the first impulse of every genuine affection, the tendency of the heart, in its fervent youthhood ; and nothing but the cold scepticism of an age which Burke so truly designated as that of calculators and economists, could scoff at the enthusiasm that feeds on noble ruins, that visits with emotion the battlefield, and the abbey, Shakspeare's grave, or Galileo's cell, or Runnimeade, or Marathon." (*Prout's Reliques.*)

The truth is, that that magnetic influence which irresistibly draws our feet to spots on which our imagination has long fed, is an instinct of our nature, and that in this, as in other respects, the Church did but take into her service, and propose a fitting object to, an impulse which will vent itself in some form or other. There have been pilgrims both before and since the ages of faith, the ages when the Church bore sway over every action of life. Only she sent them to the tombs of saints and martyrs, and filled their paths with sacred associations, instead of leaving them to roam at will in search of the relics of pagans or infidels, with Byron or Rousseau in their pockets as the companions of their way. The Church cannot be said to have created pilgrimages, or even to have encouraged them—she suffered them, and gave them a direction which might, at least, edify. But "*qui multum peregrinantur, raro sanctificantur*" is her doctrine. At the same time she conceived doubtless, that she might do much worse than in proposing to our imitation the example of those unknown Threes, the earliest Christian pilgrims, for whose guidance and consolation in their journey a new star was created—and in directing the footsteps of her children more especially to that land which has been hallowed for ever by the presence of one, who is the Lord, Whose servants the saints and martyrs are

This is a task quite distinct from a love of grand scenery—a love of nature. For this we must go to particular spots of the earth, where there are mountains, rocks, lakes. North America or South Africa, lands the least interesting to the historical traveller, will supply the richest objects to the lover of scenery. It is the old historical lands of Europe that the lover of history longs to explore. None of these are more attractive to him than France. Its natural scenery preeminently, in western Europe at least, tame, and uniform ; but rich beyond all others in the traces of the men of old, and the associations of the past. For ourselves, at least were we younger, we could gaze for hours with Froissart on our knee, over that boundless plain of Languedoc, convicted of all guide-books of being arid, brown, and wholly uninteresting. This old Languedoc, Roman and Gothic still. 'Descend from

‘ Cahors, its slopes clothed with vines, and you find yourself in the country of the mulberries. Spread before you a landscape of some thirty or forty leagues, a vast ocean of tillage, a confused mass, losing itself in the vapour of the distant horizon, above which rises the fantastic outline of the Pyrenees with their silvery peaks. Oxen, yoked together by the horns, slowly beneath the eye of an ardent sun, labour this fertile valley. At mid-day, a storm; the ground becomes a lake; in an hour the sun has restored it to its state of dust. At night you enter some big dull town; Toulouse if you will. At the first sound of that nasal accent you might think yourself in Italy; and look at the faces of the people, they are not French, quite another thing, Moorish perhaps, or Spanish.’ (*Michelet.*)

Nor, we hope, are we singular. Among the shoals of the frivolous and dissipated which this country annually discharges upon the continent, there are, we would hope, to be found some few thoughtful travellers who are attracted to foreign lands by a love of the localities associated with the memory of the great and the saintly of ancient times. Such is perhaps the nearest approach we may make to the motives of the Christian pilgrim. Such a voyager, if it has ever been his hap to turn his feet to Orleans, and descending to the water-side to embark in one of the tiny iron steamers belonging to M. Larochjacqueline, glide with sinuous course down the Loire, its banks still clad with the broom which gave their title to the Plantagenets, the sunny and laughing landscape once only gloomily broken as we sweep beneath the frowning Blois; such a voyager will seldom feel this spell upon his spirit more powerfully than when, before sunset of a long summer’s day, the little vessel is moored to the quay of Tours.

What a host of thoughts and images that one name carries! The ecclesiastical capital of early France—what Canterbury was to England—the depository of the wonder-working remains of the Apostle of Gaul, the light of the Western Church in the fourth century. The virtue of St. Martin’s precious relics was in most active operation during the fifth and sixth centuries. The miracles and power of the saint called forth the devotion and munificence of the people, poor and rich alike, and Tours became the centre round which churches, monasteries, and religious foundations crowded. Of all this what now remains? The healing power had been long withdrawn, and at last Providence was pleased to permit the body itself which He had so highly endowed to be dishonoured and carried off. With it went the splendour which had accumulated round it. The Huguenots had pillaged the shrine; the revolution swept it away altogether. Of the vast cathedral of St. Martin, of whose

abbey the king of France was Abbot, and a crowd of the great of all lands were canons, two towers are all that remain. The Church of St. Julian, equal in size to most cathedrals, was in 1842 a coach-house, and at the very time we are now writing, is placarded with bills, "To be sold or let." Grope among those vineyards and orchards in the little village over the bridge, you may detect an archway, and a piece of a wall; that was the abbey of Marmontier, founded by St. Martin himself. All this is familiar enough to us in our own country—but it strikes us more in one which is still to so great an extent catholic as France. Are the Church's saints in this respect like the heroes of the world, that there may come a time when they shall be as though they had never been? when all that the Church retains of them is the memory of their example; and that a book is a more enduring legacy than a saintly life, and a body gifted with miraculous power?

For so it is, that while the Church of France possesses not a vestige of St. Martin, another saint of the same city of Tours has left a book which is not only esteemed in the Church, but has had the honour, which the actions of saints so seldom have, of commanding the respect of the world. The "History of the Franks" of St. Gregory is not only a most valuable monument of the history of the early French monarchy, but it is the only one. It is in this respect like Bede's "History of the English nation," though widely different from it in other respects. But for Bede we should know nothing of the early history of the Saxons in England—without Gregory of Tours, we should be equally ignorant of the first settlement of the Franks in Gaul. But in all other points it is a complete contrast to Bede. In the first place, the style of Bede, if not elegant Latin, is yet correct, sufficiently classical. It is a written style, such as was learnt in the cloister schools by the help of Donat, Tullius Rhetorica, and matured by reading the Latin fathers, St. Augustine, and St. Ambrose. St. Gregory of Tours has no style, barely grammar; barbarisms and solecisms of all kinds abound, and the brevity and conciseness with which events most important to understanding his narrative are related, if it does not make his meaning obscure, at least requires great attention in the reader not to overlook anything. In the opening he "prays pardon of his readers if he should in letter or syllable infringe the art of grammar, with which he is indeed not fully imbued." In fact, Bede is writing in a dead language, Gregory in a living. Bede no doubt spoke it and heard it spoken every day in cloister, but then he had learned to do so from books; Saxon came first and readiest to his lips. While the Latin which Gregory writes, is with little difference, his native tongue.

The difference is not less in the matter of the two histories. Bede viewed the world only from the retirement of his cell. He knew events chiefly as they appeared in books. Even the history of his own time is drawn from what was communicated to him. So that, however correct it may be, it wants that truth of delineation which can only be given by one who has been himself an agent in the scenes he describes. This St. Gregory was. For the ten books of which his history consists may be divided, as regards the authority on which it rests, into four portions. 1. All that precedes the arrival of the Franks in Thuringia is little more than a short chronological epitome of the history of the world derived from some of the compendious chronicles then in use, and abounding in errors. 2. From this period to the middle of the sixth century his materials are chiefly Sulpicius Alexander, the letters of Sidonius, St. Remigius, and the *Gesta* of the saints of the period. 3. For the generation preceding his own time his authority is tradition, chiefly that of his uncle St. Gall, and St. Avitus, successive bishops of Clermont, in whose house St. Gregory was brought up. 4. The last forty or fifty years he describes what he himself saw and knew, and in which he played an active part.

This is therefore the most valuable part of the book. He occupied the see of Tours twenty-three years, from 573 to 596. The value and interest of the last five books of his history which are occupied with this period, we should rate far higher than any part of the writer who stands in a similar relation to our own history, and with whom we have already compared him. They are not the learned and accurate arrangement of the annals of the several Frankish kingdoms, the successions of the bishops, royal houses, etc., all which is indeed most valuable to the antiquarian, but dry and profitless to others. On the contrary, they present a living stirring picture of the Church and State of those days: the rude violence, and unscrupulous cunning of the Merovingian princes; their ambition and lawless passions; brought into contact with a moral power claiming their obedience, and forcing from them a sort of recognition of its claims, while they at the same time endeavoured by some clumsy expedient, or grotesque ruse, to evade it. The Church studying the barbarian temper for the purpose of winning it to Christ; often obliged to give way, but never compromising principle; always yielding as to brute force, not out of a timid complaisance; managing, coaxing the despot, as a fond nurse an overgrown and dangerous child, not fawning upon him as on a patron who has much to give. For no chair of dignified ease was a bishop's throne in the sixth century. To do one's duty thoroughly is not easy in the most peaceable times. But then a

conscientious bishop might be truly said to place his life in jeopardy every hour. Not even within the precincts of a Turkish seraglio were the knife and the poison-cup more lavishly employed than by Fredegonde.

"This genuine female barbarian possessed herself of the poor king of Neustria, more a theologian and grammarian than a prince; who owed to the crimes his queen perpetrated in his name, the title of the Frankish Nero. She made him first strangle his legitimate spouse Galswinthe; her sons-in-law followed; then the rival king of Ostrasia Sighebert. This terrible woman, surrounded by men whom her genius for murder had fascinated, deranging their minds by drugged beverages, beautiful and deadly, devoted to pagan superstitions, might be taken for a Scandinavian Walkirie."*

Such was the true and patient policy of the Church, and such the situation of those bishops who were faithful to their Master's calling. For there were without doubt many of a very different stamp, as the following narrative will show, while it will at the same time give a far better idea of the state of things under the Merovingian princes, than any comments of ours. Gregory himself is the chief actor, and exhibits in a situation of the utmost difficulty and peril, a union of prudence, tact, firmness, and unshrinking principle, which may furnish an example for a Christian bishop in all ages.

It may just be premised for the sake of making our story more intelligible, that the Franks had been in Gaul now about a century (the event we are about to narrate occurred in the year 577), and that the footing on which they stood with the old Gallo-Roman population was now pretty well understood on both sides. The Franks were the stronger, and therefore the masters; the Romans were the more able, and therefore indispensable to their masters, who were thus obliged to use them well. And this good usage was not entirely dependent on the caprice of the Frank, but was secured by law, if that could be called security which he had the power of violating whenever he chose. They were something in the relation of the Turk and the Greek in Greece, before the Greek revolution; with this important difference, that the Frank owed submission to the religion of the vanquished party, and learned with implicit submission his faith from the mouth of the Roman priest.

In a territorial point of view, the Frank empire was divided into three portions—which the chronicles, latinising the Frank terms, call the kingdoms of Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundia. Tours was comprehended in Neustria, which, under Chilperic,

* Michelet, i. 227.

extended from the Meuse almost to the present southern limits of France. Chilperic's capital was Soissons. Sighebert, king of Austrasia, or the East, which extended from Bar-sur-Aube into Bohemia, had lately fallen a victim to Fredegonde's assassins, and the throne was occupied by a minor, whose mother, the famous Brunchilde, governed as regent for him. Merovig, a son of Chilperic, but not of Fredegonde, had married Sighebert's widow, Brunchilde. Sighebert was his uncle, and marriage with his uncle's widow was forbidden by the law of God, the canons of the Church. It was also, but for quite another reason, highly displeasing to his father Chilperic. Merovig however found one who was willing, from personal attachment to himself, to violate the canons, and to brave Chilperic's or rather Fredegonde's resentment, by performing the marriage sacrament between himself and the Austrasian queen. This was the bishop of Rouen, Prætextatus, who from the day when he had held the young prince over the baptismal font, had felt for him one of those devoted unreasoning attachments, of which only a mother or a nurse are thought capable.

This was Prætextatus's offence. It was Fredegonde's object to punish him for it. And the surest and least obnoxious means of doing so seemed to be, by bringing him to a regular trial before a synod of bishops for his flagrant infraction of the canon law, in giving the marriage benediction to persons related in the degree in which Merovig and Brunchilde were.

The Trial of Prætextatus.

The bishops within the limits of the kingdom of Neustria were summoned to meet in synod, at Paris, at the latter end of the spring of 577. Chilperic and Fredegonde journeyed from their capital, Soissons, to attend it in person. The assembly was to be held in the Church of St. Genoveva, which crowned a height at no great distance from the City Island, then confined within the two arms of the Seine. The church had been built by Clovis, at the time of his departure for the war against the Visigoths. Arrived at the destined spot, he hurled his battle-axe straight before him, that the length of the edifice might remain a standing monument of the vigour of the Frank conqueror's right arm. It was one of those basilicas of the fifth and sixth centuries, built in imitation of the earlier Roman basilicas, more remarkable for the richness of their decorations than for beauty of architectural proportions. Its interior was ornamented with marble columns, and a profusion of paint, carving, and gilding; like one of the Jesuits' churches of the seventeenth century. Its roof was sheeted, like St. Peter's, with copper.

On the appointed day, forty-five prelates were assembled

within its walls. The king, attended by some of his leudes, armed only with their swords, entered ; but the body of inferior Franks who had followed him from Soissons, posted themselves, fully armed, outside, under the portico, occupying all the entrances. Under such circumstances an obnoxious criminal stood, we might suppose, small chance of justice. On entering, the king begged the attention of the synod to two bales of stuffs, and a sack of coin, which figured prominently on the pavement of the church, observing that they would prove of great importance in the course of the inquiry.

The accused was now brought forward. The king rose, and instead of addressing himself to the judges, turned towards his adversary, and thus bluntly apostrophized him :—" And what wert thou thinking of, O bishop, when thou didst marry my enemy, Merovig, (for such he is, rather than my son,) to his aunt, Brunchilde? Knewest thou not what the canons enact touching this thing? And not only herein hast thou offended, but, moreover, in that thou hast plotted my death, in concert with him. Thou hast stirred up the son to become his father's enemy ; thou hast seduced my people by bribes ; and thou hast sought to deliver my kingdom into the hands of another." At these words, the Frank warriors who crowded the doors of the basilica, raised a fierce shout of indignation, demanding the death of the traitor to their king ; and as their fury kindled, they pushed into the nave of the building, and showed an inclination of executing at once the sentence they had pronounced against the accused. The bishops, in alarm, quitted their seats, and it required all the personal influence of the king to check the turbulence of his irritated followers, which he was not sorry, perhaps, to have exhibited *in terrorem* to the assembly.

When order was in some measure restored, the criminal was allowed to answer in his own behalf. Not at all disconcerted by the scene that had just occurred, the wily Roman undertook to justify himself. He could not deny the fact of the uncanonical marriage, but he turned all his defence to vindicate himself from the charge of treason. Then Chilperic summoned his witnesses. Several persons of Frank origin came forward, and producing different objects of value, declared that they had been given to them by the bishop, on condition of their promising fidelity to Merovig. Prætextatus, not at all disconcerted, replied, " True, you have received presents from me more than once, but they were not given you with any view of expelling the king from his kingdom. But when you had bestowed valuable horses, or other things of like richness upon me, how could I do otherwise than make you some kind of return for them?" No more substantial evidence being producible against the bishop,

the synod broke up, and the king retired to his residence, not a little chagrined at having failed, with so many advantages in his favour, in procuring a conviction.

The bishops were withdrawn to the sacristy of the church, and were conversing in separate groups familiarly enough, but with an awkward reserve on the main subject. They distrusted one another. They knew what they ought to think of the business in hand. It was evident that the king sought the ruin of *Prætextatus*, and wished to make them his instruments in effecting his purpose. They would have refused their cooperation if they dared; but they knew how dangerous it would be to do so.

While they were in this mood, they were surprised by the abrupt entrance of Aetius, the Archdeacon of Paris. Entering with equal suddenness on the thorny subject which they were delicately shunning in their conversation among themselves—"Hearken, O priests of the Lord!" he cried; "the present occasion is one of infinite moment for you. According as you shall now act, you will either cover yourselves with the renown of a good name, or you will forfeit, in the face of all men, the character of faithful ministers of God, if you betray a brother to destruction." But the spirit of timid reserve still kept the bishops silent, and this generous appeal met no response.

The indignation of one among them was, however, roused by their pusillanimous silence. Gregory of Tours, finding that no one of more age or weight than himself spoke, came forward and said, "Holy priests of God, and you particularly, who are thought to enjoy a larger share of the king's intimacy, hearken to me. Do you now give the king godly counsel, and such as is fitting a priest should give; lest, now, this minister of God perish, by reason of the king's displeasure, for which God shall assuredly punish the king, and his realm. Remember, I pray you, what saith the prophet, 'If the watchman see a man's iniquity, and tell him it not, behold he is guilty of the death of him that dieth.'" (Ezek. xxxiii. 6.) And he reminded them of the cases of Chlodomir, and the Emperor Maximus, whose fate was considered a providential judgment on acts of violence they had committed against two Christian bishops. The bishops made no answer, and one by one they crept away, one part to withdraw themselves from the storm which they saw now inevitable; another party, chiefly consisting of those of Frankish race, to make their court to the king, by betraying the events of their private conclave.

Chilperic was speedily informed that the man he had to fear was the bishop of Tours. A messenger was immediately despatched to summon "his enemy" into his presence. Gregory

obeyed, and followed his conductor with a calm and composed mind. He found the king in the open air, sitting under a hut formed of the branches of trees, in the midst of the encampment of his warriors. Berthramn, the licentious bishop of Bordeaux, and Raghenemod, the bishop of Paris, who had been playing the honourable part of informer against their colleague, were at his side. Before them was a long table, on which was bread, and other meats, to be presented, according to the Frank custom, to each new visitor.

"Thou, O bishop," said the king, in an angry tone, "shouldest deal justice to all men; but, behold, I receive it not at thy hands. Thou art ready to become a partner in this man's evil deeds. And so I find fulfilled in thee that proverb, 'The crow pecketh not out the crow's eye.'"

"If any one of us, O king," answered Gregory, "transgresses the path of righteousness, he may be set right by thee; but if it is thou that transgressest, who shall set thee right? We may, indeed, tell thee thy fault, and if thou wilt thou hearest; but if thou wilt not hear, who is there that shall pass sentence on thee, save He who has declared that He is Justice itself?"

"Nay, verily," said Chilperic, "of all the rest I obtain justice, but of thee only can I not. This will I do, therefore, that thy injustice may be made apparent before all the people. I will call together all the men of Tours, and I will say to them, Raise your voice now against Gregory the bishop, and cry aloud that he is unjust, and rendereth justice to no man. And when they shall cry, then will I too cry to them; I who am a king cannot have justice at his hands, how then should you, who are beneath me?"

This flimsy hypocrisy, by which he who was all-powerful sought to pass himself off as the victim of others' injustice, inspired Gregory with a contempt which he could not dissemble, and he replied—"If I am unjust, it is in nothing of which thou knowest. He to Whom the secrets of all hearts are open, alone knows my conscience. As for the clamours of the people which thou mayest excite, they are nought, for all men will know that they cry at thy bidding. But what need of more words? thou hast the law and the canons; examine them diligently, and know if thou transgressest them that the judgment of God awaits thee."

The king, with the craft with which a barbarian knows how to conceal his passion when he pleases, assumed an air of familiarity, and pointing to a mess of pottage which stood among the viands on the board, said with an air of gentleness, "See a mess prepared specially for thee; nought hath gone into it save peas and some fowl." This was intended to flatter the bishop's

vanity, as though it was matter of notoriety that he abstained from more solid food. But Gregory was not the dupe of this stratagem, and bowing, in token of refusal, he answered, "My meat ought to be to do the will of God, and not to take delight in delicate meats. Thou who chargest others with injustice, begin by promising that thou too wilt abide by the law and the canons, and we may then credit that it is justice that thou seekest." Unwilling to break openly with the Bishop of Tours, whose great popularity at Tours, and indeed all over France, made him a person of much consideration, Chilperic lifted his hands, and calling the Almighty to witness, swore that he would not in anything trespass against the law and the canons. Then Gregory advanced to the table, and took a morsel of bread, and drank some wine, a ceremony of hospitality which could not be omitted without giving great offence. After this he retired to his lodging in the Church of St. Julian.

In the course of that night, after they had chanted nocturns, the bishop was roused by a loud and continued knocking at the door of the house. Sending down a servant to ascertain the cause, he was told that messengers from Queen Fredegonde desired to see him. Being admitted to his presence they saluted him in that queen's name, and told him that they were sent to pray him not to show himself obstinately bent on thwarting her wish in the matter now before the council. If he would declare against *Prætextatus*, and nothing more was needed to ensure his fall, they were authorized to promise him two hundred pounds of silver. With his habitual calmness and self-command, Gregory replied that he had but one voice amongst many, and that even if he were to give way, it would be far from deciding the matter. The messengers rejoined that it was all that was needed, for that they had already gained the votes of all the rest. Without changing his tone the bishop replied, "If the queen would give me a thousand pounds in gold and silver, it would be impossible for me to do anything but what the Lord commands me. All that I can promise is, to join the other bishops in all that they shall decide in conformity with the canon law." The messengers misunderstood these words, either from their ignorance of what was meant by the canon law, or from supposing that by "the Lord" (*Dominus*) the bishop intended the king, who was often so styled in ordinary language. They accordingly withdrew to carry to the queen this favourable report of the bishop's intentions.

The members of the synod were betimes next morning in the church, and the king, recovered from his disappointment, was equally punctual. In order to reconcile his oath of the previous evening with the accomplishment of the vengeance meditated

against *Prætextatus*, he brought to bear all his literary and theological knowledge. He had been diving into the collection of the canons, and had pitched upon one which enacted the heaviest punishment that could be inflicted on a clerk, that of deposition. All that was now needed was to bring a charge against the Bishop of Rouen, of such a nature as should fall within this penalty. This caused *Chilperic* no great embarrassment. When the judges and the accused had taken their places, the king, with the gravity of a doctor expounding ecclesiastical law, began: "A bishop, convicted of theft, shall be degraded from his episcopal functions. That is the Church canon." The synod was amazed at this opening, and all the members demanded with one voice who it was who was charged with the crime of theft. "It is he," said the king, turning to *Prætextatus*, "he himself; and have you not seen the matters of which he has robbed me?"

The members of the council now remembered the bales and the bag of money which the king had pointed out to them at the opening of the sitting. Unexpected and barefaced as was this new attack, *Prætextatus* replied with patience, "You must, I think, recollect that when Queen *Brunchilde* took her departure from Rouen, I went to you and informed you that she had deposited in my custody five bales of considerable size and weight; and that since then her servants had frequently demanded that they should be given up to them, but that I had always refused, not wishing to do anything without your sanction. Your answer to me at the time was, 'Have nothing to do with these goods, but let them return to her to whom they belong, that they become not a cause of quarrel between me and my nephew.' Immediately on my return to Rouen, I put one of the packages into the hands of the servants, which was as much as they could convey away at one time. When they returned for another, I again consulted your magnificence, and you gave the same answer as before: 'Get rid of these goods, O bishop, lest they become an occasion of quarrel!' Thus they carried away two more of the bales, leaving two still with me. How, then, do you now charge me with theft and robbery, as to goods which I stole not, but which were put into my keeping?"

"If, then, it was a deposit intrusted to your keeping," retorted the king, giving without scruple another turn to his accusation, "how came you to open one of the bales, and to abstract from it a piece of gold tissue, which you cut into small pieces, and distributed them among the men whom you had engaged in the plot against me?"

"These men of whom you speak had, as I have before said, made me presents; and having by me at the moment nothing else to offer them in return, I took that, and do not reproach

myself now for having done so; for I regard as my own all that belongs to my son Merovig, whom I took out of the fount of baptism."

The king knew not what to say in answer to such a genuine expression of paternal regard on the part of the aged bishop towards the young prince. Chilperic's resources were exhausted; and the assurance he had at first displayed, was now succeeded by an air of embarrassment and confusion; he broke up the sitting abruptly, and withdrew disconcerted and discontent. Above all, he dreaded the encounter with Fredegonde. Probably instigated by her reproaches, he soon after summoned to his presence those members of the council who were most at his command, and among others, Berthram and Raghenemod. "I confess," said he, "I am beaten by the answers the bishop has made, and well I wot he has spoken the truth. Whither, then, shall I now turn, that the queen's vengeance may be satisfied? Go ye, all of you, to him, and say to him, as if from yourselves, Thou knowest, brother, that the king, Chilperic, is a good and merciful prince, and is readily inclined to show mercy; humble thyself, therefore, now before him, and confess that thou hast committed that with which thou art now charged; then will we throw ourselves at his feet, and beg for thy pardon."

Whether the bishops persuaded their credulous and feeble colleague that the king, tired of the prosecution, was only anxious to extricate himself from it, without the disgrace of a defeat,—or whether they wrought on his fears by representing to him that his innocence, however manifest, could not save him from the royal vengeance, if he obstinately persisted in braving it,—*Prætextatus*, well acquainted himself with the timidity and servility of his judges, did not reject the proposal thus made to him. It was at best, he might think, a last resource, when all others should fail. His pretended friends, receiving the thanks of the man whom they were betraying, returned to the king to announce the success of their mission. The accused, they said, having come into the snare that had been laid for him, would make a full confession on the first appeal made to him. Thus Chilperic was delivered from the necessity of inventing any new expedient to assure the success of the procedure.

The next morning, at the opening of the sitting, the king, as if merely resuming the broken thread of the previous day's argument, said, pointing to the witnesses who were by, "If all you intended was to make a present to these men, how came you to demand an oath of them to the purpose that they would be faithful to Merovig?" Though his conscience must have been unstrung by the secret engagement he had made with the

bishops, Prætextatus, by an instinct of shame which, for the time, overcame his fears, revolted from the falsehood which he had bargained to tell against himself. "I begged them only," was his answer, "that they would be on terms of private friendship with him; and for his good I would not have appealed to men only, but would have called down, if I could, the angels from heaven, being, as he is, my spiritual son by baptism."

At these words, which seemed to indicate a purpose on the part of Prætextatus of persevering in his defence, the king's anger broke forth into a violence which so terrified the helpless old man, that all at once, falling on his knees before the king, he cried out, "I have indeed, O most merciful king, sinned against Heaven and thee; I am a wicked murderer! I have conceived the thought of killing thee, and of placing thy son on thy throne." As soon as the king saw his adversary at his feet, his anger passed away, and hypocrisy recovered its command. Feigning to be overpowered by his emotions, he now, in his turn, threw himself on his knees before the bishops, "Do ye hear, ye men of religion, the criminal himself avow his execrable attempt?" The bishops sprung from their seats, and hastened to raise the king to his feet; those who were not in the secret melted to tears, the others laughing inwardly at the scene that was being acted before them. As soon as Chilperic had recovered himself, as if unable any longer to bear the sight of one who had pleaded guilty to so great a crime, he ordered Prætextatus to be removed from the church. He himself followed shortly after, as if to leave the council to deliberate upon the sentence it had now to give.

Immediately on his return to his palace, the king despatched to the synod the volume of the canons which had formed the object of his study the preceding night. This was probably the collection made by Dionysius Exiguus, in 525, for it contained the Apostolical Canons, which were not as yet admitted as part of ecclesiastical law in the Gallic Church. The twenty-first of these canons was the same which Chilperic had pronounced with so much emphasis at the first meeting. This article had attracted his notice for no other reason, than because it enacted the penalty of deposition. But as the crimes against which it enacted this penalty, viz. those of theft, adultery, and perjury, as the king had himself previously quoted it, did not happen to suit the present case, Chilperic had simply erased the word "theft" from the parchment, and substituted that of "murder." This truly barbarian trick escaped detection at the time on the part of the bishops, unacquainted, as most of them were, with a collection which had not long been in existence, and was of no authority among them. The Bishop of Tours was even the only one who exclaimed against the appeal to a novel code, and who

made a fruitless effort to engage his colleagues to decline the authority of the pretended Apostolical Canons.

This they would not do. Condemned *Prætextatus* must be, and what did it signify by what semblance of law or justice, when all for whose opinion they cared, the king, *Fredegonde*, and the Frank warriors, would look at the sentence, not at the grounds on which it professed to rest. This artifice would do, since they could bethink themselves of no better. The mock deliberation terminated, the parties were called in again to hear the sentence pronounced. The fatal article having been read, the Bishop of *Bordeaux*, acting as president of the council, addressed the accused: "Hearken, my brother, thou mayst now no longer continue in communion with us, and in the enjoyment of our love, unless it shall please the king to admit thee again into his royal favour, which thou hast now lost."

At this judgment, pronounced by the lips of a man who, the evening before, had practised so basely on his unsuspecting simplicity, the condemned stood struck mute with surprise. The king, not content with his victory, sought for some further aggravation of his ignominious sentence. He demanded that his robe should be torn off his back in the church; and when this insult was demurred to on the part of the bishops, he required that they should read over his head the 108th Psalm, which contains the maledictions applied by St. Peter, in the Acts, to *Judas Iscariot*.

This was the extreme and terrible punishment, usual only in cases of sacrilege. Once again the voice of the dauntless Gregory was lifted in behalf of the deserted and friendless *Prætextatus*, and he reminded the king of his oath not to act in anything against the canons. Finding his proposal not entertained readily by the rest of the bishops, *Chilperic* was fain to content himself with now requiring that the judgment which had been given should be entered on record, and a clause inserted that the deposition should be perpetual. Gregory's former success encouraged him to withstand the king's wishes again on this point. The sentence, accordingly, of simple deposition, stood as at first pronounced.

Prætextatus was then handed over to some of the king's guards, and conducted to a prison outside the walls of the city, the ruins of which long after remained on the left bank of the *Seine*. He made an attempt to escape during the night, in which he failed, and was cruelly beaten by the soldiers who had the custody of him. In a day or two, he was sent into exile, or *transported*, the usual Frank punishment for offenders of any rank or consideration. The place of his exile was an island adjacent to the city of *Coutances*—probably, *Jersey*; then inhabited only, if at all, by pirates of Anglo-Saxon race, and serving as a kind of *Siberia* for the kingdom of *Neustria*.

- ART. V.—1. *Agende für die Evangelische Kirche, in den Königlich Preussischen Landen.*
2. *Gesangbuch zum Gottesdienstlichen gebrauch, für Evangelische Gemeinden.*
3. *State of Protestantism in Germany.* By the Rev. H. J. ROSE, B. D.
4. *German Protestantism.* By the Rev. G. H. DEWAR, M. A.

THE recent mission of Bishops on the part of the Anglican hierarchy, to the work of evangelists to the heathen, ought certainly to have no small portion of fear mingled with the joy that such acts are calculated to give to every Christian mind. If we remember our Lord's words, that 'a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit,' who is there amongst us who ought not to cherish a godly fear lest the event be such as to establish in the face of day that the Anglican succession, as such, is a tree incapable of bringing forth good fruit? At all events the die is now cast,—the Anglican hierarchy has been unfolded, and although hitherto no steps have been taken, except in the wake of the temporal power, the Church has notwithstanding put herself upon trial, as a missionary Church, in the eyes of Christendom, and it remains to be declared by the issue, whether or no, the Church of England is 'a tree capable of bringing forth good fruit.' How much then ought we not to fear, lest by any fatal error on our part, by any wrong misuse, or guilty misapplication of the divine gifts entrusted to our stewardship, we should provoke God to suffer our efforts to come to nought, in the following out of devices and imaginings which are not to His glory, and are counter to the provisions of His ecclesiastical government! We presume that there is still sufficient faith in our Church to appreciate the expression, 'God's ecclesiastical government,' and sufficient humility, sufficient sense of the imbecility of human projectors, acting contrary to the provisions of ecclesiastical catholic government, to draw many anxious thoughts, many deep seated and well grounded fears, to the question—Is the mission of a member of the Anglican hierarchy to Jerusalem agreeable to the counsels of God, as displayed in the past history of the Church? Or, in other words, upon the supposition that the God incarnate, who died on the cross, has been an ecclesiastical Ruler over His Church ever since, and that, though unseen, He has nevertheless governed the chosen kingdom of His grace, and the people within it, by a dispensation of rewards and punishments, not without its analogies to the mode of His moral government, as exerted over mankind generally,—the question

will be, Is the mission of Bishop Alexander to Jerusalem one which there is good reason to hope will draw down the blessing of God; or is there reason to fear that it has its foundation in the violation of such sacred maxims of His ecclesiastical regimen, and that it has a course marked out for it, involving the further violation of so many more, that all hope is at an end that it can obtain a blessing, consistently with the revealed character of God, as the 'Author of peace in the Churches, not of confusion?'

Those who are disposed to maintain, if any such there be, that God incarnate is not that character of Ruler which is universally understood by the term '*ecclesiastical*;' that the kingdom of heaven, of which the prophecies speak, has no such living governor, and that the whole fabric of ecclesiastical law is a mere work of man, mere clay in the hands of the potter, *pro tempore*, will have a difficulty to imagine how a question so frivolous and idle as this must appear to them, comes to be asked. What is ecclesiastical law, what are canonical scruples, they will say, compared with the winning perishing souls to the fold of the Redeemer's kingdom? What does it matter if the peace of some few Christians' minds is a little disturbed, and the duties of other clergy a little interfered with, so long as there is a hope of preaching the truth of the glorious Gospel where it has been obscured, and establishing the blessed light of protestant doctrine near the scene of the Redeemer's sufferings?

To this, it will be enough to say, that every short and summary mode of viewing an ecclesiastical question of grave import has certainly one great merit—that of wonderful freedom from all conscientious scruple; it shows a truly admirable disencumberment from all religious dread of taking a false step. Given a certain amount of Protestant truth, and there you have the sovereign panacea for the whole spiritual evils of the creation of man; take it, start away, preach, preach, be instant in season, out of season; no matter what disorder is occasioned, no matter who it is who sets himself to work, layman or priest, (a bishop is a tolerably fit person enough, but anybody will do,) preach, only preach the blessed Protestant truth, pure Bible Christianity, and there cannot be a doubt of the earth's being instantly regenerated.

On such a principle as this, who would not wonder that a scruple could be raised against the mission of a bishop to Jerusalem? The faintest whisper of a solitary half-uttered doubt vibrates on the ear, with the sound of a full loud roar of treason against the idolized sovereign specific,—'Protestant truth.' Yet passing strange, incredible, unintelligible as it may, rather must, appear, to many an honest, well-meaning mind, that it should be possible to be sceptical about the medicinal virtues

of this something, which we hear popularly named Protestantism, it cannot be concealed that fears, deep and powerful, have fastened themselves upon many minds, lest the step thus taken be found to offend in so many essential points against sacred principles of the government of the Church of God, that there remains no door for a hope, that God, provided that He be the Author of the scheme of ecclesiastical government which has hitherto, with more or less of tampering on the part of individual human rulers, guided the destinies of his Church, can vouchsafe His blessing to it, for God cannot bless the sinner in his sin, true though it be that in the end He maketh the wrath of man to praise Him: it being plainly impossible to hope for a blessing upon Bishop Alexander's mission, if the very position itself, and the course marked out for him, imply a violation of any fundamental maxim of the divine ecclesiastical government, — provided, that is, that God be an ecclesiastical as well as a moral Governor.

How deeply many amongst us feel the position of Bishop Alexander to be a wrong one, may be gathered from the words of one respected member of our Church,* who scruples not to say of it, *that it has had a most grievous effect in weakening the argument for our Church's Catholicity, and in shaking the belief of it in individuals. May that measure utterly fail and come to nought, and be as though it had never been!*" This mode of speaking of the measure is in accordance with the piety and deep thought of the one who has thus spoken: it does not express any unbecoming censure upon those in authority; it does not bring any accusation, much less a railing one, against God's high priests who have been concerned actively in the Bishop's mission; it simply and solemnly lays the matter before God and the conscience of the Church, with the prayer that God would utterly bring to nought a measure, which the utterer of the prayer believes to be in contradiction to the sacred principle of the Divine rule and government which has hitherto governed the Church; it plainly and earnestly records the speaker's conviction, that in sending Bishop Alexander to Jerusalem to be bishop over a 'Church planted by the two great Protestant powers of Europe,' (*vide* Statement published by authority,) we have rendered ourselves liable to the judgment, that every plant which God himself has not planted shall be rooted up.

It need scarcely be added, that our own deep sympathies are with such a mode of protest. In a day when the enemy without is eagerly seeking every occasion to blaspheme and to vilify the sanctity of that living hierarchical order, by which our branch

* Mr. Newman. Sermons on Subjects of the Day, page 378.

of the Church is ruled and governed, they of the household seem only the more strongly called upon to abound in expressions of loyalty and affectionate submission toward their rulers, charged as they are with the fearful burden of bearing rule over us in God's name. It is idle, nay, it is worse, it is ruinous, it is sinful in us, to speak lightly in censure and dispraise of the acts of those who sit in the seat of government over us; God's will be done! and they are required to act in God's name; if then there be cause to fear that they have not acted in this matter with that forethought and knowledge which becometh the high priests of God, to us now be the shame, as to us assuredly will be the punishment and detriment which the Church shall thereby receive. Let it be our care not to make the case more grievous than it is, by suffering the measure in question to foster undutiful and disaffected feelings towards our rulers. The event is now in the hand of God, and there we must be content to leave it.

In what follows, then, we should be happy if our readers would understand that it is our earnest desire to abstain from the expression of mere opinions, not to say crude opinions, upon so serious a question. It is too serious to those who regard it thoughtfully, to admit of its affording matter for mere speculation. And as a question of Catholic discipline and principle, sufficient has been already written in the pamphlets of Dr. Pusey, Mr. Hope, Mr. Wm. Palmer, and others. We have scarcely any other object in view than the fulfilment of an old promise, to make our readers acquainted with the general character and details of the Prussian Liturgy, now brought into a sort of alliance with our own; and which we have been assured by a sort of authority, if that can be called *authority* which is *anonymous*, that it agrees in all points of doctrine with the Liturgy of the English Church; to which the addition of a few extracts from some of the ephemeral writings which have appeared in various parts of Germany, upon the mission of Dr. Alexander, may prove, we would hope, not unacceptable.

The ritual and liturgical provision for the kingdom of Prussia, as compiled and formed by the desire and under the direction of his late Majesty Frederick William III., consists of two parts,—the Agende, or office in prose, for congregational worship on Sundays and other festivals; and an authorized Hymn-book, from which each congregation is at liberty to make choice of such hymns as are most agreeable to their own taste, or to the occasion.

The design and scope of its compilation will be best explained in his late Majesty's own words, which stand as the preface to the form published in 1829.

‘ We, Frederick William, by the grace of God King of Prussia, &c., make known and declare by these presents:— Our ancestors, together with such other princes who at the time of the great Reformation of the Church, accepted a restoration of the pure doctrine of the Gospel, soon perceived the strong need of introducing into their dominions such Church ordinances and rituals as might bring about a wholesome and intelligible unity into the usages of the public service of God, and put a stop to the progress of any caprices contrary to the mind of the reformers, yet without seeking to fetter the dearly earned liberty of faith and conscience. It was by means of such rituals, as were drawn up by persons of reputation, who for the most part acted under special counsel and advice, or at least such as were conceived in the spirit of the Reformers, and were put in circulation in virtue of their having received proper sanction and authority, inasmuch they all were grounded upon the same principles, that an almost complete uniformity was brought about in the liturgic usages of the Evangelical Church then forming herself in Germany. For centuries these excellent Church ordinances maintained themselves in their original form, and in continued and blessed use. But in proportion as unsound views upon Church questions, eagerness for change, lukewarmness, and indifference, began to gain the upper hand, they fell into disuse to such an extent that in some places scarce even a traditional remembrance of them remained. All therefore who entertained a deep concern for the internal peace and coherence of the Evangelical Church, have long felt the urgent need of putting an end to the caprice and disorder which has become thus widely spread. One only measure promised to succeed; viz. the attempt to recover those truly Christian ordinances of the Evangelical Church, from the disuse into which they had fallen, and to bring them to life again, not neglecting at the same time to take into consideration the demands and requirements of the present age. These reasons occasioned the drawing up of the Ritual which appeared in the year 1821, for the use of the cathedral church of Berlin. The approbation which this Ritual obtained on all hands, drawn up as it was in conformity with the principles above mentioned, by several divines well acquainted with our royal purpose, and of good repute themselves, occasioned the frequent expression of a wish that its general use might be no longer delayed. To prepare the way for this, we were minded to send to the Clergy of every province a preliminary form of inquiry; in reply to which they were required to declare themselves either in favour of, or against its general adoption. Notwithstanding the obstinate and unjust attacks of the opposers of the Agende, the

‘ result may be said to have been in the highest degree favourable, inasmuch, as by far the larger part of the Evangelical Churches, in a very short time, declared themselves in its favour. Still many things now suggested themselves as desirable, and as requiring consideration, which were often of a very contradictory nature, and which indeed could scarcely be otherwise under the circumstances, arising, as they did, partly from local associations, partly from the strong attachment which men have to that to which they have been long used; to all which, other very different reasons were joined on, in order to justify the rejection of the Ritual. In this predicament, therefore, that we might act with all possible deference, compatible with our principles and the object desired, and with a view to afford to such matters of provincial origin, as the persons we had consulted referred to in the expression of their sentiments, such consideration as they might be entitled to from their character and origin; we adopted the plan of causing all these various questions and points for consideration to be collected by the different consistories of the provinces, in order that they might then be submitted to a careful examination, by a commission acting upon fixed principles, and composed of the chief members (Räthen) of the provincial consistory, in conjunction with others of the most deserving Clergy of the province, and that we ourselves might be informed of the result through the minister of spiritual affairs. After this had been completed, which was done some time ago, in the province of Brandenburg, we directed that what had been consented to and proposed by the collective Clergy of the province, should be drawn up in the form of a special appendix to the Kirchen Agende, a task which has been now completed by the Clergy of the province. Simultaneously with this appendix, we have caused this new and enlarged edition of the Kirchen Agende to be prepared, in order that the whole may now appear in a better and more coherent form. Whatever was found to have no other foundation beside some local peculiarity, or predilection, or peculiarity of views, and such as could not be applied to any permanent purpose of general utility, has been considered inadmissible, to the intent that the fundamental principle of fitness for general use might not be transgressed. The Consistory of the province, however, is provided with full power to show the utmost possible deference to all such points. After all that has now been done in this weighty matter, we look forward with confidence that the whole Clergy of the province, in gratitude for our princely and fatherly intentions, and our unwearied care for the inward and outward welfare of the Evangelical Church, will apply themselves willingly and obediently, as becometh good subjects, to

‘ promote this our design, and labour with all honesty and diligence so to influence their congregations, and to remove all erroneous notions and misunderstandings, that this revised Ritual (Kirchen Agende,) allowed by us, and published by our authority, may with all possible speed be introduced, and maintained unchanged in continual use.

‘ May Almighty God take this work under his merciful protection; may He bless it and preserve it to us and our successors to the end of time, for the furtherance of the true fear of God, together with all other Christian graces.

‘ Berlin, 19th of April, 1829.

‘ FREDERICK WILLIAM.’

PREFACE.

‘ The need of a firmly established Order for the public celebration of Divine worship and the ministration of Church ordinances, has been long held to be a fundamental principle in the Christian Church. Besides, the continual endeavour either to introduce such an order, to uphold it, or to recover it, serves to indicate how strongly the feeling has been manifested, that the need belongs to the very nature of the case. It is plain also how much the very agreement in the forms of public worship contributes to maintain and to strengthen Christian communion, and how much every Christian who seeks edification must desire to be able to procure a reception everywhere, for that which is preserved pure and sound, and, at the same time, where it has been lost, again to find a home for it.

‘ The Ritual for the Evangelic Church in the kingdom of Prussia, originated proximately from the design to recover this agreement, the gradual loss of which had latterly been noticed with considerable sorrow; and to secure to the ordinances of the Church the possession of a form grounded upon the evangelical system of doctrine capable of protecting them from the changeableness of human views and modes of celebration; at the same time without shutting out a certain degree of variety, and entirely precluding all liberty of action.

* * * * *

‘ Forasmuch as modern attempts in the way of liturgical works have given sufficient warning, by their failure, that the mode of expression commonly used in the transactions of the present day, is less suited to the solemn tone and expression proper to congregational devotion and public confession, which requisites the remains of antiquity so largely possess; and

‘ because that, besides this, a fixed order for the celebration of
 ‘ worship, and the ordinances of the Church, ought to bear
 ‘ testimony to the oneness of the living Church with that
 ‘ which is departed; there seemed to be an urgent need to go
 ‘ back to the age of the Reformation, and, by selecting from the
 ‘ rituals composed by the Reformers themselves, or at least such
 ‘ as were conceived in their spirit, and sanctioned by the civil
 ‘ authorities, distinguished as these are by their powerful and
 ‘ dignified language.

* * * * *

‘ May God in His mercy so watch over this work, as it is
 ‘ filled in all its several parts with the true doctrines of
 ‘ Christendom (“ Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and
 ‘ for ever,” “ who of God is made unto us wisdom, and right-
 ‘ eousness, and sanctification, and redemption ;” Heb. xiii. 8 ;
 ‘ 1 Cor. i. 30); may He permit it to serve to the honour of
 ‘ His glorious name, and to the furtherance of His kingdom upon
 ‘ earth, and to the lasting blessing of those who in Christ Jesus
 ‘ are called unto everlasting life.

‘ Berlin, 26th May, 1829.

‘ The Spiritual Counsellors of his Majesty’s Minister of
 ‘ Spiritual Affairs, and of his Majesty’s Consistory of
 ‘ the province of Brandenburg.

‘ (Signed) { DR. EYLERT. DR. EHRENBURG. DR. NEANDER.
 { ROSS. DR. THEREMIN. GILLET.
 { DR. NICOLAI. DR. BRESCIUS. PALMIÉ.*

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* Perhaps some remnant of the Rogation fast.

The task of presenting the Ritual and Liturgy of any body of Christians in an abbreviated form, is an enterprise beset with so many perplexities, as to require no little hardihood even to attempt it. Every word in a form of prayer in actual use becomes a sacred treasure in the keeping of those who use it. It is, viewed as a whole, the manner in which a given people present themselves to Almighty God for His blessing; and, according to its character for orthodoxy and fitness, such may be expected to be the degree of acceptance it will find at the throne of God. The Saviour of mankind has revealed the truth, that Almighty God approves of one kind of prayer more than another; He therefore gave His own followers a prayer to be the model of all prayer to the end of time, and He has also cautioned His people, in those prayers which they should themselves compose, to beware of the manner in which the nations of the world prayed.

Every Prayer-Book is the social or congregational life of the body who use it; is their united voice, and the expression of their heart, mind, and spirit, as a political whole; and in proportion, therefore, as their mode of thus addressing themselves to Almighty God approves itself to the mind of the all-holy, just, and powerful Being to whom it is spoken, such, we have all good reason, both from revelation, and from the history of the past, to conclude will be His acceptance of it. Every single word, then, in such a document, becomes of value; and it would be obviously very unfair to represent the few extracts we are about to give, as capable of conveying more than merely a proximate idea of the nature and character of the new Service-Book, as a whole. As we are then compelled by our limited space to make a selection, let this be the ordinary Sunday morning service, as now in use in the different parish churches of Prussia.

‘ Order for Morning Prayer on Sundays and Festivals, with the

‘ Order for the Administration of the Lord’s Supper.

‘ Song of the Congregation. (Introit.) (From the *Gesangbuch*.)

‘ The minister approaches during the singing of the hymn, in
‘ a proper dress (*priesterlichen ornat*), before the altar, and offers
‘ a silent prayer. This ended, he turns himself to the congregation, who stand up, and, with due reverence, remain standing
‘ until the prayers, together with the suffrages, are ended, and
‘ says—

‘ In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.
‘ Amen.

‘ Our help be in the name of the Lord, who hath made heaven
‘ and earth.

[*Here follows either of the Forms for the Confession of Sin.*]

First Form.—‘ Beloved in Christ, let us with all lowliness of
‘ mind confess our unworthiness and our sins before the Lord,
‘ and say one with another,—

‘ I, wretched sinner that I am, confess before Thee, Almighty
‘ God, that I have often, and greatly sinned, in thought, word,
‘ and deed. I acknowledge mine offences, all mine offences ;
‘ but I truly repent of them from my heart, and am steadfastly
‘ purposed, with the assistance of Thy grace, to amend my
‘ life, and to sin no more.

‘ Almighty God have mercy upon you, and forgive you all
‘ your sins. Confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and
‘ bring you to his everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ
‘ our Lord. Amen.

‘ Glory be to the Father, &c.

‘ Lord, have mercy.

‘ Christ, have mercy.

‘ Lord, have mercy.

‘ *Minister.* Glory be to God on high.

‘ *Choir.* And peace on earth, and goodwill towards men.

‘ We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we glorify
‘ Thee, we give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory. Lord
‘ God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty, Lord, the
‘ only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, Lord God, Lamb of God,
‘ Son of the Father, Thou that takest away the sins of the
‘ world, have mercy upon us ! Thou that takest away the sins
‘ of the world, hear our prayer ! Thou that sittest at the right
‘ hand of the Father, have mercy upon us, for Thou only art holy !
‘ Thou only art the Lord ; Thou only art the Most High ; Jesus
‘ Christ, with the Holy Ghost, in the glory of God the Father !
‘ Amen. Amen. Amen.

‘ *Minister.* The Lord be with you !

‘ *People.* And with thy spirit.

[*Here follows one of the Collects : to be chosen by the Minister.*]

Collect 19th.—‘ The Lord our God be merciful unto us,
‘ and prosper the work of our hands ; yea, let Him bless our
‘ handiwork.

‘ *Minister.* O God, upon whose blessing all things depend,
‘ who art ready to bless all them that put their trust in Thee,
‘ we beseech Thee that Thou wouldest be with us, and with all
‘ that we begin, continue, and end in Thy name. Mercifully
‘ grant us Thy help, and make us fruitful in all good works, to

'do Thy will, and create in us that which is pleasing to Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

'Minister. The Epistle is written,' &c. (The Epistle is here read.)*

[Here follows one of the Sentences appointed to be said.]

'Minister. Not they that hear the word shall be accounted just before God, but they that do it shall be accounted righteous; yet, not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name only be the praise. Alleluia.

'Minister. The holy Gospel is written,' &c. (The Gospel is read.)

'Minister. Praised be Thou, O Christ. Amen.

'People. Amen.

'Minister. I believe in God, the Father,' &c. (The Apostles' Creed.)†

'Choir. Amen. Amen. Amen.‡

[Here follows one of the Sentences appointed to be said after the Creed.]

'12th. Oh give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good, and His mercy endureth for ever. Praise ye the Lord.

'Minister. Lift up your hearts, and let us thank the Lord our God.

'It is right, very meet, and good, to give thanks unto Thee, Almighty God, at all times, and in all places, through Jesus Christ, our Lord, for whose sake Thou hast spared us, forgivest us our sins, and promisest us everlasting life; therefore, with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven, we sing praise unto Thee, for Thy great glory.

'Choir. Holy! holy! holy! Lord God of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. Hosannah in the highest! Praised be He that cometh in the name of the Lord! Hosannah in the highest!

'Minister. Lord God, heavenly Father, we beseech Thee that Thou wouldest govern Thy Christian Church, with all its teachers and servants, by Thy Holy Spirit, that they being kept steadfast in the true doctrine of Thy holy word, true faith may be awakened and confirmed in us, and love towards all men be increased.

* The selection of the portion of Scripture to be read for the Epistle and Gospel for the Day appears to be left to the choice of the officiating minister. We have not been able to hear of the existence of any prescript order for the year, as is the case generally with all Catholic Liturgies.—[Ed.]

† The Holy Catholic Church is here rendered by the words, a holy general Christian Church (eine allgemeine Christliche Kirche).

‡ Instead of the Apostles' Creed, the hymn, 'We all believe in one God,' (Wir glauben all' an einen Gott,) may be sung by the congregation.

‘ O Lord, let Thy mercy lighten upon the King, our Lord,
 ‘ the Crown Prince, the Crown Princess, the Royal Family, and
 ‘ all that belong to them; give unto them, O Lord, length of
 ‘ life, that they may be for a blessing to us, and for a pattern of
 ‘ godliness. Grant unto our King a long and prosperous reign;
 ‘ defend the royal army, and all true servants of the King and
 ‘ his country; teach them to think, as becometh Christians, of
 ‘ the oath they have taken, and make their service to be blessed
 ‘ to Thy honour, and the good of their country. Bless us and all
 ‘ other dominions of the King; help every one in his need; and
 ‘ be the Saviour of all men, more especially of Thy faithful
 ‘ people. Deliver us from an evil, impenitent death; and,
 ‘ finally, bring us all to Thine everlasting kingdom in heaven,
 ‘ through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

‘ *Choir.* Amen. Amen. Amen.

‘ *Minister.* Our Father, which art,’ &c.

[*A hymn is here generally sung by the congregation, selected from the authorized hymn-book, during which the officiating Minister retires, and ascends the pulpit; the hymn ended, the Sermon is introduced by a short address, during which the text is cited, and a short prayer, appropriate to the subject, is said, at the discretion of the Minister.*]

‘ The Sermon.

‘ The Blessing.

‘ *Minister.* The Lord bless thee, and keep thee; the Lord
 ‘ show the light of His face upon thee, and be merciful unto
 ‘ thee; the Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give
 ‘ thee peace. Amen.

‘ *Choir.* Amen. Amen. Amen.

As regards the Sermon, after the Prayer for Blessing, there follows, “ The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all, Amen;” or, after a short introductory prayer, the text of the sermon is generally given out; both of which the congregation stand up to hear, as they do likewise to receive the Blessing, which is given at the end of the sermon. When the Blessing is given from the altar, one of the Collects may be said or sung before it is given.

When there is no Communion, divine service ends with the hymn that is sung in conclusion; but when there is a Communion, the minister appointed to officiate advances, while the hymn is being sung before the altar, and says—

‘ Dearly beloved in the Lord, forasmuch as we are now minded
 ‘ to hold the commemoration feast of our Lord Jesus Christ,
 ‘ the which was ordained by Him for the strengthening and

‘ confirming of our faith; therefore, let a man examine himself, as the Apostle Paul exhorts us so to do; for this Holy Sacrament is given for the comfort and peace of such troubled consciences as confess their sins, fear God, and desire redemption; when they are steadfastly purposed to amend their lives, to flee from sin, and to lead a righteous life. And because that we must acknowledge ourselves to be guilty sinners, and of ourselves unable to help ourselves, so Christ, the Son of God, our beloved Lord, has had mercy upon us, and for the sake of our sins became Man, in order that for our good He might fulfil the law of God, and might take upon Himself and endure death, and all other things, which we have deserved by our sin. To make this His death of power for us, He ordained His Holy Supper, to the intent, that whosoever should eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, believing in the words of Jesus Christ there spoken, (*and in the signs received,**) might dwell in Christ, and Christ in him, and have everlasting life. We have here to show forth His memory and His death, that He died for our sins, and rose again for our justification. Thanking God for these His unspeakable mercies, let each one of us take up our cross and follow Him, having love one towards another, according to His commandment, even as He loved us; for we are all one body, inasmuch as we all partake of one bread, and drink of one cup. But whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, that is, with an impenitent heart, without faith in the promise of God, without being reconciled, and without purpose of amendment, he is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and reaps damnation, from which may God mercifully deliver us all.

‘ *Minister.* Kneel down, and *hear attentively* (vernehmet) the words of the Institution (einsetzungs Worte).†

[*The Minister here turns to the altar, and repeats the words of Institution; the congregation listens to them, kneeling, and stands up after the blessing has been given, ‘The peace of our Lord,’ &c.*]

‘ Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night in which He was betrayed, took bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and gave it to His disciples, and spake, Take, eat, this is My body + which is given for you: do this in remembrance of Me.

* This may be omitted, if desired.

† The idea of *consecration* is not in the expression *einsetzung*. It means properly authoritative *institution*; as, for example, ‘Das Heilige Abendmahl, is von Jesu Christo eingesetzt worden,’ The Holy Eucharist was instituted by Jesus Christ. *Einweihung* in the German comes nearest to the signification of the Latin *Consecratio*. ‘Die Elemente (brod und wein) müssen erst eingeweiht seyn, um das Leib und Blut des Herrn zu werden,’ The Elements must be first *consecrated*, in order to become the Body and Blood of the Lord.

‘ Likewise after supper he took the cup, gave thanks, and
 ‘ spake, Take this and drink ye all of it, for this cup is the New
 ‘ Testament in My blood, which is shed for you and for many
 ‘ for the forgiveness of sins: do this, as oft as ye drink it, in
 ‘ remembrance of me.

[*Here the minister turns himself again to the congregation, and says.*]

‘ *Minister.* The peace of the Lord be with you all. Amen.

‘ Let us pray.

‘ Lord, who by thy death gavest life to the world, deliver us
 ‘ from all our sins and from all evil; give us the power to will
 ‘ to continue true to thy commands; and suffer us not to depart
 ‘ from Thee, who with the Father and the Son reignest world
 ‘ without end. Amen.

‘ *Choir.* Amen. Amen. Amen.

‘ *Choir.* Oh, Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the
 ‘ world,

‘ Good Lord, deliver us.

‘ Oh, Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,

‘ Hear us, good Lord.

‘ Oh, Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,

‘ Grant us thy peace, and blessing.

[*While the above is being sung, the delivery of the elements begins, and is continued until all have received, during which any appropriate hymn or hymns may be sung by the congregation.*]

Minister, at the delivery of the bread,

‘ Take and eat, saith our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;
 ‘ This is My body, which is given for you: do this in remem-
 ‘ brance of Me.

At the giving of the cup,

‘ Take and drink ye all of this, saith our Lord and Saviour
 ‘ Jesus Christ; this cup is the New Testament in My blood,
 ‘ which was shed for you: do this in remembrance of Me.

When the Communion is ended, the minister says,

‘ *Minister.* Let us pray.

‘ Almighty and everlasting God, we give Thee hearty thanks
 ‘ for the unspeakable mercy which we have received, by being
 ‘ made partakers of Thy holy supper; we humbly pray Thee,
 ‘ that Thou wouldest assure us of the working of Thy Holy
 ‘ Spirit, in like manner as we have now received Thine holy
 ‘ sacrament, that we may with steadfast faith receive and ever
 ‘ hold fast Thy divine grace herein promised to us all, forgive-
 ‘ ness of sins, and communion with Christ. We thank Thee,
 ‘ Almighty God, that Thou hast refreshed us by Thy divine

‘ grace, and we pray Thee, of Thy divine mercy, that this our
 ‘ service may be to the strengthening of our faith in Thee, to
 ‘ the increase of brotherly love towards all men, and to our
 ‘ growth in godliness and all other Christian virtues, through
 ‘ Jesus Christ our Lord, who, with Thee and the Holy Ghost,
 ‘ reigneth for ever. Amen.

‘ The Lord bless thee and keep thee.

‘ The Lord let His face shine upon thee, and be merciful
 ‘ to thee.

‘ The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give
 ‘ thee peace. Amen.

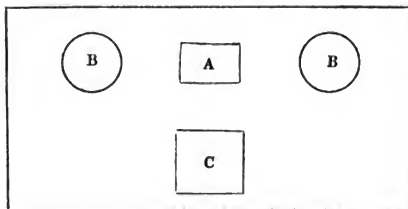
‘ *Choir.* Amen. Amen. Amen.

‘ Final hymn, sung by the congregation.’*

The authorized Hymn Book (*Gesang Buch*), contains 876 hymns, and was published in the same year with the new edition of the *Agende*. A Commission, consisting of Brescius, Küster, Marat, Neander, Ritschl, Schleiermacher, Spilleke, Theremin and Wilmsen, with some others who died before the work was completed, were appointed by King Frederick William III. to make a suitable selection of hymns, to form an accompaniment to the New Liturgy, out of the vast multitude of such compositions which have inundated Germany, as well as all other Protestant countries, since the Reformation. The idea of forming such a collection was first broached at one of his late Majesty’s provincial Synods, in the year 1817, when the Commission was

APPENDIX TO THE ORDER FOR SUNDAY PRAYER.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE ALTAR.



- A. The Crucifix.
- BB. The Candlesticks, containing lighted wax tapers.
- C. The large Bible.
- D. Place where the Officiating Minister stands.

The Morning Service on Sundays and Festival days ought not to exceed the time of one hour, or, at most, one hour and a half.

The Consistory, however, has the power to grant permission for a longer service in places where it may be desired.

first appointed to undertake the work. The principle of selection will be sufficiently explained by the following extract, taken from the Preface:—

‘ Among the objects which the Commission were required to have in view, and to obtain which they have laboured with unremitting diligence, have been, first, to make a careful examination of all the older Church songs, dating from the time of the Reformation, up to the middle of the last century, from which as great a number as possible were to be chosen of such as were remarkable for depth of feeling, or powerful expressions of piety, especially if they happened to be among those most known and esteemed in this town and province (Berlin). A like attention was enjoined upon the Commission, to be paid to such of the more recent Church Hymns, which, by their extensive circulation, had earned a sort of citizenship, with the proviso, that they should be found to be not altogether deficient in poetical worth, that the moral contained in them should not seem too confined and unconnected with the doctrines of the Christian faith, and that they should not be more adapted for private edification than public use in the Church. In all which cases, the Commission had no other alternative but to supply their places with others, notwithstanding that these might be less generally known.

‘ Thirdly, *The undersigned have made a point of showing no exclusive partiality to any of the several modes of viewing the doctrines of the Christian faith, and of refusing a place to none, which, as an expression of pious feeling, could be in anywise reconciled with evangelical truth, and the purposes of a book intended for general use in the Church.*

The remainder of the Preface is occupied by a notice of the care that has been taken that all the hymns admitted into the collection should be adapted chiefly to the older standard melodies long in use; and ends with the announcement that their labours, although they are themselves very conscious of the imperfections of their work, have received his Majesty’s approbation and official sanction.

It must be superfluous to say how fruitless it would be to pretend to convey to an English reader any idea of what this Hymn Book contains—876 hymns, selected upon the avowed principle of finding room for the representative of every shadow and colour of opinion that has existed, or can be supposed to have existed, since the days of Luther. It is a very kaleidoscope of Hymnology. The Collections with which we are acquainted in this country, plentifully showered down as they have been, *νιφάδεςσιν* *ἐοικότα* *χειμερίσιν*, upon individual churches, by their

respective pastors, and upon sectarian multitudes by some of their leading men, if they cannot, without injustice, be compared to the snow, for purity and whiteness, at least the several storms, as they have descended, have been, nevertheless, always content with aiming at one single colour and complexion of doctrine. The rainbow, the *Arco del cielo*, is the only natural object that wears this many-coloured robe, and we inhabitants of the earth, when we gaze upon it, can scarce comprehend, for very admiration, the rich glow of its blended colours. It would seem that the Prussian Commission has been somewhat ambitious of this variety for their 876 hymns, and, without any presumption, they may be said to have fully succeeded. It will not, then, be expected that we should here present our readers with specimens of this unusually multifarious description of food upon which the devotion of Prussia is nourished. The attempt, if made, would be much the same as if a traveller, in search of general knowledge, might contrive to make his way into a royal palace, and after there purloining a few fragments from one of his Majesty's banquets, should imagine himself to have acquired a perfect knowledge of the diet of all monarchs. Yet we hope to be pardoned, if, notwithstanding, we take our leave of this Collection, by making one extract of the Hymn No. 51, which is appointed to be used at the minister's discretion, in lieu of the *Apostles' Creed*:—

Wir glauben all' an einem Gott,
Schöpfer Himmels und der Erden,
Der sich zum Vater geben hat
Dass wir seine kinder werden.
Er will uns allzeit ernähren;
Leib und seel' auch wohl bewahren;
Allen unfall will er wehren;
Kein leid soll uns wider fahren;
Er sorget für uns, hut't und wacht;
Es steht alles in seiner Macht.

Wir glauben auch an Jesum Christ,
Seinen Sohn und unsern Herren,
Der ewig bei dem Vater ist,
Gleicher Gott von macht und ehren.
Von Maria der Jungfrauen
Ist er wahrer, mensch geboren;
Durch den Heiligen Geist, im glauben
Für uns, die wir war'n verloren
Am Kreuz gestorben und vom Tod
Wied'r auferstanden ist durch Gott.

Wir glauben auch an Heiligen Geist,
Gott, mit Vater und dem Sohne,
Der aller blöden ein Troster heisst,
Uns mit gaben zieret schöne.
Die ganze Christenheit auf erden
Hält in einen sinn gar eben;
Hier all' sünd' vergeben werden,
Das fleisch soll uns wieder leben;
Nach diesem elend ist bereit't
Uns ein Leben in Ewigkeit.

We all believe on one God,
Creator of Heaven and Earth,
Who hath given himself to the Father
That we might become his children.
He will for ever feed us;
Also defend both body and soul;
He will guard us from all harm;
No hurt shall come against us;
He careth for us, he keepeth us and watcheth;
All things are subject to his Power.

We believe also on Jesus Christ,
His Son, and our Lord,
Who is ever with the Father,
God equal in power and honour.
From Mary the Virgin
Is he born, very man;
By the Holy Ghost, in faith
For us who were lost
He died on the Cross, and from Death
Has risen again, through God.

We believe also in the Holy Ghost,
God, with the Father and the Son,
Who is the Comforter of all that mourn,
Adorning us with noble gifts.
The whole of Christendom on earth
He maintains in one mind;
Here every sin is forgiven,
The flesh shall come to life again;
After this distress is prepared
For us the life of Eternity.

Such is the short and necessarily imperfect insight which we have been able to take into the Agenda of Prussia, as an instrument of public worship, the formation and introduction of which into his kingdom was the great object that occupied the last years of the late King of Prussia. Now, far be it from any person calling himself an Anglican Christian to utter one unkind word against a work which, from the beginning, was prompted by the desire of seeing Christian men more united in their worship of the God of peace than they had before been, profound beyond the ordinary measure of love for the things of God; a work, too, which was carried into execution with an uniform forbearance and a persuasive firmness on the part of the monarch, alike honourable both to his judgment and his piety. In short, but for the act of the present Archbishop of this Church, and his advisers, the Church of England could have had no title to form even a judgment of the manner in which royal zeal for the glory of God and the religious welfare of a people had manifested itself to the best advantage in such a kingdom as that of Prussia. It would have been simply our duty and wisdom to have looked on, and to have prayed that God would bless what was undertaken with a single view to his honour and glory. But the case is now far otherwise. We are informed, in a document entitled 'A Statement of the Proceedings relating to the establishment of a Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem, *published by authority*'—By the way, it cannot but be matter of observation, how singular a mode that is of manifesting spiritual authority, which connives at the circulation of a statement professing to be by authority, and yet suffers it to pass current, unauthenticated by any name which can give it the true substance of authority. What is the value of an anonymous claim to authority? This is a new question, peculiar to our generation. Does it mean that the real authority is afraid to speak openly? Or, like some hapless little infant, in the early days of Rome, is this Statement by authority exposed to public gaze before the parent will deign to avow his own offspring? Nay, might not any one disposed to make merry, fairly take occasion to propound the inquiry, whether, if such a Document, being anonymous, be really meant to partake of the nature of a Bull Hierarchical, it ought not to be considered to belong rather to the Hibernian than to the Roman school; and that all of near kin should be looked for in the land of St. Patrick, rather than in the neighbourhood of the Vatican. Taking it for granted, however, in the mean time, though the precise value be unknown, still that some value is to be attached to that which has now for some length of time claimed, without contradiction, to be by authority, we are informed in it, that Germans are to be admitted to Anglican holy

orders, who are after their ordination to celebrate divine service according to the Ritual of Prussia; and further, we are assured that, '*This Ritual, compiled from Ancient Liturgies, agrees in all points of doctrine with the subsequent Liturgy of the English Church.*' In the letter of the Primate to the present King of Prussia, dated Lambeth, June 18th, 1842, we are further told: '*The German Liturgy, which has been carefully examined by me, which is taken from the Liturgies received in the Churches of your Majesty's dominions, will be used in the celebration of Divine Service by the Clergymen who are appointed, on the following principle. Young dioceses who are candidates for the pastoral office in the German Church, who have obtained your Majesty's royal permission to this end, will exhibit proper testimonials As soon as the Bishop has fully satisfied himself on these points, he will ordain the candidate, on his subscribing the three Creeds—the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed; and on his taking the oath of obedience to the Bishop and his successor, will give him permission to exercise the functions of his office.*'

Here an identity of purpose between Holy Orders as conferred by the Church of England, and a Liturgy compiled and authorized by a King of Prussia, is avowed by the Primate himself of the Church. It is true, that it is not made quite clear from the above, whether an entirely new Liturgy has or has not been compiled for the use of the Prusso-German congregation hereafter to be formed in Jerusalem; any how its use is necessarily for the present in abeyance, there being, as yet, no persons forming a congregation to take advantage of it. Should such a Liturgy turn out to have been framed, it does not affect the fact above stated. For the document in question, if in existence at all, is acknowledged to be a selection from that now current in Prussia, probably such an abbreviation of the whole Prussian Ritual as would be suitable to the circumstances of a small isolated congregation in a foreign city; but, of course, omitting none of the important matter contained in the larger one from which it is professed to be taken. The identity, therefore, remains, and it gives rise to two very important questions, neither of which appears to have met with any portion of that attention, which it were to have been thought could not fail to have been given to it by persons engaged in so sacred and so responsible a task.

The first of these is, whether it is at all consistent with the honour and integrity of the Anglican priesthood, that those who are admitted to the priestly office of the Church, so as to become *bonâ-fide* our brethren, members of the Anglican Clergy, should be allowed to exercise their sacred functions according to a ritual, of which the whole body of the Church knows no more than that

it was compiled and introduced by the wish, and under the sanction, of a King of Prussia, well known for his personal piety, and that it has earned the common report of having sought to conciliate a peaceable adoption from parties holding very opposite sentiments, by sacrificing every strong statement which could be supposed likely to give any offence.* Of the details of this Ritual positively nothing is generally known, and the Church at home is consequently left in a state of uncertainty whether or no the language, thus newly put into the mouth of her future priests, officiating before God, is such as becomes the sacred functions of the Clergy. Nay, with the singularly cautious timidity that has been throughout so lamentably apparent in the whole transaction, we are made acquainted with the fact that the ritual in question has been carefully examined by the Primate, but instead of a hearty approbation, which might have been expected, in order to set the minds of the Clergy at rest—*nothing*, positively *nothing* is said, either in praise or censure, bad, good, or indifferent; all that we are informed (the above anonymous assurance, that there is a general agreement between it and our own Liturgy, excepted) is, that those German divines who may receive Holy Orders from the Bishop, are to exercise their functions by it. Now, where is the security here given to those of the Clergy of the Mother Church, who may be no more than justly jealous for the honour of their ministry—and whose feelings are surely deserving of some regard—that no dishonour will accrue to the holy office whose functions are to be thus exercised? We are not complaining as if none could be given; we are but saying, that, as yet, none, positively none, has been given. It were to have been thought, that a matter of such deep practical import—one which, viewed aright, is so full of heavy responsibility to those engaged in bringing it about, and which necessarily entails so many unforeseen consequences—as the question, whether an Anglican priest should have permission to lay aside the Ritual of the Church, and to adopt another Ritual, would itself have been judged so deeply to concern the welfare of the whole Church, that it should not have been entertained without an accompanying solemnity of public prayer to God, that he would overrule all counsels for the glory of his own name, and the wellbeing of his ministry. Alas, public prayer has no share in modern counsels!

In the case before us, we fear there is but too much reason to confess, sorrowfully indeed, but yet confessed it must be, that no sufficient sense even of the responsibility of the step

* We have since been informed, that an express Liturgy has been compiled for the use of the Anglo-Prussian congregation, of the publication of which we have hitherto not been able to learn any intelligence.

about to be taken appears to have been entertained. The old liturgy is set aside, and a new liturgy given to priests ordained by a suffragan of our Primate, while that Primate is not careful to assure the Church, whose head he is, that he even approves of the liturgy thus given; nay, even the assurance that he has so much as looked at it, is not conveyed directly to his Clergy at home, but appears accidentally, by the way-side, in a letter to a foreign prince. Alas, indeed, for the throne of Canterbury, and the seat of judgment, when its occupant shall be prepared, out of compliment to a foreign prince, to be forgetful of the sacred union between himself and his own Clergy.

The next question is, whether anything formally heretical, and false in doctrinal teaching, is contained in the new liturgy, thus engrafted into the functions of the Anglican priesthood. The determination of this is properly a matter for subsequent inquiry whenever the Prussian Ritual, or the Anglo-Prussian-Jerusalem Liturgy, shall be laid before the English Church. In the present stage of the matter many painful doubts and apprehensions cannot fail to arise. It is a painful and invidious task at any time to seem to be needlessly censorious towards a work which was begun in so truly Christian and loving a spirit as was that of the late King of Prussia, when he attempted to give a liturgy to his people; but when by a definite act of the spiritual authorities of the Church of England, this very liturgy, or its substance, is given to priests of her own ordaining, the rigid scrutiny which before would have been justly looked upon as a piece of wanton censoriousness, now becomes a positive duty, as an act of self-protection. It becomes a duty on our part to ascertain for ourselves, whether we can conscientiously recognise those to be brother priests, who use, not only a different ritual in their functions, but a ritual respecting which we have had no proper assurance given to us that, as a liturgy, it is orthodox and becoming. Had the Clergy of the English Church never been called upon to hail the young divines of Berlin as brother-members of the Anglican Clergy with themselves, there might have been as little cause, as there certainly would have been little inclination, to have examined the Prussian Ritual. But the case is far otherwise now.

The first point that attracts attention in the Prussian Agenda is the absence of all provision in this liturgy for the daily worship of the Almighty. Whatever may be true of the living Clergy of the English Church, that they have failed to render to God the daily portion of worship due to His name, the Church herself has not, as yet, formally taken her part with the Anti-Christ by whom the daily sacrifice is to be taken away. Our Liturgy contains an Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, to

be said daily throughout the year; and the giving effect to this provision is part of the duty with which her ministers are charged at their ordination. The Prussian Liturgy contains no such provision; one Morning Service for the Sunday, and a few other chief festivals, forms the sum total of its provision for the worship of God; and as if there were serious reason to fear lest even that might be thought too much, the book expressly states that, a service of an hour long is ordinarily quite enough; and that if more than an hour and a half is desired, an express permission must be obtained from the Consistory. An Anglican priest, then, confined to the use of the Prussian Ritual, would find himself simply unable to render God his daily priestly service.

Another point of equal importance, again, is found in the Office for the Administration of the Holy Eucharist. Can the elements of bread and wine be said to have received valid consecration by the mere repetition of the words in which our blessed Saviour instituted his Supper? What is the meaning of calling upon the people *to hear attentively the words of institution*? Is it supposed that a congregation, assembled for the purpose of communicating, require to be taught that their Saviour did institute such a supper? Certainly not! They do require to be certified that the minister who stands at the altar has power so to bless the elements of bread and wine that they may become to them the body and blood of the Lord, in the same sense, and in no other, as they were to the apostles, who received them from our Lord's own hands: they do not require to be reminded that our Lord did institute His Holy Supper, yet this certainly seems to be all that the Prussian Liturgy does for those who come to communicate—at least so thinks one who can hardly be suspected of being a prejudiced witness.

‘Ten years after the establishment of the new Prussian Church, (says Mr. Laing) Bishop Eylert, of Potsdam, published a defence (1830) and explanation of its principle and working. According to the reverend author's view, the merit of his new liturgy (he was one of the composers of it) *consists mainly* in the historical presentation of the sacramental elements of the Lord's Supper: in the consecration of the elements in the Lutheran and in the Calvinistic Church, it is distinctly announced to the communicant in what sense it is presented to him:—in the one, it is as the body and blood; in the other, it is as the symbols of the body and blood. The synod of Berlin evaded the dilemma by not consecrating the elements at all, either in the one or the other sense, but presenting them to the communicant with the historical averment, “Christ said, This is My body,” &c. “Christ said, This is My

‘ blood,’ &c.—that is, in its being so presented that *each denomination of Christians may take it, and apply his own meaning to it*.—Pp. 37, 38. (Über den Werth, und die Wirkung der Evangelische Kirche, &c.)—The reverend Bishop forgets that, so taken, it is no sacrament at all: it is only a reference to an historical fact, not to any religious signification of that fact, such as Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists attach to it, however widely they may differ from each other as to what that signification is, or ought to be. On his principle, Jew, Gentile, or Mahometan, might receive the Sacrament from him, and remain Jew, Gentile, or Mahometan: for it is only presented to him as figuring an historical fact,—not at all doubted, and not at all connected with any peculiar doctrine attached to that fact. This courtly divinity may suit the meridian of Potsdam, but it is not Christian divinity.—*Laing*, pp. 188, 189.—*Vide Christian Remembrancer*, No. XVI. p. 403. Vol. III.

As we run cursorily over the remainder of the Agenda, other important defects appear.

The Office for Baptism, it is true, contains a formal enunciation of the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, and states sufficiently the propriety of Infant Baptism. The Form for the Confirmation of Children is full and solemn; but the power of confirming is given by it to the ordinary minister. The Office of Matrimony is tolerably simple and beautiful. The Form for the Administration of the Lord's Supper to the Sick is merely abbreviated from the larger office. The Order for Burial consists of no more than the sentence of Scripture—‘ Earth thou art, and unto earth thou shalt return;’ followed by the declaration—‘ Jesus Christ will raise thee at the last day;’ after which an appropriate prayer.

The most remarkable of these Offices, perhaps, is that appointed for the *Ordination of Preachers*. The officiating Consecrator (who is here, as in the Rite of Confirmation, merely of the rank of presbyter) stands with those who assist him at the altar; those who are to receive Ordination are placed below them. When the *Veni Creator Spiritus* has been sung, the chief minister says solemnly the words, ‘ In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,’ which are followed by a prayer. The names of the candidates for Orders are then read; and the assisting Clergy recite alternately some passages of the Scripture, setting forth the duties of the Clergy; after which, the candidates are required to repeat the Apostles' Creed, and to listen attentively to an address, which declares the nature of the duties they are about to undertake.

After the candidates have declared their readiness to undertake the office by replying to four inquiries put to them, their ministry is given to them in the ensuing words:—

‘Ye have acknowledged your duties; ye have declared your earnest purpose to fulfil the same;

‘God Almighty strengthen you and aid you to perform all that you have promised. And I, by virtue of the power that is committed to me on account of God, (*von Gotteswegen*, not simply *von Gott*) from his Church and from the king to this end, hereby deliver unto thee *the office of Preacher*, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’

Then follow, in due order, a Prayer for Grace and the Lord’s Prayer; after which the ministers present lay their hands upon the head of the candidate, the ordaining minister pronouncing a blessing. The service concludes with a prayer, and an admonition to those that have been ordained.

It cannot fail to be observed as regards this form, that, independent of the absence of the Bishop, whose presence, according to the Anglican Ritual, is indispensable to the validity of the whole proceeding, the laying on of hands does not here confer the office, but is purposely made no more than an addition to the solemnity of the blessing conferred. Not only is the ministry not conveyed by the imposition of the hands of a bishop, but it is not *conveyed* by the imposition of hands at all.

In the three Creeds which follow this office, the deviation from the correct version of the original in the Apostles’ Creed has already been noticed. The Nicene Creed has no more than a permission to be used now and then in lieu of the Apostles’ Creed, in those places where the custom of using it may have been in existence.

In the Athanasian Creed, the word *Catholic* is changed to *Christian*, as in the sentence, ‘before all things he must hold the *Catholic* faith.’ In the Prussian version it stands, ‘before all things he must hold the true *Christian* faith:’ and, again, in the concluding verse, the Prussian version is, ‘this is the true *Christian* faith,’ &c.

The Catechism for Evangelical Christians omits the second Commandment altogether; and divides the tenth into two, after the pattern of many of the Roman Catholic Catechisms.

The latter clause contains a very proper instruction upon the nature of the true ministry of the Gospel, inculcating the belief, that the mission of the minister is from Christ, and that he is vested with the power of binding and loosing.

As far, then, as a brief survey of this sort can convey an adequate impression of the new Prussian Liturgy, it becomes a

very serious question to the English Church, whether it can be said, with any degree of truth, to *agree* in all points of doctrine with the Anglican Liturgy, according to the assurance of the anonymous Statement, and whether it can be deemed to supply, in any sufficient measure, the means necessary for the full and complete exercise of the priestly functions, as we believe them to be conveyed by the laying on of the hands of the Bishop. In whatever degree this shall seem to be the case, and the question remains open for further inquiry, this much is quite plain, there is not a single priest in the whole Church who is not affected by the measure of which we have been speaking, and who is not entitled to enter his protest against an act which, on inquiry, may be found fatally to betray the honour and integrity of his sacred office, and to carry his complaint, respectfully and solemnly, to the seat of that authority which has, for the time, given its sanction to the evil.

We are not, however, anticipating the result of a more deliberate inquiry: we are rather begging that so deeply-important a question may be adequately examined, for the sake of the Church and her responsible rulers; for the sake of the position of Bishop Alexander, and the line of conduct prescribed to him. For these have a right and wrong completely their own, and are justifiable or not, without so much as a reference to any results of his mission which may have been hitherto apparent. We have heard so much of the taunt against the order of Jesuits in the Protestant world, that they never scrupled to do evil that good might come, that even were it to appear, in the review we are now about to take of the results of the mission, that the good, as far as we have any means of forming an estimate, which in matters of this kind must clearly be highly imperfect, considerably overbalanced the evil, there would still be an obvious hardness on the part of even a zealous advocate of the mission, who should appeal to the results which have followed in proof of the rectitude of the measure. Even the heathen poet could say—

“Cereat successibus opto
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.”

And a principle which holds good so well in secular matters, is most likely to have some application in ecclesiastical questions, more especially where the ambiguity is so great at the very outset, as to what may be justly considered success, and what failure. Added to this, that the object of all ecclesiastical measures is avowedly to influence men's minds for their good, to draw them towards the truth, and away from evil. Now, who is able to estimate accurately the influence of a single act, even over an individual mind? How much more fallible, then, must

be the attempt to calculate the results, for good or for evil, of a continually-progressive act, a living system, absorbing living men into itself, stirring them up with an incalculable number of unforeseen motives, such as no living creature could anticipate. The very notion of drawing a true conclusion as to the fundamental principles of any given ecclesiastical measure, from any supposed estimate of its visible results, must fall at once to the ground in the mind of every practical observer, if for no other reason (and other reasons there are) at least for the utter fallibility and uncertainty of any such human estimate. The inquiry lies quite in another region, away from the calculation of results, and mounts up into consideration of the eternal principles of executive law and order, by which God Himself works, principles originating from His Godhead, and vouchsafed to man only so far as he has sought to return again to God, and to recover his once upright and right-thinking nature.

With the review, then, of what seems hitherto to have resulted from the measure, we have certainly no very immediate concern. The character of the mission, as good or evil, depends upon a very different inquiry. It is, then, without any design either to justify or to accuse, that we now approach the remaining part of our subject, in which we intend to cast a sort of glance over the apparent effects that have, as far as may be easily gathered, resulted from it, intending no more than to collect a few particulars, interesting to those who may be on the watch for tokens how the scheme works. That which ought to be viewed independently of all results, is, of course, independent of an imperfect estimate of them. And yet, even imperfect information, to those whose fears, interests, sympathies, and anxieties are awakened, cannot be otherwise than acceptable.

The position of Dr. Alexander has a wholly separate and peculiar interest, involving wholly different and distinct subjects of thought, for two very numerous classes in England. One large portion of the people of England have lately had their attention drawn to the subject of the prophecies, by several enthusiastic writers, whose chief characteristic seems to be, if we may venture to speak plainly, their impatient desire of being permitted to see some vast revelation of God's power upon earth before they die,—a hope, for which they see no other chance, except it be through the medium of the unbelieving part of the Jewish nation. We are not referring to the mysterious subject of the expected millennium, during which Satan, it is thought, will be bound for a thousand years. This ancient and widely cherished hope of the early Church must remain among the secrets of God, which even the angels desire to look into, until God shall please to

unfold the event. What we now refer to, is something of a much more palpably earthly character. Impatience to know what those great ends are for which God has created man, has long been a disease of the human heart, from which even the holiest men have not, at times, been free. The saying of the Psalmist, 'O God, wherefore hast Thou made all men for nought?' betokens more or less of this feeling. It is quite conceivable how an excess of this feeling, an earnest desire to look forward and to anticipate the times appointed of the Father, should, on casting inquiring looks over the earth for tokens of the movement of the nations, be attracted by the sight of the Jewish people; their singular adherence to their own name and customs; their dispersion over the habitable globe; their dwelling among the nations, without being numbered with them; their marked physiognomy, character, and mode of life. Add to this, their past history; their former adoption by the Lord God of Israel; the long series of miraculous dealings to which they were subjected by the ministry of prophets and holy men; here, indeed, is a marvellous sight! no wonder that it should attract the eye, and that people should turn aside to see this great sight. And when it further appears, that to the name of Israel, which this nation still bears, wonderful things are prophesied in the oracles of God, by prophets of their own blood, it is no matter of surprise, that minds alive to the marvels of God's providence, awakened to the fact of there being a hidden mysteriousness in our present being, notwithstanding all that the common-place current of the world, and the ordinary nature of our usual employments, seems to tell to the contrary,—it is not a matter of surprise that such minds, not knowing where to turn to feed their craving for some clearer apprehension of the mystery of their being, and having, probably, never heard of the duty of calmly waiting till it should please God Himself to lift up the veil, should eagerly turn to the spectacle of the present unbelieving nation of Israel, and welcome the belief that in that nation are contained the secret seeds of the great coming manifestation of the power of God, which is, if the truth could be known, the thing which they are longing for.

The world is felt to be very common-place: it does not satisfy a religious mind,—it never did, and never will. Yet, the need of something to satisfy the void within is felt; and in the absence of the voice of their true mother the Church, and for want of a better object on which to fasten their hopes and longings, many religious and earnest minds have fixed upon the unbelieving Jews, as being supposed to contain the germ of that great manifestation of God, in the thought and expectation of which they find an object that does satisfy them.

They have some secret wonderful feeling, as of something great being about to happen, the contemplation of which is delightful. What if the whole Jewish people were to be converted in our day? What a flood of Christian truth would go forth over the earth? What an animated scene the world would become? The armies of light and the powers of darkness actually in conflict! Who would not throw themselves heart and soul into such a cause? Here lies the secret, why the idea of making Jewish converts has been so generally popular. People have not known the Catholic view of the prophetic parts of the Old Testament; and it would now, very probably, cost them the abandonment of too many fondly-cherished dreams, to leave much likelihood that they will readily accept it. Yet the truth is obvious. The Jewish people, after the Lord Jesus Christ, whom St. Paul calls the Minister of the Circumcision (Rom. xv. 8), had lived and died among them, did not wholly become reprobate. Even in those days there was a remnant which believed upon Him. The olive-tree was, indeed, shorn of its branches, but the root still remained in the ground; and the coming of the Messiah did not root it up, but caused it again to bear fruit upward. The Gospel did not take away the kingdom from Israel: it effected a change in its nature, and converted the temporal dominion of David into the ecclesiastical dominion of the Son of David: still adhering to the line of Israel, but extending its border, and embracing the Gentiles as a body, grafting them in, and elevating them to the rank of fellow-subjects, a dignity which before they had altogether lacked.

Those who interpret the promises made to Israel by the prophets of the Old Testament to be spoken of the unbelieving portion of the nation as it now exists, scattered over the face of the earth, have to bear the constant perplexity of not knowing where the line of demarcation is to be drawn between what they consider to be respectively due to the Gentile Church and to the Jewish Church; for they do hold some part to belong to the Christians; and hitherto no satisfactory principle of apportionment appears to have been discovered. Upon the Catholic view, the difficulty does not exist, because a Catholic knows of no such thing as a Gentile Church and a Jewish Church, two distinct and rival claimants for the future fulfilment of prophecy, demanding to be satisfied separately. He is content, with St. Paul, to believe that God has broken down the partition wall, and has made Gentile and Jew both one in Christ; and that there is henceforth but one Church of Christ, the city of God, of whom very excellent things are spoken, which has all baptized persons for its members, be they Jew or Gentile, to which one Church all that the prophets speak belong. What God in His

secret counsels may design to do with the present unbelieving nation of Israel, the event alone can declare. That there are intimations of His will with respect to their future condition in the Scriptures, few will be even inclined to deny; but what these may be, we do not now venture to determine. There is no reason at all to think that they occupy no share in the counsels of God. Doubtless there is some wonderful reason in God's providence, why the Israelites, to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises, whose are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came (Rom. ix. 4, 5,) are, as a nation, now unbelievers in their Messiah; and this reason seems to be, that in the fall of the Jews there is some strong warning which has abounded to the riches of the Gentiles (Rom. xi. 12,) which is absolutely necessary to preserve the Gentiles in the faith; and that as concerning the Gospel, they are now enemies, for the sake of believing Gentiles; but as touching the election, they are beloved for the fathers' sakes. (Rom. xi. 28.) Whatever St. Paul's revelations may have been touching the purpose of God, as regarded the multitude of his unbelieving kinsmen after the flesh, it is plain he did not hold the modern doctrine of an unbelieving Jewish Church, a rival candidate for the fulfilment of prophecy, with the believing Gentile Church. With St. Paul, God had of two made both one in Christ Jesus; and of this Church thus made one, the body of Christ, was he a minister (Col. i. 25) under his Lord the *Head*.

Enough, however, has been said to account very rationally how it came to pass that the appointment of a bishop, to labour for the conversion of the few Jews who go to die in the city of Jerusalem and the land of their fathers, should come to be so generally welcomed. As time advances, and truer views of the nature of the undertaking begin to prevail, it will not be very sanguine to indulge a hope that the same genuine love for the Gospel which prompted a mission to the Jews of Palestine, will be inclined to seek more hopeful ways of exerting itself in works of mercy at home,—ways less romantic certainly, but far more beneficent. Indeed, a more sterile undertaking can scarcely be imagined, when it is borne in mind that about thirty catechumens, with a weekly salary in some instances amounting to seventy piastres (fifteen shillings), was, in October 1843, the whole ostensible fruit of the mission. We would not, however, be here misunderstood to mean that we think that there is no duty of attempting to evangelize the unbelieving Jews, on the part of a Christian Church. On the contrary, it is a very high and sacred duty; and we willingly bear testimony to the zeal and

learning which has lately been evinced in their behalf; zeal which will doubtless earn a far higher reward than our praise. But we trust, nevertheless, that it is quite possible to feel for the miseries of the Jews, without the necessity of approving every measure and method that has been of late taken to relieve and bring them to the truth.* Say it we must, however painful, there is no occasion to revive—and it has already been done by some, at least, of the forward members of the Jews' Society—the HERESY of the Nazarenes.

* The annexed extract from the notes of a beneficed clergyman, who visited Jerusalem in the spring of this year (1844), will be interesting to some readers:—

'It consists of Jews, fed and clothed, receiving, I believe, seventy piastres a week each. There might be thirty, at most, in October 1843;—doubtful whether converts or not.

'A distinction is maintained between Jew and Gentile,—the term *Gentiles* is applied to Christians, not Jews.

'The service is read daily, in the morning, in Hebrew, at 7 A.M. Collects sometimes omitted, and lessons changed, for no intelligible reason.

'October 11.—The Bishop's chaplain and secretary (Mr. Ewald) read the service in Hebrew. For the first lesson, he read Isaiah lxv. instead of Judith xiii. On the 12th of October, Jer. xxiii. instead of Judith xv.; and for the second lesson, S. Mark xvi. instead of S. Mark xv. On Tuesday, the 17th October, the Bishop read for the first lesson, Zeph. iii. instead of Wisd. ix.; and for the second lesson, S. Matt xi. instead of S. Luke iii. Before the service was sung a hymn from a book called "Songs of Zion." The book used for psalmody on Sundays, is one printed by the Jews' Society. On Sunday evenings, I understood there was a service (English) at the Bishop's house;—what besides the prayers I do not know, as I did not go.

'The church (now begun, and raised about six feet) stands on ground belonging to the Syrian Church, near which, I believe, a church formerly stood, confiscated to the Turks. This church was in ruins, but the Turks are repairing it for a mosque, for which it has been used, and will be no small thorn to the English church, if ever it is built.

'Wednesday, October 18, (morning).—The Bishop read, first lesson, Haggai iii. for Eccles. li.; second lesson, S. Matt. xix. for S. Luke iv. No notice whatever taken of S. Luke's Festival.

'Thursday, October 19.—Bishop read, first lesson, Zech. ii. and iii. for Wisd. xi.; second lesson, S. Matt. xx. for S. Luke v.

'Friday, October 20.—Bishop read, first lesson, Zech. vi. for Wisd. xiii.; second, S. Matt. xxi. for S. Luke vi.

'Saturday, October 21.—Bishop read, first lesson, Zech. viii. for Wisd. xv.

'Jews are ordained deacons and presbyters; their fitness is more than questionable.

'The Bishop considers himself the successor of S. James, and virtually sets aside the whole line of Greek patriarchs. He considers the prophecies respecting Jerusalem and Mount Zion as bearing a strictly literal interpretation,—that there the grand centre of the Church is to be placed, and thither all the sons of Zion are to be gathered (*i.e.* the converted Jews.) How the *Gentile* Church is to be incorporated, or amalgamated with it, I do not understand. It certainly, however, holds a much lower rank, and I believe the going to settle at Jerusalem is held out in London as a high privilege to those who are designated peculiarly as "Sons of Zion."

'The Oriental Christians are altogether neglected: the sounding phrases in the English Archbishop's letter are forgotten as so much wind; and the English Bishop lodged on one occasion at the *Armenian* convent at Bethlehem. This cannot lead to friendly feeling on the part of the Greeks, much less to their improvement, as was expected at home.

'The language of the confession of faith in the Sunday evening service (at

But it is time to pass onward to the point of view in which Dr. Alexander's mission exhibits a more extensive range of interest. It is no longer a secret, indeed it was scarcely a secret from the first, that the object which the Prussian court had in view (for of course there was an object in view) in requesting to be allowed to share in the burden and maintenance of a new episcopate in Jerusalem, was, if possible, to introduce the episcopate from thence into the Evangelical Church which his late Majesty had formed. What in the world could Prussian diplomatists be supposed to care for enthusiastic schemes entertained by not a few warm hearted and well meaning people in this country, for the immediate recovery of the whole Jewish people in their own generation? Do we imagine the cabinet of Berlin to have suddenly become Philo-Judaics, as a little while ago a great part of Europe became Phil-Hellenes? Politicians are much too well acquainted with the facts of the Jewish character and sentiments to be likely persons to give ear to tales of an approaching Jewish conversion. They know perfectly well how unchanged is the love of the whole Jewish people for money, and how ready the mass of that nation are 'to be all things to all men,' for the sake of their national idol, 'money.' When politicians are in want of money, to whom do they go to obtain it?—to the Jews; for, with the reprobation from the kingdom of Christ, there has belonged to that people an understanding in the kingdom of Mammon as far above that of all other nations of the earth, as their darkness in all that pertains to the light of God's revelation exceeds that of all other people. Is it then so probable that a cabinet, in company with other cabinets, accustomed to look upon the Jews as convenient money-agents, should be suddenly smitten with a romantic desire for their instantaneous recovery

three o'clock) may form a comment on this: "I believe in one holy *Christian* Church," not Catholic. ("Eine heilige Christliche Kirche.")

'The whole aim seems to be to build up the very wall between Jew and Gentile which the great Apostle and the primitive Church took such pains to break down,—to contradict and falsify the equality and unity expressed in such passages as the 2d chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

'The only English at Jerusalem, when I was there, with the exception of the mission, (which comprehended the Bishop and his family, the chaplains and their families, the architect, and the physician,) were the Consul and his wife. The Prussian Consul, a very amiable and well-informed man, Dr. Schultz, spoke English fluently, and on Sunday mornings attended the English service.

'A Jew, of the name of Sternshuss, or something like it, who had been a servant, was sent to Safed, to pave the way for his ordination. What degree of learning was required of him I do not know, but I heard the standard was very low. It is doubtful whether Dr. Alexander himself can construe the Greek Testament, or even the Vulgate. All who condemn any of their errors and strange doings, are denounced as enemies, and as obstructing the conversion of the Jews.'—*MS. Notes on the Church of Mount Zion.*

from their love of mammon to the Gospel? Does the cabinet of Prussia, and his Majesty, really sympathize in Dr. Alexander's dreams about the regeneration of that city which Jesus Christ has expressly forewarned us 'shall be trodden under foot of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled;' doubtless on purpose that the Gentiles over the whole world may see, in the abiding miserable state of the once chosen city, the joy of the whole earth, an ever-present reflection of the future inexpressible desolation of all who, during this their day of mercy, shall put away God's words from them, and trample under foot the blood of the covenant of the Gospel of the Son of God? No, no! Politicians are politicians; and the object of the Prussian cabinet, whatever it may be, is certainly not likely to have much to do with the recovery of the Jews from their spiritual darkness. The Jews are much too useful for present political purposes to make it over probable that there exists so very ardent a desire in the political world for their conversion to the Gospel. But there needs no proof how little the real design on the part of Prussia has to do with the recovery of the Jews. The maxim of James the First of England, *No Bishop, no King!* has never been lost sight of in the royal counsels of Prussia.

The progress of political sentiments over Europe has plainly shown, even to mere politicians, that religion without a government possessed of an inherent power over the consciences of the people, tends naturally to anarchy, discord, and dissolution. And, notwithstanding that the legitimate objects of the conscientious hierarchical government are necessarily at variance with many of the views and aims of the keen mundane politician, and the ends of what is thought to be good secular government; the one aiming at preparing a people ready for the Lord, trained in the practices of piety and godliness, and requiring a considerable part of their time to be taken from secular purposes, and to be given to exercises having no visible secular utility whatever; the other aiming only at a material prosperity of wealth and fatness of life. This being so, even politicians have, notwithstanding, the discernment to discover that their proper pursuit is not a safe one in the long run, there being a leaven of Satanic agency at work in all human polities, which aims directly at overthrow, anarchy, and destruction, and which only waits its time to go forth to destroy. Wisdom therefore inclines them, even contrary to their avowed principles, to seek for that heavenly power which God has provided to be the salt of the earth, which casteth out the devil; and even politicians seek for the shadow of the tree whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. In Prussia, so early as the time of Frederick I.,—who

was the first to obtain from the diet of the empire, that the electorate of Brandenburg should be changed into the kingdom of Prussia,—the desire for an episcopal government appears to have been felt. Indeed, the king himself, to add greater solemnity to his coronation, which took place in the year 1700, appointed two titular bishops, Dr. Ursinus, and a colleague, who died soon afterwards, to grace the ceremonial with their presence. And in due time many very interesting letters passed between Dr. Jablonski, the court preacher of Berlin, Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, and others, relative to the desired consecration of a bishop for Prussia, and the introduction of the Anglican Liturgy into that kingdom.

On looking over this correspondence, an edition of which was afterwards published in 1767, in London, in the French language, purporting to contain translations from the originals, by one J. T. Mussyon, and issued by the grandchildren of the Archbishop, a very commendable spirit appears on the part of the Prussian authorities, as a few short extracts will show.

‘ Letter of Dr. Jablonski, first Chaplain, &c. &c., to Baron Printzen, President of Council for Ecclesiastical Affairs in Berlin.

‘ Your excellence having lately commissioned myself and colleagues, on the part of his Majesty, to trace out separately a plan of ecclesiastical discipline, I take the liberty to lay my thoughts before you.

‘ I conceive that the good order or discipline of the Church does not merely comprise the Liturgy, or the form appointed for public worship and the administration of sacraments, but also polity ecclesiastical, or the form appointed for the government of the Church.

‘ I. *Liturgy.* I am obliged to confess frankly, that I have remarked that many evangelical societies, and other churches, have avoided the excesses of the catholic Romans, whose worship is overladen with pomp and idolatry, only in order to fall into the opposite extreme of a service, cold, superficial, and scarcely respectful.

* * * * *

‘ The opinion now prevalent in these latter days is, that Divine service consists in the sermon, to such an extent that the term Divine service has fallen into disuse. For instance, people do not say, Will there be Divine service to-day? will you go to the service of God? but only, Will there be a sermon? will you go to the sermon?’

Reflexions of Dr. Jablonski upon the Letter of M. Bonnet, Minister of the King of Prussia, resident at London, addressed to his Master from London.

After making a few remarks upon some observation of Mr. Bonnet, favourable to the plan, he proceeds:—

‘ In my view, two things are incontestable.

‘ I. That subordination is as necessary in the government of the Church as it is in any other society or body politic. Our Saviour compares himself to a captain or general, and his Church to an army; but if all the officers of the army were of equal rank and place immediately under the authority of the director-in-chief, how could the army be governed, and of what use would it be?

‘ II. That this subordination, necessary in itself, cannot be better realized than by means of a well-regulated episcopate.

‘ 1. On account of the veneration which is due to the primitive Church, and for the sake of the conformity with her, that the Christian Church of our days would thus gain; and for fear lest, by being separate from the Roman Church, we be deemed to have estranged ourselves from the Catholic Church.

‘ 2. In order to give no scandal to those Christians who have retained the ancient constitution.

‘ 3. To recover the clergy from the contempt into which their office has fallen in many places. * * * This is not the way (says the Doctor, after having noticed the contempt in which the office of pastor was then held) to show ourselves thankful for the grace of God in having given us the light of the Gospel. When God formed the government, civil and ecclesiastical, of his people, he founded the office of chief priest (*souverain sacrificateur*), as well as different orders of priests and Levites under their chief; and the chief priest whom he chose was brother to their leader, Moses. He assigned also to the whole order of priests revenues and suitable authority. On the other hand, the Holy Ghost has noted, in various places, that when Jeroboam substituted his own plan of ecclesiastical government for that of God, he ordained priests of the lowest of the people. I confess these passages have often occasioned me reflections the most serious, and have grieved me to the bottom of my heart.’—Pp. 80.

The answer of Baron Printzen to the memorial from which the above is extracted, called upon Dr. Jablonski to draw up his project for the introduction of the Episcopate into Prussia; which was accordingly done, in fifteen sections, and presented to the baron the 7th of May, 1711. We wish we could find

room to give entire the whole of this document, on account of the soundness of the views it contains of the perfect possibility of the royal and ecclesiastical functions coexisting peaceably together, the one rendering to God the things belonging to God, and the other to Cæsar those things which belong to him.

This project, however, came to nothing, as Dr. Richardson, who has written the sequel to Bishop Godwin's treatise, '*De Præsulibus Angliæ*,'* thinks, in the first instance, owing to the oscitancy and timidity of Archbishop Tenison, who is said to have refused the application made by Dr. Ursinus for consecration, but who seems, from whatever cause, never to have favourably entertained the scheme of Dr. Jablonski; and afterwards by the death of the monarch and Archbishop Sharp.

In the present generation, the project of Dr. Jablonski appears to have revived, and to have found other advocates; and, as far as circumstances enable a judgment to be formed, there is the same readiness on the part of the civil power in Prussia to admit the episcopate into the kingdom which there evidently was on the part of his Majesty Frederick I. in the time of Dr. Jablonski. The difficulty does certainly not lie ostensibly in jealousy entertained on the side of royal authority: it would seem rather as if eagerness to obtain the Episcopate was characteristic of the royal counsels. The real difficulty lies in the mode in which the people of Germany have been brought up since the Reformation, in their habits of domestic religion, or rather absence of religion, their free range over all sacred subjects of speculation, the nature of their universities, and the system in which that portion of the youth of the country is trained up who are destined to become the teachers of the multitudes. External discipline and self-restraint are two things to which almost every student of a German university is a total stranger, and more especially the theological student; indeed, by its very constitution, the German university is incapable of any judicious and regular moral, intellectual, or mental discipline. In the days of the Catholic regimen, the calendar and the doctrine of the Church, as well as the habits of ecclesiastical life, enforced a sufficient practical restraint upon the students of the universities, and subjected all classes, students included, to a wholesome and sufficient control. But with the Reformation, and the removal of the legitimate supervision of the true Clergy, there has grown up, throughout the length and breadth of Germany, in that class of the population which resorts to univer-

* The passage containing the censure of the Archbishop was afterwards cancelled, and replaced by a fresh leaf, at the instance of Archbishop Potter.—*Vide Nichols' Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii. p. 250.

sities for education, an undisciplined, lawless spirit of life, thought, speculation, and conscience, which at different times has shown such symptoms as have attracted the notice of the civil authorities, and caused no little concern in the seat of government, as to what it would eventually lead. It is also notorious to those who have ever had any personal acquaintance with the living spirit of the university students of Germany, that the only quarter from which there emanates any power of wholesome restraint adequate to the correction of their excesses, is the fear of the police, and of an arrest for a term of years, or for life, in some one of the royal fortresses, Spandau or Ehrenbreitstein. As for degradation or suspension operating, or being likely to operate, as a punishment, and therefore constituting a serviceable power of restraint; there must in order to this be a sense and appreciation of rank from whence to degrade, and of this the students are wholly unconscious; and if they were, the facility of migrating from one state to another, and the plentiful sympathy which the tenets of freedom have created in favour of any seeming martyr in the cause of lawlessness, would still put an end to all internal power of good government; so that, in point of fact, known to no persons so well as to statesmen, the whole university system of Germany exists, throughout the length and breadth of the land, devoid of anything like an internal power of systematic conscientious government, the only power which is sensibly felt, and which is sometimes exerted, being a royal or ducal arrest in some military strong post.

So very little is known in England of the miserable lawlessness of the whole system, or rather absence of system—we mean moral system—in which the educated portion of Protestant Germany is trained up for their future duties in life, that no Englishman, accustomed to what yet remains of the general popular veneration for good order and ancient dignities of the land, can form an idea of what the position or duties of the Episcopate would be if it were suddenly to be given to any portion of Protestant Germany. The Episcopate, as the very name intimates, implies a living governor, entitled to take the oversight of the flock subjected to his pastoral care. It implies a sense, on the part of that governor, of a divine gift of the Holy Ghost residing in him, empowering him to exercise his office as overseer, with a power of censure, reward, and remission, and a trust in the presence of the Holy Ghost, guiding him aright in the execution of his office; and on the part of the people, it implies a sense of the benefits to be derived from their living under such a government, a regard and veneration for the office of their overseer, as being from God, an esteem for him personally, as the person appointed of God to watch for their

souls, and to render an account to Him of them. Such is, to this day, the true relationship between the Catholic Bishop and his flock; and, in the eyes of all good Christians, the ties which bind the chief pastor and his flock together are more precious than rubies, or much fine gold. In a word, their life, thus guarded, is gratefully felt by them to be under the shadow of the wings of the Almighty; and whatever may become of temporal dynasties, the mind of the Catholic Christian towards the Episcopate inclines him to say, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, and thy dominion endureth throughout all ages.' The peculiarity, however, of the Episcopal power—and it is precisely that particular point in it which the worldly politician has the most difficulty to understand—is this, Whence does this extraordinary willingness to submit come? whence this desire to be governed? this eager longing for guidance? this love to hear and obey the shepherd's voice? all which are characteristic of catholic-minded people. The worldly politician in his heart scarcely believes the possibility of such sentiments towards any human governor; accustomed to deal with the principles of the old Adam, he would rather doubt, if so be, his own eyes and ears, than believe the *plainest* evidence of the wonders of the new creation. The politician's maxim,—according to a modern phrase, we believe an American one,—is, that there are but two ways of governing men, *bamboo or bamboozle*; and if so, the notion of governing them by faith, hope, and love, the principles of the new creation, can be no better than a dream. When, therefore, the world did really gain a sight of the wonders of the Christian Church, and saw before their eyes the people following with a glad mind the path pointed out to them by their ecclesiastical governors, who were men possessed of no outward marks of power or pre-eminence, they wondered, they were irritated, they bitterly reviled and persecuted; but they ended, by bowing down before a power, the secret of which they could not comprehend, while its fruits they could not escape from seeing before their eyes. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy, that "because He hath set His love upon me, He shall go upon the lion and the adder, and the young lion and the dragon He shall tread under His feet." The kingdoms of the world bowed down before the Christian Bishops, plain men as they were, and the cross surmounted the diadem and the sceptre.

Need it be said how far otherwise is the case as regards Prussia and her desired Episcopate now, from the circumstances when the Episcopal government first entered those territories for which it is now sought to be regained? Whether sinfully or not, this very government, now sought to be obtained, was forcibly expelled, three hundred years ago; and the point is now

no longer to draw near and receive, for the first time, a constitution which God has provided for the healing of the nations, and which is a boon freely offered to all, but, if so be, to regain a blessing once possessed, now lost,—That is, as regards the recovery of her Episcopate. Prussia is plainly in the position of a penitent, desiring to be restored to the enjoyment of a Divine gift that has been forfeited. How do Divine gifts come to be forfeited?—Surely by the commission of sin, provoking God to withdraw his gifts. How are they to be regained?—If there be any other way than by repentance, and earnest prayer to God, to be, for His infinite mercy's sake, restored to the enjoyment of that which has been lost, it must have been very recently discovered.

Now, is there any symptom at all on the part of the Prussians, or, indeed, on the part of any Protestant, that they believe Episcopacy to be this gift of the Holy Ghost, the recovery of which should be sought for from God with great earnestness, and much contrition and sorrow for the past? So very far from it, that a positive hatred of the restraint and control which the authority of a Bishop would place upon their present inbred lawlessness in every department of science, theology, and domestic habits, is the prominent characteristic of Protestant Germany, north and south, east and west. The mutual love and religious sense of the sacredness of the bond whereby the Catholic Bishop is united to his flock, and they to him, is not to be found; it is nowhere. And yet without this, what is Episcopacy but a lifeless form? In what would even the politician be the gainer, supposing that he were to succeed in negotiating a consecration for his present titular Bishops, if he could not also ensure a portion of the faith, the reverence, and the love, which unites the subjects of the Episcopate to the seat of government, and leads them, willing captives, to what they are sure is the voice of God?

Imagine Neander and Von Eylert to come over to receive by consecration at Lambeth this year a Catholic right to the title of Bishop they now hold, what would be the result?—the people would probably not understand that they had undergone any change: there would not be less turmoil of mind among the learned of Halle, Berlin and Bonn—less doubt upon matters of practical faith. The deep roots of Church government would not be found to take root in a moment's notice, because of the bidding of an executive: rather, would not the event show how much easier it is to forfeit a spiritual paradise, by transgression, than to regain it, and that to those who have forfeited their heavenly heritage there is no other way of recovery than hearty repentance, and earnest prayer, that God

would turn again in favour ;—it being indeed a great and undeserved mercy that there is such a way at all ?

That it may appear that what has now been said is not entirely devoid of foundation in fact, we proceed to add a few extracts from some of the ephemeral pamphlets that have appeared in Germany, not as claiming any extraordinary degree of authority for such testimony—for the proper authority in such a question is the testimony of persons who have become familiar with the character and habits of the people themselves, through the personal intercourse of many years ; and to such we make our appeal in perfect confidence, for the confirmation of what has been advanced,—but because we hope our readers will take an interest in observing a few specimens of the mode in which Protestant Germany at large views the proposed accession of the Episcopate :—

Extracts from German and other Periodicals.

Das Anglo Preussische Bisthum zu St. Jacob in Jerusalem, und was daran hängt. Freiburgh. 1842. Pp. 77. (Published anonymously ; it is very well written, and passed through several editions.)

P. 11.—‘Very ominous it must have appeared that among the organs of serious reflecting protestant sentiments, *not even one single note* of real joy or of lively interest would make itself heard . . . Several journals found this Anglo-Prussian combination so extraordinary, so totally opposed to the respective characters, historically stamped upon them, of the two factors, that the only solution of the enigma appeared to be the supposition that there was something as yet concealed in the back-ground. Especially the “Schwäbische Merkur,” and the “Karlsruher National zeitung,” 1841, No. 345.’

P. 17.—‘Has, then, the German Evangelical Church no other symbolical books besides the Confession of Augsburg ? Suppose a candidate or preacher under the Bishop Alexander, were to take it into his head to act upon that chapter of the Articles of Schmalkalden which treats of the power and jurisdiction of the Bishops,* how would his Bishop regard him?’

P. 28.—‘What in the present negotiations (for a union) is satisfactory, is, that *not a single theologian* consented to take

* ‘Since, according to Divine right, there is no distinction between bishops and clergy, there is no doubt, that if a clergyman ordains fit persons in his Church to clerical offices, such ordination is, according to divine right, valid and right :’—from the Articles of Schmalkalden, which are binding upon all protestant German ecclesiastics.

‘a direct part in them. Secret sympathies there may be, in direct support through ambiguous articles in journals. But so far *no German theologian has committed himself*, as to take an open and positive part in seeking Episcopacy.’

P. 42.—‘If communion with Christ is obtained through the Apostles, communion with the Apostles through their successors; if the succession is where there is Episcopacy, and where the Episcopacy, there alone the Catholic Church; then Anglican Catholicism has every where its true companionship only in those circles, to which the Protestantism of the continent, to which the puritanism at home, have decidedly turned their backs.’

P. 52.—‘That in Germany *no evangelical Christian*, except the organs of the *recent* operations, believes in the apostolical succession of the Bishops, and the jurisdiction of the episcopal dignity, may be asserted boldly to be a fact. Ask all theologians from Hengstenberg to Röhr, if they do not hold the same opinion respecting *that fiction*.’

Dr. Emil Ferdinand Vogel, in a pamphlet which professes to be an historical survey of the English Episcopal Church, in reference to the principles and claims of genuine Protestantism, after giving a sketch of the efforts made by the French Bishop Bossuet, Leibnitz, the titular Prussian Bishops, Bernard von Sanden and Benjamin Ursinus, Dr. Jablonski, and Archbishop Sharp, speaks of what, to say the least, showed on their parts a most commendable desire for the recovery of unity. ‘That as mild and friendly as all this sounded, yet far-sighted men, on more maturely considering the matter, could not fail to perceive that the advantage lay all on the side of the Catholic Church, that the Protestants would not only be no gainers, but would lose everything. And thus, for the welfare of Protestant truth, the whole matter came to nothing.’

The reader will draw in this his own parallel with the present time.*

After giving what he considers to be a fair historical sketch of the events of the English Reformation, he proceeds to what, it is to be feared, was a true and faithful description of the then English Church, from the published letters of one Küttner, who visited England a little before 1796, to establish his position, that since stagnation and abandonment of their duties has all along continued to be the chief thing for which the English

* The author here refers to the Church History of Professor Henke, where precisely the same sentiments occur. Part iv. pp. 549—573, 3d edition.

Hierarchy is at all remarkable, no good could be hoped for, from transplanting their system elsewhere. And if even they were otherwise than they appear, still the very nature of the English Hierarchy is contrary to the spirit and principles of Protestantism, dangerous to the safety of the so dearly won palladium of Protestant liberty of faith and conscience. 'If,' says he, in conclusion, 'a man will steadily take all these things into consideration, it is at once plain that nothing but evil could possibly come from carrying into execution the plan for transplanting the English Episcopal doctrine and Church system into Germany. And herewith the confident hope may be entertained, from taking a collective view of things as they now are, that the more attention is paid to the circumstances of the case, the more men's minds will steadily turn away from giving any countenance to the proposed plan.'

This pamphlet we find is noticed by Mr. Dewar, who says that the learned author occupies seventy pages in proving from history what we are most happy in being able to grant, that the Anglican Church has never been able to tear itself loose from the spiritual fetters of the old Catholic worship; while German Protestantism, bold and daring from the commencement, enjoys unbounded freedom, and delights in what is termed by another of its sons '*fortbildung*,' (development.)

A writer, styling himself an Old Prussian, gives the following sentiment, exceedingly characteristic of the notions generally prevalent among Protestants:—

'Hence it may be seen how erroneous was the view of the Reformers to bring back the original form of Christianity into the sixteenth century. This is as impossible as it would be ruinous, and the people of old-fashioned faith (*altgläubigen*) in our day are under the same error. The original form of Christianity, as a phenomenon of which history treats, is subject to change; as an expression of the spiritual nature, it is unchangeable. And he would form an entirely wrong conception of Church history who did not discern the truth of this position in it. He would convict history of falsehood who should refuse to admit that our present Christianity wears a totally different aspect from that of the Reformation, and this again a totally different one from the first Christianity. This is plain from the still existing church forms of those to whom standing still has been made a first principle. However, no phenomenon in the spiritual world can withdraw itself from the universal law of spiritual development.'

* The periodicals and pamphlets quoted have almost all disappeared from the trade, and it is only through the kindness of a friend, residing on the continent, who collected them at the time, that we are enabled to give these extracts.

Of the estimation in which the Creeds of the Catholic Church are held in Germany, the following is given as a fair specimen :—

‘ Speaking of a certain writer, M. Rupp observes, that his work did but add fresh confirmation to the truth that the present Church knows nothing of any importance as attached to the letter of the Creed. And further, how little the spiritual authorities of the provinces of East and West Prussia favour the strict adherence to the letter of Creeds (symbol zwang), seems as if it could not be better made known to those who happen to be but little acquainted with what relates to us than by the fact, that Richard Baxter’s Book, “The Minister of the Gospel,” is given into the hands of every preacher when ordained, to put him in mind of the day of his ordination. Who is the man who is set forth as a pattern to the preacher entering upon his office? A Presbyterian minister, who was degraded by the Episcopal Church of England; because at a time when many thousands of the clergy acted against their conviction, he remained true to his, and sought to defend Christian liberty of conscience, by declining to subscribe that he willingly, and *ex animo*, without any reserve, believed and accepted all that was contained and ordered in the Book of Common Prayer.

‘ Protestant theologians are, in this point, in perfect accordance with the authorities, that in our Church the letter of the Creed is not binding. The ecclesiastical and theological periodicals, which are edited by Rohr in Weimar, and Bretschneider in Gotha, throw light upon the question of Creeds in every point of view. The scientific labours of Wegscheider in Halle, and David Schultz in Breslau, further confirm this view. And how greatly mistaken would he be who should maintain, that it was by the tenet of “one external form of Christianity” that the representatives of Rationalism, so called, were distinguished from other theologians.

‘ On the contrary, all who entertain Schleiermacher’s way of viewing Christian doctrine, and who, according to the language of Hegel’s philosophy, have found in it the expression of their Christian faith, hold the same views as to Creeds. De Wette, Ulmarin, Haas, in theological writings breathe the same spirit; and the celebrated Church historian, Neander, would be little understood, were it to be maintained that he did not see, in the present Evangelical Church, a development external to the letter of the Creed.’—*Symbol Zwang*, p. 47.

‘ Does the English High Church, this nursling of kings, belong to us? is she really protestant? It is true she calls herself so, but she is not; a circumstance far from so strange that any one ought to wonder at it.’—*Der Thurm-bau zu Köln*, p. 105.

Extract from the Evangelical Church Periodical, 1843, No. 7.

‘ Since these brothers, (editors of a print in Switzerland) have thought it of sufficient importance to place a testimony of mine, which they have wholly misunderstood, at the head of their paper, what I am now about to bear testimony to as a notorious fact, well known to me from my acquaintance with the higher circles at Berlin, will not be a matter of indifference to them, viz. that I have as yet not met with a single person, from among the highest down to the lowest circle, who held the reform of our Church system, after the pattern of that of the English, to be a point of real necessity; that not a single person is known to me, even by name, whose efforts have been directed to any such end.’—*Otto von Gerlach.*

The ‘*Calner Missionsblatt*,’ No. 1, 1843, (written by Dr. Barth, a man who has for many years conducted the affairs of the Missionary Society;) the ‘*Baseler Heidenbote*,’ No. 3, 1842, and the ‘*Baseler Missionsmagazin*,’ 1841, vol. iv. p. 150; the organs of the friends of missionary enterprises,—all take a decidedly unfavourable view; the former expressly states that it is an illusion to suppose that a Bishop would in any way advance the success of missionaries; the second declares that he has already injured that cause; and the last attributes to the English clergy all the evils that have befallen the Druses.

‘*Rheinwald's Repertorium*,’ (published at Berlin monthly, by Professor Rheinwald,) one of the most esteemed periodicals, of rather a critical and historical, than controversial character, has, April 1844, an article on the subject, taking a decidedly unfavourable view, and regarding the whole as a failure.

‘*Le Semeur*,’ (1842, Nos. 2 and 6,) organ of the French Protestants, is opposed to the scheme, and demands whether the Church of Prussia is ready to follow her political chief, whether she is ready to submit to the Anglican Episcopal ordination, which must sooner or later be offered to her.

Similar sentiments occur in the ‘*Archives du Christianisme*,’ (No. 2, 1842,) and also in a French Protestant Journal; this latter article met with a reply from a French Anglican, Mr. Gourrier. On the whole, the French Protestant (Calvinistic) body, consistently enough, recognises in the measure a declaration of union among all Protestant bodies. Witness the following truly French sentiments, spoken by a Comte Agénor Gasparin at a Bible Society Meeting:—

‘*Toute église évangélique est une sœur, c'est notre église, c'est nous-mêmes! Sur ce rapport tous doivent se réjouir de la fondation d'un évêché protestant à Jérusalem.*’

Perhaps the most important publication in this quarter is one by the candid A. de Mestral, of the Canton de Vaud; '*l'Evêché évangélique de Jérusalem*,' (Paris 1843.) He approves very highly of the whole scheme. He, with great truth, considers it the true exponent of what we should call the pseudo-catholicity among Protestants, symbolized by the phrase, *l'unité des formes variées*. He states that the two contracting Churches of Prussia and England treated on the basis of national independence and catholicity, or *l'unité intérieure*: to use his own striking words, '*Une église unique, mais dans le sein de cette église culte séparé et libre par chaque nationalité*,' p. 38. Which is exactly what Dr. Arnold's Church Reform pamphlet suggested. He draws, (p. 82,) a curious distinction between the episcopate, viewed as a doctrine and as what might among us be called 'an event in providence.' '*L'épiscopat, la succession des évêques sont pour elle (l'église d'Angleterre) non pas un dogme mais UN FAIT.*' The inference is obvious. He insists that Mr. Bunsen was the presiding genius, and that the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London adopted *his* views: and now that the Life of Arnold has proved that Bunsen *alone* symbolized in all their fulness with Arnold's frightful sentiments, this fact is not without its value, and that a very remarkable one. However, Mr. de Mestral admits, (p. 47,) that convocation is the sole constitutional representative of the Church, and that our two chief prelates only act, of course, without any canonical authority, in default of this body: in other words, the Church of England is, most providentially, not committed to the scheme at all.

We would willingly quote many passages from a polemical pamphlet of Dr. Schneckenburger's, but must content ourselves with referring our readers to the original. It is full of extracts from the various writers who have written and discussed the question of the so-called Anglo-Prussian missionary undertaking, and is perhaps that one of the ephemeral productions which will best reward an inquirer who is desirous of learning what people generally, in Germany, think and feel respecting the undertaking. Two other pamphlets, which have been made accessible to the English reader by translation, may be recommended with the same view,—*The Anglican Bishopric of Jerusalem*, by a French Protestant pastor; and *The Anglo-Prussian Bishopric of St. James, at Jerusalem*, by Wm. Hoffman, inspector of the missionary schools in Basle.

It would be exposing a reader's patience to a needless trial to multiply quotations similar to those already cited. They are here given as samples of a mode of thought, characteristic of Protestant Germany, which has neither desire nor love for the Episcopal government, which holds fast to nothing fixed in

Revelation, but fluctuates hither and thither, and is really carried about by every wind of doctrine, under the idea of advancement and development of the truth.

Happily for England, as yet we know very little of the sentiments of Germany, and of our ignorance we need not be ashamed. Yet their language now is being extensively cultivated, and, of course, its general diffusion will bring in an influx of literature to which we have long been strangers. If, then, German literature must needs become known, and German divinity attract notice, we rejoice to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Dewar for his sound and able review of the progress of Theology in Germany since the time of Luther. It will be an antidote to the poison as it comes out. It will be found to confirm our fears of the malignant influence that we think must inevitably accompany the spread of the German language. It is satisfactory to see the views of the late respected Mr. Rose so ably confirmed and substantiated; and to both these works we now beg to refer such of our readers as may desire to be convinced that we have not misrepresented our subject.

In fact, the true Protestant, whether he be of Germany or elsewhere, in his heart hates the Episcopal power; his principles, carried to their legitimate extent, lead him to seek absolute freedom from all restraint,—entire liberty of conscience and belief; whereas the Episcopal power is a living human pattern of conscience and orthodox belief, and the end of Episcopacy is to be a guide of conscience and belief to those who embrace its government. It is not in the *truth*, but in the act of *seeking the truth*, that a Protestant thinks he will make himself free. It needs then hardly to be urged, the inference is so plain, that where such sentiments as have been quoted are characteristic of the mind of a people, they are far, very far, from that child-like love for order and guidance without which we are told that men cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.

If, therefore, England would benefit the Christians of Prussia, for the present at least there seems to be no other way, except by prayer for them, that they may have given them a sincere love for the pastoral care of 'Bishops.' The only true foundation that the Christian hierarchy can have, is in the love and reverence borne towards them by their people. What is Episcopacy without this, but the outward representative of something inward that is dead; a skeleton form, the heart and life-blood of which has perished? If, therefore, it can be shown that we are mistaken in our estimate of the mind of Prussia towards Episcopacy, we shall rejoice to hear it; but sincerely believing as we do, and having formed our opinion from many opportunities of living observation, that Episcopacy is not regarded by the

Protestants of Germany in the light of a precious blessing given of God,—we can only pray God of His mercy to withhold from them a gift, which as yet they shew no symptom of a desire to receive religiously, and in which they do not as yet understand that the Giver must be honoured; unless the gift is to be followed by a misuse, that will be a far greater curse than its continued absence.

As for the ill advised scheme of union, we can but dismiss it as we began; if it in anywise has injured the character of our Church for catholicity, and there is Dr. Arnold's striking testimony that it has:—

‘ To Sir T. S. Pasley, Bart.

‘ Fox How, September 23rd, 1841.

‘ . . . The first Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem is to be consecrated at Lambeth next Wednesday. He is to be the legal protector of all Protestants of every denomination towards the Turkish government; and he is to ordain Prussian clergymen, on their signing the Augsburg Confession, and adopting the Prussian Liturgy, and Englishmen on their subscribing to our Articles and Liturgy. *Thus the idea of my Church Reform pamphlet, which was so ridiculed and so condemned, is now carried into practice by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself.* For the Protestant Church of Jerusalem will comprehend persons using different liturgies, and subscribing different articles of faith; and it will sanction these differences, and hold both parties to be equally its members. Yet it was thought ridiculous in me to conceive that a national Church might include persons using a different ritual, and subscribing different articles. Of course it is a grave question what degrees of difference are compatible with the bond of Church union; but the Archbishop of Canterbury has declared in the plainest language, that some differences *are* compatible with it; and this is the great principle which I contended for.’—*Dr. Arnold's Life and Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 274, letter 257.

If it has its foundation in the violation of sanctions and obligations of canonical law, hitherto held sacred,—we repeat with Mr. Newman, ‘God grant that it may utterly perish, and come to nought, and be as though it had never been!’

- ART. VI.—1. *The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent. A Sermon Preached before the University. By E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Oriel College.* Oxford. 1843.
2. *Copies of the Correspondence in the Case of the Regius Professor of Divinity, and Mr. Macmullen.* Oxford: Parker. London: Burns. 1844.
3. *Two Exercises for the Degree of B.D. read in the Divinity School, Oxford, April 18, and 19, 1844. By R. G. MACMULLEN, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College.* Oxford: Parker. London: Burns. 1844.

WE shall make no apology for bringing before our readers as accurate a statement as we can of the late course of events in the University of Oxford. No one is more sensible than we that the University is not the Church; yet all the reasonings in the world will never convince any man of plain common sense, that the Church is not deeply interested in all that happens there, and specially in everything which has any bearing upon theology; and if there be any moment in which it is desirable to call general attention to the subject, it is the present. Dr. Wynter no longer holds office; so we can unreservedly criticise his conduct, without any suspicion of disrespect for the situation which he lately held, and while the facts are yet recent in the memory of men; as the ancient Egyptians found nothing inconsistent with their loyalty towards their living kings, in the inquest which they were wont to hold upon their memory and acts as soon as they were dead.

We are writing, as we have said, for readers of every class, who are interested in the welfare of the English Church, and must therefore be excused, if, before recording the official conduct of the late Vice-Chancellor, we enter into some detail of the nature and powers of the office he was called to fill, and the state of things at Oxford when he entered upon it; subjects familiar, indeed, to every Oxford man, but some explanation of which is necessary to enable others to appreciate the late events.

The University of Oxford is probably the most ancient corporation in England, and, with its sister university, has powers of self-government, both legislative and executive, larger than any other. The supreme authority of this corporation is the 'Venerable House of Convocation,'* an assembly in which every one who has taken the degree of Master of Arts, and continues to be a member of the University, enjoys an equal right of speaking and voting. This, however, is no democracy, but (like the great

* There is another body called the House of Congregation, the right of sitting in which is limited to certain members of Convocation, chiefly the youngest, with the addition of certain official personages; but as the business of this house is chiefly formal, we need not at present enlarge upon it.

council of Venice, of which every noble was a member) a strict aristocracy; for, before the degree of M.A. can be attained, seven years at least of strict residence within the University is statutorily required; during the whole of which the pupil, whether as Undergraduate or Bachelor, is subject to the most rigid discipline and control. When he at length enters the House of Convocation, he is considered qualified to be a teacher of others, and admitted to the full privileges of the University. By this body every statute must be made, modified, or repealed; every degree conferred, every election determined. By its voice is appointed the Chancellor (the head of the University), the Proctors (the chief authorities in matters of discipline), the Professors, and almost every subordinate officer. As a check, probably, to hasty acts on the part of a body which passes decrees by a single vote, without the delays secured in parliament, by first, second, and third reading, and committee, it is provided that the Chancellor alone, and the two Proctors together, have power to put a negative upon any business. This, however, it is important to observe, is merely a negative power; it must not be confounded with the authority possessed, for example, by the Sovereign in Parliament, or even by the President of the United States: it resembles, in fact, the 'intercession' of a Roman tribune; for although these officers have the power of imposing a veto, their active consent is not necessary to the passing of any measure. That which has passed Convocation is law, without any consent of theirs; although, until it passed, they had power to arrest its progress. Again, it cannot for a moment be imagined, that this right acknowledges any sovereignty of the Chancellor over the University; for the same power is, as we have seen, possessed by the Proctors jointly, and none ever dreamed of them as sovereign; as, indeed, for many other reasons, so because they must by statute be junior members of convocation, ten years' standing being a disqualification for the office.

Such is the ancient constitution of the University, and nearly such it still is in theory. Its practical condition is very different. The Chancellor, for example, was some resident member of the University, and elected for a year. The office then became, in practice, triennial. Becoming sufficiently dignified to be an object of ambition, it became perpetual, and at last fell into the hands of great men resident in other places. It was formerly usually held by spiritual, of late years more frequently by temporal peers; but, in the hands of either, it is evident the executive power vested in the Chancellor could be personally exercised only in a few more important occasions; and hence arose the Vice-Chancellor, who is merely the representative of the Chancellor, invested (during his absence) with most, but not all, of his

functions; appointed by him annually, but not admitted to office until the appointment has been confirmed by the same 'House of Convocation' by which the Chancellor himself is originally elected.

But a greater change than this was the rise, within the University, of the College system, which has grown by slow degrees, until the collective colleges have become coextensive with the University itself; and the great body, under the shadow of which colleges have been nurtured, is practically regarded by most persons as merely a collection of colleges, a thread upon which those pearls are strung together: in truth, as we shall see, it rather resembles the shell in which they have been slowly formed and matured. The Colleges and Halls arose naturally when the number of students in the University became so great as to require discipline more individual and particular than the University functionaries were able to exercise over so many. They grew up at Oxford, as the tutors' houses have at Eton, from the necessity of the case. A hall was but a house where a certain number of students dwelt together, under the superintendence of one senior member: a college was a similar house, endowed with land for the support of the head, and also of the students, both during their pupillary state, and when they became members of convocation. Thus arose a number of smaller corporations within the University (like the Companies of London); but it was by no means obligatory on any of its members to belong to any smaller society; and the members of these colleges (whether graduates or under-graduates) were, in the eye of the University, merely so many of her members, no way distinguished from others of like order, who belonged to no college at all. This was the state of transition. The course of events has been continually to augment the power of the colleges. First, they admitted students beyond the number to whom they afforded endowment. At last a statute (which is still in force) required every member of the University to be resident in some college or hall, within a week after his admission. Saving for this statute, a man might even now, as formerly, continue a member of the University alone. Another change (made in the reign of Charles I., in order to prevent jealousies and contention between the members of different colleges) provided that the election of Proctors (hitherto vested in convocation at large) should henceforth be exercised only by those resident members of convocation who belong to a single college, each enjoying the right in turn. But a change far more important in its practical results—although these certainly were never intended—was made at the same period. A statute was passed, which enacts, that for the better preservation of peace and order, the Vice-Chan-

cellor, the two Proctors, and the Heads of the respective colleges and halls, shall meet every Monday, and 'there deliberate on the maintenance of the privileges and liberties of the University (as need may occur), and discuss, investigate, and consult on the observation of university statutes and customs; and they shall have power to deliberate on any subject connected with the discipline, studies, credit, and well-being of the body, as they shall judge to be needful, in order that, after their deliberations, the matter may be promulgated in congregation; and then the Venerable House of convocation may make its statute and decree thereupon, with mature counsel.' Such a committee would, of course, be found practically useful. Accordingly, another statute, tit. x. s. 2, orders that when need arises for passing or altering any statute, it shall be referred to this Board of Heads; that when they, after consultation, have agreed on the wording, it shall be proposed in congregation in those words; and that afterwards, when it shall be brought before convocation, it shall first be read in the terms agreed on by the Heads; and that at the conclusion, after the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, and majority of Graduates, shall have come to an agreement among themselves on the wording of the statute, it shall be read according to that wording, and then put to the vote.

The meaning of this statute seems plain enough: proposals were often made which required to be put into shape; as is done by a committee, (select or otherwise, as is found convenient,) in parliament; it was provided, therefore, that when any statute was proposed by any member, it should, before being put to the vote, be referred to the hebdomadal Board of Heads, as a committee, by whose care it might be properly worded; but (to preserve the rights of convocation from whom the power of the Head is only delegated) after the statute drawn up by them has been read, it is to be discussed, its wording amended, according to the judgment of the majority, and then the whole put to the vote.

This was a very seemly and business-like arrangement, but the Heads, like many other small committees, were not indisposed (having got their finger into the work of legislation) to take the whole affair into their own hands. Accordingly, they proceeded to interpret this statute as follows, viz. that no member of convocation may make any proposal whatever, that right being reserved (by the statute above quoted) to the Board of Heads. Next, that no member may propose any amendment, either verbal or material, to the prepared statute as drawn up by them; accordingly, the custom for many years has been that the Heads prepare their statute; convocation is called together, and it is read; then immediately read a second time, of course

in the same words; then discussed, and lastly put to the vote, yea, or nay. This being all the power allowed to the legislature of the University, the Venerable House of Convocation, by its own committee, the Board of Heads.

And now, it may be naturally asked, how came convocation to allow an interpretation so monstrous of this important statute? The answer commonly given, and we believe the truth, is as follows. The Vice-Chancellor, who is always the head of some college, possesses the power of dissolving the venerable house, and this power was used whenever any member of convocation proposed any measure or any amendment; so that the University found they must resign the exercise of their undoubted right, or suffer all business to be suspended. A grosser usurpation than this cannot very easily be conceived, and to our feelings it is the more repulsive, because effected, not by lawless force, but by the astute employment for the oppression of the University, of a power granted in good faith, for its benefit.

In saying this we are censuring no persons now living, for the usurpation took place long ago,—whether it will be suffered to continue much longer remains to be seen,—a well-known and respected member of convocation (Mr. Sewell, of Exeter College) has solemnly pledged himself, (as many of our readers may be aware,) in a protest delivered to the Vice-Chancellor on the 4th of June, 1842, ‘to institute such regular proceedings in the way of appeal as may obtain some authoritative decision of the right of convocation to be consulted, like other supreme legislative bodies, upon the general principles of the measures laid before them, prior to, and independent of, questions of detail;’ and also to appeal on the further question, ‘of the right of convocation to dissent from the terms of the proposed statute between the first and second readings of it.’ Mr. Sewell, then, has pledged himself in the most solemn manner to vindicate, by legal proceedings, the rights of convocation; first, to decide what questions shall be referred to the Board, and, second, to amend the wording of statutes drawn up by them. We have not yet seen any public report of his proceedings;—but the course of law in England is slow and sure;—‘*pœna pede claudo*’ may be close upon the academical usurpation.

Meanwhile, the practical government of the University, by whatever means, has unquestionably in a great measure passed out of the hands of convocation, in which it is vested by statute, and into those of the Hebdomadal Board;—a mere committee of a few members of convocation, (for whatever power they may have in their own colleges, they are nothing more in the eyes of the University,) appointed for certain definite, and those subordinate, functions. It is natural, then, at least, to inquire

what has been the practical working of the system?—what qualifications the Board has shown for the office which it has assumed? Now, it must be admitted, that the Board is not the body which we should have recommended for such functions. It is reasonable to require that a body which claims to represent the whole University, should be deeply imbued with its character and temper; that its members should be so selected as to represent the different interests, the different schools of opinion, the different studies and pursuits, of the whole. As far as possible, we should desire to secure the presence of members who are used to mingle in the society of the best and wisest among every class of the University, whose habits of daily life enable them to desery the first approach of any danger—any relaxation of discipline, any neglect of study, any corruption of doctrine.

Now the Heads of Houses are unquestionably a body, for good or evil, *sui generis*, in Oxford. It so happens that the statutes of most colleges, while they obviously suppose the whole society, fellows, head, and all, remaining unmarried, do not make express application of the point to the heads particularly. The ordinary, and no doubt true, explanation of this apparent anomaly, is, that the idea of a married Head did not happen to occur to the founders, in an age when celibacy was enforced upon the clergy; and when all the professions being practically exercised by clerks, the legal and medical, no less than the theological, fellowships, were never probably held for many years by any who contemplated marriage. Certain it is, that the statutes of Protestant Elizabethan, and even later foundations, do not permit the heads to marry: and that the founders of Wadham College, who lived since the Reformation, *e.g.* made the wardenship no less than the fellowships of their college untenable by a married man; although parliament, in the exercise of that supreme authority over conscience, in which, (to judge by the conduct of many sound Protestants,) it has succeeded the Papal See, has seen fit to dispense with the solemn oath by which every member of the college voluntarily binds himself to observe their statutes, as the condition of his enjoying their bounty; and has enabled the Wardens of Wadham to receive, with a safe conscience, the revenues of good Nicholas Wadham and Dorothy his wife, while they consign their statutes to oblivion. Parliament had no doubt weighty reasons for thus setting aside the provisions of the founders: what those reasons were we know not; but the fact that the Heads of colleges are generally married men, is known by all who are acquainted with the University, to be attended with much practical evil. They are usually highly respectable clergymen; in some instances, men of considerable talents and learning; they are very much such men as twenty-four senior fellows, taken

pretty nearly by rotation, might naturally be expected to be; varying much from each other, as might be anticipated in a university where the fellows differ so very widely among themselves. But, with all these differences, in one point the mass of the Heads are alike; they are almost absolutely unconnected with the rest of the University; their connexion with it is often scarcely any, beyond the fact of their residence in the midst of it. They are men removed, by standing in most cases, by daily habits of life in almost all, from its society, and from almost every object in which its members are interested. Their knowledge of them hardly extends beyond dining-acquaintance; of the wishes and feelings of the University, events have shown that they have not even the most glimmering perception. Their unacquaintance even with the members of their own colleges, is often so entire, as to be scarcely conceivable in men who live within a few yards. A Head, himself of unquestioned strictness and piety, has been known to offer the curacy of a parish of which he was incumbent, as title for orders, to a member of his own college; to whom, when he applied for the usual college testimonials before his ordination, the fellows were obliged to refuse them on account of his notorious habits of intemperance,—notorious, that is, to every member of the College except its (nominal) Head. Such occurrences vex many, but surprise few.

In this state, with a good deal of formal and routine business thrown upon their hands, and forming a society more wholly unacademical, probably, than any other of the same size in Oxford, live those who consider themselves the governors of the University, and who have in a great degree (in practice, if not in law,) attained that function. Our readers will easily believe that, like other persons similarly circumstanced, they are in part, and believe themselves to be wholly, overwhelmed with business; which the body of the University strongly suspect their office to be something very nearly approaching to a sinecure. Whatever may be the degree of business thrown upon these dignitaries, it is certainly not of a kind calculated to foster that high and saintly character to which the Church would willingly leave the administration of her chief nursery. Not among these rulers of the University have arisen, in general, the great lights of theology, the high and gifted divines, the solemn and awakening preachers of the age. Neither are they employed in offices strictly pastoral; for even when a parish is annexed to a headship, its duties are in every case performed by deputy. Even the University which they profess to rule, receives little light from their teaching. By statute, the University sermon, every Sunday morning in term, is to be preached by the Heads of Colleges in rotation; in practice, a man may often look back at the close of his acade-

minical residence without being able to remember more than one or two out of the twenty-four who have ever discharged the duty. A stronger proof could hardly, we think, be given of the total want of the higher qualifications needed for the rule and direction of a great theological university, whose Heads must discriminate between true and false doctrines, must sit in judgment upon books and upon preachers, must stand on the watch, (while the great body of the Clergy are employed, each man in the detail of his own parochial engagements,) to give the first signal of danger, and rear the standard against the first irruption of the enemy. The example of one who was intrusted with the education of boys has lately been brought before us. We saw in him much to regret, indeed, but among many admirable qualities, who could fail to admire the simple reality with which he made the pulpit of Rugby chapel one main instrument in directing and ruling the hearts and consciences of his scholars? Dr. Arnold applied for the appointment of chaplain, because he felt that the performance of its duties was a necessary part of his own parental relation towards his pupils; every year does the duty of fulfilling the same office devolve on the Head of every college in Oxford, and most rare is the example of one who does not delegate it to another. This, indeed, is nothing more than every one would desire. Who could wish to see the pulpit of the University occupied by any except one or two of the Heads? They judge wisely when they decline it; only they confess, that theirs, after all, is not the province of moulding the hearts, and directing the faith of the rising generation of the English Church; that they are not, whatever they may be called, the real directors of the University.

We sincerely trust that no one will suspect us of any disrespect toward the Heads of Colleges. Any one who has passed through the University must retain recollections of kindness and courtesy in many, and of much higher qualifications in some of their board; but it has now become necessary to speak out, and declare that they are not the University of Oxford, nor yet in any degree either authorized or qualified to speak in her name; And, for this reason—that they have in several instances undertaken to do so, and the world at a distance (seeing a body so acting) have assumed without inquiry, that they must act by authority, nay, that in disallowing their claim, the convocation would, in fact, be resisting authority; whereas, in truth, convocation itself is the supreme authority, and those who claim authority over it, are, as we have seen, only a committee of its own members appointed for definite functions, and with delegated and subordinate powers, no part at all of the ancient government of the University, but, on the contrary, the very newest and youngest of all the bodies there existing. These are facts

which it might always have been well to bear in mind; but when, as we shall now proceed to show, new and hitherto utterly unheard of encroachments have lately been made upon the supreme authority, and when the purpose for which these usurped powers have been employed is no other than that of denouncing the ancient doctrines of the Church of England, as held and understood by all our great divines, of unjustly oppressing all who dare to profess them, and of fixing upon us by authority a new and spurious system, a hybrid theology engendered between liberalism and (self-styled) evangelicalism, half Germany and half Geneva; then, indeed, it becomes the duty of Oxford to protest, at all risks, and however unwillingly, against power thus unauthorized and thus abused.

Our readers need hardly be informed that, in our opinion, the crisis which we have just described is not hypothetical or possible, but actual and present. But before we proceed to prove this, we would remove an objection which we cannot but foresee will be raised against us—the objection of *a priori* improbability. ‘You are speaking,’ it may be said, ‘of no men of a remote age or country, but of Oxford men in our own day. We know what class of men this is; nay, you have yourself borne witness to it; easy, kind-hearted, and amiable, somewhat indulgent towards self, and disinclined to be severe towards others; unwilling even to say anything which can give pain; neither ambitious to suffer martyrdom, nor yet desirous to inflict it. Such is the character naturally fostered in times of refinement and luxury like ours; and such we know to be the temper natural to a dignitary of the English Church in the present day; and if not the highest character, it has still much to demand our sympathy and respect: above all, it cannot be supposed that men of such a temper would be guilty of injustice or oppression, much less that they would be unjust and oppressive in the peculiar direction of religious persecution, and that the persecution of views held by the recognised authorities of our Church.’

We need not say that this argument has much weight, and it is accordingly earnestly pressed. It is not, however, difficult to exhibit, in reply, several circumstances which do in fact altogether remove the improbability; and if, in explaining our meaning, we are forced to speak of individuals, this is not our fault. When personal character is adduced as a proof that we have nothing to fear, we are forced to inquire what that character is. If any one had argued, a few years ago, that the well-known moderation and goodnature of Lord Melbourne was security enough against any evil that might be feared under his administration, he would have forced us to inquire whether there were no other parts of Lord Melbourne’s character which might be mis-

chievous enough, in spite of good humour and moderation. When Madame de Staël declared that the character of the Emperor Alexander was a constitution to his subjects, she appealed in fact, as far as in her lay, to every Russian and Pole to say what sort of constitution that was; and when we hear of the 'kindness of Dr. Wynter,' and the improbability of oppression in Oxford in our day, we are driven, whether we will or not, to look a little deeper into the security which we derive from these things. Now, we need not inform any one who has observed the course of the world, that, in estimating any body, and especially any small body of men, we must look not at every individual, or even at the majority, but at few, and often at one. There were ten generals with equal powers in the Athenian army at Marathon, but the victory was won by Miltiades. The city of Carthage was for many years but the body, of which the spirit was Hannibal; and, in a body of twenty-four Oxford Heads, the real moving power will perhaps at all times be in one or two active individuals; in an energetic minority.

First, then, we are met with the fact that one member of the Board is Dr. Hampden.

Dr. Hampden, be it remembered, *still says* (for he boasts that he has nothing to retract, nothing to qualify, nothing to explain) that several expressions of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds 'are founded upon notions both unphilosophical and unscriptural; but used only to exclude others *more obviously* (sic) 'injurious to the simplicity of the truth.' He still 'puts the 'Unitarian on the same footing precisely of earnest religious 'zeal and love for the Lord Jesus Christ on which he would put 'any other Christian,' although he blames him for 'theological 'dogmatism.' He still teaches that 'Christ is emphatically said 'to be our atonement; not that we may attribute to God any 'change of purpose towards man by what Christ has done; but 'that *we may know* (sic) that we have passed from the death of 'sin to the life of righteousness by *Him*, and that our *own hearts* 'may not condemn us.' He still holds that 'the general belief 'in magic, in the early ages of the Church, may sufficiently 'account for the ready reception of such a theory of sacramental 'influence,' as that which every true Churchman holds to be a Divine Revelation; and that our Lord 'accommodated Himself,' to this notion, when He said 'Virtue is gone out of Me.' He still publicly pronounces the Creeds 'a dogmatic and sententious wisdom;' 'some of the infinite theories which can be raised on the text of Scripture,' to say nothing of numberless other assertions, some even more offensive than these, only not so short as to be transcribed with equal ease.

We have mentioned Dr. Hampden first, because his views are

published, and long controversy has rendered them a matter of notoriety. We may, without indelicacy, name another Head: Dr. Hawkins, the able and respected Provost of Oriel College; for his sympathy with, and support of, Dr. Hampden is put forward, as a matter of the highest commendation, in a work recently published, and to which he has himself contributed so many interesting materials, as to assure us against saying anything unacceptable to him in repeating what we find there. We may then assume, that his powerful influence at the Board is exerted in the same direction with that of Dr. Hampden.

We had rather weaken our argument than mention names, except in connexion with avowed published statements; and the fact cannot be concealed, that a publishing Head of a house is a rare phenomenon, as we have already seen to be the case with regard to preaching. We are content then to say, that two at least of the ablest members of the Board are publicly pledged to statements such as we have quoted.

And is this able and active minority an exception to the pervading influence commonly possessed by such bodies?—let facts answer. About ten years ago, when the Church and her institutions were the objects of fierce and open attacks in high quarters, an attempt was made in the House of Commons, and promised at one time to be successful, to force open for the entrance of dissenters, as such, the doors of the University of Oxford, and the degrees both there and at Cambridge. This attempt was quashed by the united opposition of all Oxford men. A paper, headed ‘The Oxford Declaration,’ lies before us, from which it appears that the protest of the resident Masters is dated, April 24, 1834; that of the non-residents, April 25; and that of the heads, May 2. It seems that, when the University moves to the rescue of the faith, it is not its head that goes first. There are other occasions, however, on which Heads are willing enough to lead the way. Dr. Hampden was then, as now, a Head; already, too, he had been honoured with a university professorship; he had been elected Professor of Moral Philosophy, the appointment being vested in a small section of the Heads; and having published much that was very objectionable in his lectures from that chair, he was elected, in 1832, Bampton Lecturer, the nomination being intrusted by the founder to the Heads of Colleges,—an appointment which produced the volumes so much spoken of. Thus empowered, as we must say, beyond any other to speak in the name of the Board, Dr. Hampden published, in the autumn of 1834, ‘Observations on Religious Dissent, with particular reference to the use of Religious Tests in the University.’ From this pamphlet and the Bampton Lectures, to which it refers

throughout, it appears that Dr. Hampden objects to tests, on the ground that religion consists of 'facts,' not in any degree of inferences from them; and that these facts are merely the very letter of the declarations of Scripture,—all doctrines whatever being but inferences—which men cannot help making because others have, although it would be much better that none should be made at all. It follows, that although the author himself adopted the doctrines of the Church, he adopted them not as doctrines, not as any part of his religion, but as mere theological opinions;—it was an infirmity of his nature, that he could not help forming some inferences from the facts of religion, and it chanced that those inferences coincided with the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, and the like, which we hold as our life. Yet, God forbid that he should make these opinions any part of his religion, much more that he should think worse of any other man's religion because he denied them. Now, what was the conduct of the Heads when these doctrines were preached by one of their own body, from the University pulpit, and afterwards published both in sermons and pamphlets? Did they convene the preacher before a board of Six Doctors, or proceed to condemn him by such a board without convening or hearing him? Or did they, at least, issue a declaration against the pamphlet? No; but yet they did feel it necessary to do something: and therefore they proposed to convocation a statute for removing the signature of the Articles at Matriculation; a proposal which was, of course, far from satisfying Dr. Hampden, but which was a most decided move in his direction. Moreover, a 'Letter to Lord Radnor' was published, which was universally attributed to an influential member of the Board, in which we are told, 'the question of the removal of subscription is gaining ground. It has been twice considered within the last two years' (this must mean at the 'Board,' for elsewhere it had not been proposed), 'and found many more supporters on the second occasion than on the first.' He concludes, therefore, 'Time is required: we may not move very quickly; but ought we to do so?'

It appears, then, that the effect produced upon the Board of Heads by the publication, by one of their own body, of repeated attacks upon all Christian doctrine, as doctrine not opinion, and specially on the creeds of the Church, was this, that they gave no sign of diminished confidence in him; and moved, slowly indeed yet decidedly, in their practical measures, in the direction to which he invited them.

But the power of the Heads was not supreme. They had left to convocation (that is, to the University) the right of saying, 'Yes,' or 'No.' And on the 20th of May, 1835, it did say 'No,' very unequivocally, by a majority of 459 to 57 against.

A few months past away, and the excellent Dr. Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity, was taken to his rest, from the strife of tongues. We are not going to weary the reader with the detail of those exciting events, which made 1836 a year so memorable in Oxford,—the appointment of Dr. Hampden,—the general burst of indignation and alarm with which it was met by all Oxford men,—the exertions made to induce Government to select some other name,—the determination of the great body of the University to procure some authoritative condemnation of his works,—the tardy concurrence of the Heads (now, as before, following, rather than leading),—the legislative measure proposed by them, instead of the formal trial demanded by the University at large,—a measure valuable, because it contained a censure upon Dr. Hampden's theological writings; yet never satisfactory to those who had forced it from the Heads, and containing one expression,* which subsequent events made men almost fear, must have been inserted to enable those who could not prevent the censure to watch for an early opportunity of procuring its repeal.

And now what impression were these things calculated to produce upon the minds of English Churchmen? Could they inspire confidence in the Board? Could they reconcile us to see the government of the University practically more and more engrossed by them, from the hands of the ancient and statutory authorities? We will speak plainly,—thinking men could not but perceive, that no common qualities are needed by the rulers of a Christian university. Among these are sound theology and deep learning, together with high self-denying piety, giving a pledge for freedom from all secularity of spirit, and, moreover, for a fixed and definite line of conduct of their own, independent of pressure from without. They saw these to be needed already, and they could not but anticipate times when they might become more urgently needful. But, withal, they could not but feel that (whatever might be the case with some of its members), it was not by these qualities that the deliberations of the Board were mainly influenced. And, therefore, there was a very extensive want of confidence in their fitness to maintain the very foundations of the Christian faith, of which we could not but feel the danger. It was not that men suspected the majority of the Heads of any conscious unsoundness of belief upon the chief mysteries of the faith; that

* We allude, of course, to the phrase, '*Donec aliter Universitati placuerit*;' which, no doubt, might mean, 'until Dr. Hampden shall have recanted and vacated the chair,' but was afterwards explained by the framer of the statutes to mean, 'till the University shall change its mind'—that time, we are thankful to say, has not yet arrived.

they regarded them as Socinians or Sabellians,—nothing could be further from the truth. But it is not from any earnest proselyting by those who hold these heresies that we dread their success; it is from secularity of spirit in those who ought to maintain the purity of Christian doctrine. This is, perhaps, the chief source of heresy in every age; but most assuredly in none so much as in our own. Let us not forget our present circumstances. An age of coldness, of rebuke and blasphemy, fell, beyond all question, upon the English Church in the last century. It is within the memory of many now living, that a young man, of the highest character and qualifications, being reproved by a Bishop, who was believed to belong to the school of Hoadly, for preaching what was then called Methodism, pleaded in his defence the authorized declarations of the English Church; and received answer, that such as that was indeed formerly the doctrine of the English Church, but that the Church had tacitly changed her doctrines, and it was now exceedingly presumptuous for a young man to teach those which had been abandoned alike by the bishops and clergy of the existing Church. At a rather earlier period, when subscription was assailed in parliament, it was the boast of infidels and latitudinarians, that the Articles of the Church found no defender,—and, be it remembered, that the articles assailed were not those which refer to minor points,—the Christian's oath, the lawfulness of arms, and the like,—but the fundamentals of the faith—the three Creeds. Of the glorious Athanasian Creed it became a sort of proverb to say, 'I wish we were well rid of it.' And when this state of things was at last shaken by earnest (though, in some respects, mistaken) preaching, the cry from all quarters, high and low, was, 'Beware of enthusiasm.' Enthusiasm, however, was seldom talked down by cold caution; and it went on its way, and accomplished its victory, insomuch that the fashion of this changing world is now to praise and admire as 'efficiency,' 'evangelical preaching,' and the like; that which, a few years ago, it would have reviled as enthusiastic. But it is quite needless to say, that the world seldom patronises a religious school without receiving a payment for its patronage,—religion is secularized as often as the world made religious; and thus it has chanced that many of those who regard themselves as the legitimate successors of the earnest men of the last century, have, in truth, inherited from them very little more than their phraseology.

Now, in such a state of society, let us for one moment imagine the governing body of a great school of religion to be men of a low and secular spirit, men more engrossed by thoughts of professional advancement,—or, again, by mere comfort and ease,

and the gentle intercourse of society, or even by literary pursuits—than by study or meditation upon the great depths of theology; who are not, in any real sense of the word, living lives of self-denial—waiting, watching, and looking out for the coming of the Lord, living under the constant sense of His presence, and the contemplation of His sufferings. Suppose such a state of things, and by what outward symptoms would it be betrayed? We may be pretty sure that such a governing body would not be the energetic, practical preachers of Christian holiness, of Christian hopes, and Christian fears; that they would either avoid the duty, or perform it heavily. If great moral and social evils stalked the land, it would be by others, rather than them, that the alarm would first be sounded; and by others, rather than them, would great sacrifices be made to arrest their progress. They would not persecute indeed, rather they would gently encourage, a moderate profession of what was considered evangelical, while they would shrink from any extremes. And supposing the higher mysteries of the faith, or the creeds of the Church, to be treated with disrespect as mere scholastic subtleties, to which other ages had assigned undue importance, we should not expect to find them stirred by that deep and piercing pain with which saints and doctors have started at the touch of heresy. They would consider these as mere speculative errors, as abstract opinions; and, in truth, to such as them these great doctrines must ever be mere speculations and opinions; for it is by living upon them, by leaving all for them, not merely by that negative faith which consists in not disbelieving them, that they become to men more than mere opinions—even living and practical realities; and if the propagator of such sad opinions should be one of their own body, the sharer of their daily society, their weekly associate in business—they might go away shrugging their shoulders at his speculations, and there the matter would rest. Thus, then, it seems plain, that no deliberate heresy, no conscious abandonment of the faith, is necessary to make men most unfit to be its guardians and defenders. They need merely be comfortable, respectable, self-indulgent men of a secular spirit, and the cause will be no safer in their hands than in those of conscious traitors.

As often as the faith has been assailed, so often has God raised up some champion to beat back the invaders. These men, each in his day, have been reviled, suspected, denounced, and (where it was possible) persecuted; but they have done their work, and the truth has been handed down; they have suffered, and they have succeeded; and we reap the fruit of their sufferings and of their victory. But who have been the instruments in this blessed work? Holy bishops, worn with

long toils, and fasting, and prayers, and the care of all the churches; monks long dead to the world and its delusive promises; hermits of the Egyptian desert—not the decent and respectable men who would fain gain as much of this world as it is possible to grasp without throwing away all hope in the next. For not to mention the great gifts of spiritual perception given to those who thus follow the Lamb wheresoever He goeth, and take up their cross; it is evident, that to these holy men, the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Sacraments, the indwelling Spirit, are not abstract opinions; they are their very life; they are those things for which they have gladly suffered the loss of all things, and for which they would again, more gladly than before, give up all the world if they had it. Rob *them* of these things, and you leave them nothing,—neither the things that are seen, nor the things unseen; neither this world, nor the other. Self-denial, and the crucifixion of self, then, is the school of the Champions of the Faith. Well fed, sleek orthodoxy, is the orthodoxy of peaceful times and of fair weather.

Supposing, then, that men of a secular spirit should ever obtain the rule in a great school of the Church in times like these: such would be their administration, and by it the door would assuredly be left open to the inroads of heresy. But, without presuming to judge individuals, just such as this has actually been the rule of those who have possessed themselves of the chief power in Oxford. Dr. Hampden may, perhaps, have been sent to try them, whether they were disposed to regard error on the higher mysteries of the faith as a matter of vital concern, or as a mere abstract opinion. They were weighed, and found wanting; before the great body of Oxford men arose at once and wrested from them a tardy censure. But there was one test more by which the same spirit might be shown. It might please God to raise up, under such rulers, some whom He had prepared for a great work of reformation. To one, He might give that keen and penetrating glance by which the great Athanasius instinctively saw through every subtlety of false doctrine, and a glowing earnest power which (for want of a better word) we may call eloquence, to send sacred truths through all the rind of prejudice and worldly-mindedness, with which men have enveloped themselves, and make them feel that God is with him of a truth. He might gift another with unwearied powers of application, and great depth of thought, so that no difficulties should be more than incentives to his pursuit of any worthy attainment, and an earnestness of purpose which carried away with it the minds of many common men. Having thus prepared chosen instruments, He might be pleased to endow them with

singular graces—eminent devotion of themselves and all they have; gentleness and meekness, which might soften the breasts even of savages; guileless simplicity, humility so great as to be unconscious even of its own existence, and the like;—what gift of Him “from whom all good things do come” is so precious as men like these? Now how would the rulers whom we have been imagining receive men such as these?—Not of necessity with the forbearance which they extended to the ‘abstract opinions’ of the other. What if such an one should be (as is not unlikely) very practically impressed with the sin and danger of spending God’s gifts upon ourselves? What if he should recall men as with a voice of thunder, to forgotten practical duties? if he should remind them of fasting and mortification of the flesh? if he should show them that sin is a thing of mysterious malignity, in those especially who have been made the temples of the Holy Ghost? And when it appeared that tens of thousands were perishing without the means of grace, or the hope of glory, what if he called on men to make sacrifices for their relief, with an earnestness wholly discordant to the temper of their minds, and the course of their lives? what if the contemplation of great spiritual wants should so grievously weigh upon his mind, as to affect him as their personal calamities have affected many men, and lay him upon a bed of sickness?—what if, while others are thinking it a great thing to give a few shillings, or pounds, to provide for the spiritual necessities of their brethren, he should offer, from less means, his thousands, and seem to himself to have done nothing, because he felt himself to be offering to his God and Saviour; and seeking ‘treasure in Heaven?’ Here it is evident enough we have no ‘abstract opinions;’ these things are positive, obtrusive, offensive.—‘There is one man, but I hate him; for he does not ‘prophecy good concerning me, but evil.’

It is perhaps not inconceivable, that the same authorities who were before so tolerant, might be eager to condemn men like these, even if they dare not allege any reason, lest it should condemn those whom all the people hold to be prophets.—And again, if they thought that they had found in their writings, or those of any who sympathized with them, anything inconsistent with the formularies, the same men might be ready to spring on this with savage delight, who could before pass over denials of all doctrine.

Now return, once more, from an hypothetical statement, to the facts which we have witnessed,—it cannot be denied that many men, while they would have shrunk from the presumption of judging individuals, thought they saw circumstances not unlike these in the conduct of the same authorities who dealt so

tenderly with Dr. Hampden. Without going into particulars, one of these authorities found it necessary to preach a sermon, in order to apprise the University of its danger;* and in this sermon we find him denouncing especially 'gloomy views of 'sin after baptism,' (although he does not explain whether it is a duty to regard sin in Christians as a peculiarly jovial thing,) and grouping with these views in his condemnation, 'rigid mortification, and self-abasements, and painful penances, which call 'us back at once to the darkest period of Roman superstition.'—He notices too with especial condemnation a passage (quoted from St. Ambrose) which says, that in the public penance for great crimes, '*the world must be renounced:*' (the italics are the Professor's) 'sleep must be indulged less than nature 'requires—must be interrupted with groans—must be sequestered for prayer. *We must live so as to die to this life.* Man 'must deny himself, and be wholly changed.'—P. 42. The dignitary who felt it needful to denounce these statements, had found nothing to call forth his energies in Dr. Hampden's 'Bampton Lectures,' and 'Observations on Religious Dissent!'

We sincerely believe that, in points like these, lay the gist of the offence of several persons who have given much umbrage to the authorities at Oxford. We suspect that they might, with much quiet, have insisted upon the Apostolical succession and the authority of the Church, and such obsolete doctrines, if they had steered clear of practical matters, or at least had only so treated them as that they might safely have been left among abstract opinions.

Upon the whole, then, we think that men had good reason to feel doubtful before Dr. Wynter entered to his office, whereto things were tending in the administration of the Heads. They saw them exercising authority much greater than any statute authorized; they had seen this power pass by the public preaching of one who, himself professing most of the doctrines of the Church, yet placed them and every class of heresy upon the same footing. Lastly, they saw an evident tendency to tolerate everything, except the revival of the ancient theology of the Church of England, when that was combined with high and exalted practice.

Our limits require that we should proceed to the doings of the late Vice-Chancellor, and we can afford to be more brief in this; because we have already exhibited the principles of his administration, and therefore confine ourselves to his acts. When the President of St. John's took, in rotation, the office of Vice-

* 'The Revival of Popery,' by G. Faussett, D.D. the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. 1838.

Chancellor, those who thought that freedom from bigotry, and gentlemanly bearing and address, were sufficient securities against maladministration, must have looked forward to a season of mild rule. He was little mixed up in the parties or disputes of the University, and not very extensively in its society. In fact, it is said that he was more commonly thought of as an Oxfordshire gentleman than an academical authority—a result not unnaturally promoted by the fact, that his college possesses several manors in the vicinity of Oxford. He was esteemed a good man of business, and men thought him well qualified to act as the chief magistrate of the university and city. After what we have premised, our readers will be prepared to hear that we would gladly have heard of some more theological qualifications, and that we regard all these highly respectable qualities as, rather than otherwise, unfitting their possessor for forming a sound judgment upon the relative importance of religious questions. We think, moreover, that one whose mind and habits were more strictly academical, would have been less likely to forget the important fact, that great as is the authority of the Vice-Chancellor, the supreme power is in Convocation, that is, in the University itself.

The first public act of Dr. Wynter's Vice-Chancellorship, was the public condemnation of one of the 'Tracts for the Times,' by the Board of Heads. We are not going to say one word in defence of this tract, although we retain our own opinion that, in a University, where several leading members have been permitted, without censure, to assail, both from the pulpit and the press, the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith, it would have been a glaring inconsistency had any authority whatever ventured to condemn a work, of which its accusers say only, that it gives an interpretation of some of the Articles more favourable to the Roman Church than the Articles (in their opinion) allow. But let that pass. We will allow, for the sake of argument, that it merited all condemnation; but we say, that, in censuring it, the Board was guilty of a gross usurpation and encroachment upon the authority of the University. The Heads of Houses are merely twenty-four members of Convocation, except so far as they are by statute constituted into a Board for certain purposes. Among these they are not authorized to condemn obnoxious publications. Such censures have been pronounced, not by them, but by Convocation. They are authorized, indeed, to consider any subject, and therefore this, for the purpose of proposing a measure to Convocation, but for no other purpose. It is no answer to say that the Heads had the same right which every member of the University possesses, to express their own opinion of this work. No one denies their

right as individuals, but as a body they are the creation of Convocation, and have no powers of acting, save those which Convocation has given them. But, in truth, their sentence professed to be the act of the University, and was so regarded by the world. It was intended to be so understood; and so it was and is understood. Here they were guilty of an act of usurpation as gross as can well be imagined; and this usurpation was aggravated by all the circumstances: their sentence (the sentence, not of a court, but a cabal) was issued from the press, with every formality which could have attended a real *Judicium Academicæ Oxoniensis*. This was no promising commencement.

We pass a year, and meet with the new Divinity Statute, which passed Convocation May 12, 1842. The occasion of this statute was the foundation, by the Crown, of two new Professorships; one of 'Pastoral Theology,' (which means, we are told, all that relates to the ministerial office;) the other, of 'Ecclesiastical History, and Patristic Theology.' These chairs were to be endowed with the two Canonries in Christ Church, which the ill-omened measures of the Commissioners misnamed 'Ecclesiastical' had abolished. Thus far the measure was a concession to the united voice of the Church, and could not be received otherwise than thankfully. It was also generally felt that the theological distinctions of the University, (the degrees of B.D. and D.D.) are, in fact, open to any Master of Arts who chooses to pay the fees, and assume them; and the Board, it seems, proposed to alter this, while they regulated the office of the new professors. That this was a reasonable purpose, may be admitted; although many might be disposed to doubt (with ourselves) whether, on the whole, the apparent anomaly might not be, in fact, a less evil than that which must necessarily attend any public examination of the candidates for Divinity degrees. We do not, however, wish to detain our readers on this subject, upon which, at least, the majority of the Board had as good a right to their opinion as we have to ours. The statute, then, after regulating the residence and lectures of the new Professors, provides that those who choose (after obtaining the degree of Bachelor of Arts) to give in their names for the purpose, shall be called Scholars in Theology; and after having attended certain courses of lectures, shall have the right of offering themselves for examination. Two examiners are to be appointed every year by the four Divinity Professors, and the Regius Professor of Hebrew, out of their own number; and a third is to be nominated by the Vice-Chancellor, and confirmed by the Graduates in Divinity. The examiners thus appointed may give or refuse certificates to those whom they examine:

those who obtain certificates are to be styled Candidates in Divinity; those who fail may present themselves again.

We are not about to discuss the details of this statute.* It is, however, to be observed, that it is entirely optional with every B.A. whether he will or will not be a 'Scholar,' or a 'Candidate in Divinity;' the whole is purely voluntary. This was quite a new feature in the University system: every other voluntary examination is a step to some scholarship, or the like; this leads to nothing. The 'Candidate in Theology' has no greater advantage towards his Divinity degree than any other Master of Arts. One other manifest effect of the statute is to substitute, as far as may be, for the University itself, in all matters theological, another body, namely, the five Professors, four of whom are simply nominated by the Crown, the other being elected by the Graduates in Divinity. It would be easy enough to show reasons against this arrangement.

But the strongest objection to the statute in the minds of many Oxford men was, that, by vesting the Regius Professor of Divinity with new functions, while that chair was occupied by Dr. Hampden, the University might, at least, seem to have forgotten the circumstances which led to the censure of 1836. For this reason (had there been no other) the statute ought, in our opinion, to have been rejected by the University; and that it would have been rejected, had time been allowed to the great body of Masters of Arts to express their feelings, we have no doubt. But the measure was announced and carried in a few days, and many non-residents were ignorant that it had been proposed, until they heard of its adoption. Moreover, the measure had no professed relation to Dr. Hampden; it was a general statute, and only affected him incidentally; while, as we have shown, the members of Convocation possessed no power of amending the proposal, they could but adopt the whole, or reject the whole; and by rejecting it, they laid themselves open to the charge of refusing to meet the wishes of the Crown, by providing for the more effectual encouragement of theology, and the like: for we may be sure that, had the statute been rejected, the very suggestion that it had any bearing upon Dr. Hampden would have been scouted as monstrous.

Carried, however, the measure was, although nearly one-third of the members present, in all only 85, recorded their votes against it.† It was no sooner carried than the tactics of its proposers were in part disclosed. They were announced to the

* Our readers will find this task ably performed in an article in the *British Critic*, for July, 1842, with which we have made free use.

† We must again refer our readers to the very able and graphic account of these matters in the *British Critic*.

world in the following article, which (to the great annoyance of many an Oxonian, who had never heard of the statute) went the round of the newspapers :—

“ OXFORD.—By the provisions of the theology statute passed at Oxford last week, Dr. Hampden, Regius Professor of Divinity, has been constituted chairman of the new Theological Board, and is also recognised as a University Professor of Dogmatic Theology. The statute, therefore, virtually rescinds the judgment passed by the University on the Professor's theological opinions in 1836, on occasion of his appointment to the Chair by her Majesty, at the recommendation of the late Whig administration.”

We believe there were few who read this, without feeling that the University had been (to speak plain English) entrapped; but there was no time for more than passing feelings, for a few days more produced the following authorized notice :—

“ The following form of statute will be promulgated in Congregation on Saturday, the 4th of June next, at ten o'clock, and submitted to Convocation on Tuesday, June 7th, at two o'clock.

“ P. WYNTER,
Vice-Chancellor.

“ Delegates' Room, May 24, 1842.

“ ‘ Quum per Stat. Tit. xvi. § 8, 11, publicatum et confirmatum in Domo Convocationis die V^{to}. mensis Maii, A. D. 1836, statutum sit, ut Theologiæ Professor Regius munerum quorundam in eodem statuto memoratorum expers sit, donec aliter Universitati placuerit ;’

“ ‘ Placuit Universitati Statutum istud abrogare.’ ”

Notwithstanding all that had been done to prepare us, most Oxonians were altogether astounded at what they would have called in any less dignified body, the impudence of this measure. That the whole University should be expected, at a week's notice, to rescind their own solemn act, the circumstances remaining perfectly unaltered which had induced them, at so great sacrifice, to sanction it; and that the preamble of the proposed repealing statute should actually recite no circumstance upon which the repeal was based, except the fact that the censure had been passed by the University six years before—all this did, no doubt, seem amazing. The event, however, proved that although premature, the calculation of the Heads was less preposterous than it at first sight appeared.

First, if there was any one of the majority of 1836, whose condemnation of Dr. Hampden was in any degree as the nominee of Lord Melbourne, this at least was gone by. It is the nature of Englishmen to shake hands after a good stand-up fight is decided; and now that Lord Melbourne was removed, let bygones be bygones.

But, again, it cannot be concealed, that the whole of that section of the University which is represented * by the 'Christian Observer' and the 'Record,' and which had supported the censure in 1836, was now for removing it. The 'Christian Observer' had long before declared, that 'if they could ever 'have doubted the excellence of the appointment,' a certain sermon of Dr. Hampden's would have satisfied them of it.† The 'Record' ‡ had just pronounced 'the appointment itself an excellent one.' The reason of this change is more evident than satisfactory. Dr. Arnold stated in 1836, in a letter to a pupil, printed in his Life, that this section of the Church joined in the condemnation, not in consequence of any real difference between themselves and Dr. Hampden, but only because he did not use their peculiar phraseology. How bitter would have been the indignation called forth by this declaration, had it been made publicly in 1836! But, lo! Dr. Hampden did adopt that phraseology, and, in adopting it, he repeated solemnly, both in public and private, up to the very day of the proposed repeal, that he altered no one opinion he had ever expressed. Dr. Arnold's assertion,—which seemed at the time merely his own opinion,—was tested by experiment, and, alas, it has been fully confirmed. We could not mention any man who is generally supposed to belong to that party, and who opposed the repeal. We could mention many, including, if we are not misinformed, the present Vice-Chancellor of the University, and one member of the Committee of Five in 1836, who supported it; and meanwhile nothing is altered in Dr. Hampden except his phraseology. Those who support him may say, indeed, that they do not in every point agree with him; but thus much is certain, that every one who voted for, or approved of, the repeal, as the section of the Church which calls itself exclusively Evangelical too generally did, is pledged to the opinion, that one who speaks as he does of the Creeds—of the Sacraments—of the Socinian heresy—of the doctrines of the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the rest—is fully qualified to be the authorized teacher of divinity to half the Clergy of England—so fully qualified, that it is incumbent on the University rather to condemn itself (by repealing a censure solemnly passed), than to leave any stigma upon his theology.

The result of the whole is known to our readers. The votes of the University were declared to be 334 against the measure of repeal proposed by the Heads, and 219 for it. Upon

* We would earnestly beg any reader who may not be acquainted with it, to study carefully the 'Essay on the Introduction of Rationalism into Religion,' in vol. iii. of the *Tracts for the Times*, in which this painful fact is by anticipation explained.

† We quote from memory.

‡ May 21, 1842.

this decision, we must say a few words in passing, because the able writer, to whom we have more than once alluded, seems to doubt the possibility of any considerable error in the numbers, although he bears testimony to the general suspicion upon the subject. We must take the liberty of saying, that it is not only possible, but very probable. The 'placets' were retained by themselves in the 'Convocation House;' the 'non-placets' being sent into the 'School of Divinity.' When the two were thus divided, tellers were stationed at the door which admits from the Divinity School into the Convocation House, to number the 'non-placets' as they re-entered the Convocation House; and others at the outer door of the Convocation House, to count the 'placets' as they left the building. But, as both processes went on at the same moment, the 'non-placets' who came out of the Divinity School into the Convocation House could not stop there—there was no room. They were hurried on in a crowd mixed promiscuously with the 'placets,' through the door at which these latter were then being counted, and through which they ought of course to have passed alone. At this outer door, therefore, the work of the tellers was not merely what it should have been, to count those who passed, but to ascertain from each as he crowded by, which way he voted. The crowd was dense, the confusion hopeless; and the question asked of each was in the words, 'placet?' or 'non-placet?' We need not say that the effect of the least indistinctness, or noise, or the passing of another person between the voter and the teller, was to cause the first word to be indistinctly heard; and the voter, who had already been counted as a 'non-placet,' was again numbered as a 'placet.' The result (admitted, we believe, by all who had means of judging) was that, while the majority was correctly numbered at 334, the minority was over-estimated by at least one-half. This was observed by persons on both sides. We can vouch for the fact, that when the non-placets were leaving the Convocation House for the division, one of them lingered to the last moment on the highest seats (which overlook the whole house) in company with a friend who is one of the ablest and most zealous of Dr. Hampden's supporters. Looking down upon the 'placets' who were then alone in the area, each made such a calculation of their number as the time allowed, and each independently made them about 150. Whoever has tried the experiment will admit, that his tendency is to over-estimate numbers in such a situation: that two persons independently should have counted 150 instead of 219, seems hardly possible.

Thus much for the honour of the University. With regard to Dr. Wynter, we do not know that he took any public part in this affair; but we shall show hereafter, that he did not

scruple to interpose his official veto in circumstances in which, we believe, it had never before been employed by any Vice-Chancellor on record, and by so doing, he made himself clearly responsible for every measure brought forward by the Heads during his administration. Certainly, if there was ever a proposal which, for the sake of peace, of the credit of the University, and for the maintenance of Christian doctrine, a Vice-Chancellor might have vetoed, it was this; which had been already so fully sifted and investigated—already had twice called up the clergy of England from their home duties; and on which it was generally understood that the real hope of the agitating party was, not that the body of the University had changed their opinion of Dr. Hampden's doctrines, but that their patience and their purses might be alike exhausted by these repeated calls.

There is, however, one aspect yet more painful in which this proposal must be regarded: we mean, in its connexion with the theological statute passed just before. That statute, as we have seen, professed to be merely general and permanent; but it is impossible to believe that those who framed it had not then in their minds the measure by which they immediately followed it up, for repealing the censure on Dr. Hampden. Indeed, many who supported this as a general measure one week, were notoriously found the next arguing that it committed the University in favour of a particular functionary. A more serious charge, however, could not very easily be proved against the fair-dealing of any body of men. Of course such a step goes the full length (as far as its influence extends) of dissolving the whole fabric of academical society. Mutual confidence and respect are the foundation of all civil communities. What will be the state of Oxford if it is to be understood that every Master of Arts is to scrutinize every practical measure proposed by the Board of Heads, not as designed to effect its alleged and professed objects, but as an artful device for tricking the University into the acknowledgment of principles, which, if honestly put forward, it would at once repudiate? And yet to what other result does this lamentable precedent tend? Such a state of things would be bad enough any where; but Convocation has not, practically, the power of amending any proposal. It can but accept or reject the measures proposed to it in the gross. Is it really meant that each man is in future to vote against the whole of every practical measure, however important, however indispensable he may believe it to be, if he thinks that there is in it so much as one expression, however unimportant and incidental, which either implies false principles, or may have been introduced by some subtle adversary, whose interest it may hereafter

serve* to contend that it did imply them? Do not those who thus exercise powers, however obtained, deserve above all men the censure (which they are rather too fond of lavishing upon others) of being *perturbatores pacis*?

We defer, for the present, another series of unjust and oppressive acts which followed immediately upon this unsuccessful attempt to implicate the University in an approval of Dr. Hampden's theology, and which, indeed, must be regarded as retaliation for the defeat, and turn to the case of Dr. Pusey. He was called to preach in his turn before the University, on Sunday, May 14, 1843. Being aware that some expressions in his celebrated work on Baptism had been misunderstood, he had, as he tells us,

"On such occasions as my office afforded, commenced a course of sermons on the comforts provided by the Gospel for the penitent, amid the consciousness of sin; with the view to meet the charge of sternness, involved by the exhibition of one side of Catholic truth; in this course the sacred subject of the Holy Eucharist of necessity came in its order; and it was my wish (however I may have been hindered by sudden indisposition from developing my meaning as I wished) to point out its comforting character to the penitent in two ways:—first, indirectly; . . . secondly, because in Holy Scripture the mention of remission of sins is connected with it.

"In essaying to teach this, I could not but forget controversy having in the commencement warned against irreverent disputing, I lived for the time in Holy Scripture, and its deepest expositors, the Fathers; and was careful to use rather their language than my own, lest on so high a subject I should seem to speak overboldly. Conscious of my own entire adherence to the formularies of my Church, and having already repeatedly expressed myself on this subject, and in the very outset of this sermon conveyed at once, that I believed the elements to 'remain in their natural substances,' and that I did not attempt to define the mode of the mystery.† . . . I had no fear of being misunderstood. . .

"My own views were cast (so to speak) in the mould of the minds of Bishop Andrewes and Archbishop Bramhall, which I regarded as the type of the teaching of our Church."—*Preface*, p. iii.

Of the sermon itself we will only say that it is written throughout in this tone and this spirit. We need say nothing more to prove how singularly offensive it must have been to

* We are compelled to notice a similar instance, in the use made of the words, 'donec aliter Universitati placuerit,' in the censure upon Dr. Hampden. What would have been thought of any man who had voted against the statute because it contained them?

† Our omissions are only of a few words, which we have passed by, rather than bring in sacred words in a discussion to the subject of which they are not suited.

many of that day's congregation. The ancient theology of the English Church is notoriously very different from that which has extensively prevailed ever since the age of Burnet and Hoadley. And if it is more dangerous to attack an offensive preacher, when he says nothing more than has been said a thousand times of the great lights of the English Church, as well as the Saints of Antiquity, still it must be admitted that such a preacher is, on this very account, far more provoking than one who brings forward offensive matter of his own. Now there sat opposite to Dr. Pusey a brother professor, Dr. Fawcett, who had in print declared concerning Bishop Cosin, (whom the Bishop of Exeter has just pronounced 'one of the most distinguished Prelates of the Diocese of Durham, and one of our 'most eminent ritualists,') that 'it will be difficult to imagine 'that those who adopt his views fall much, if at all, short 'of what has been commonly termed consubstantiation.' And who had, moreover, declared his own view to be, that Christians 'show forth, declare, or commemorate the Lord's death, '*representing by visible symbols His absent body and blood.*' Of course he could hardly be ignorant that every revered divine of the English Church would at once reject this statement, as heresy. Whether it be so or not, is not our present question,—we merely intend to notice two circumstances which go far to explain the proceedings in the case of Dr. Pusey. His accusers and judges (they discharged both offices) were well aware that they had to deal with no new opinions, no inventions of his, but with the recognised theology of the English Church. And they were already pledged in print against that theology.

Still we suspect the difficulty of condemning Andrewes, Bramhall, Cosin, and the like, would have caused Dr. Pusey to pass unmolested; if there had not been much of a singularly offensive character in his sermon. His very earnestness,—those who have had the privilege of hearing him say, that it brings to their mind the text—'Cry aloud—spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, 'and shew my people their transgressions, and the house of 'Jacob their sins.' It was impossible to treat all this as a mere fancy—a peculiarity of a learned bookworm,—to put it off by calling it 'like Dr. Pusey,' and the like; and then, when, to adopt a contemporary account, 'towards the end of the sermon the 'preacher, lowering his voice to a pitch which we believe he considered inaudible to the mass of the congregation, solemnly 'addressed the Canons of Christ Church, and the other Doctors 'sitting within a few feet of him, just under the opposite pillar, 'on the duty of weekly Communion, with a pointed allusion to 'the neglect of it in that Cathedral; the words were heard by all, 'as indeed the merest whisper would have been, at that moment,

‘from one end of the Cathedral to the other;—all this of course could not but create a desire to silence the obnoxious preacher, yet how to do it was the question; for the sermon was so strictly Anglican, that to select any one proposition for censure, would have been simply to condemn themselves.

Of course each of our readers knows as well as we, how this difficulty was avoided, but we must briefly record the facts, because they form the chief public act of Dr. Wynter. On Wednesday he wrote (in his usual civil terms) to inform Dr. Pusey that the sermon had been complained of, though without mentioning by whom, which was never made known to the accused, except by rumour (the well-known practice of the inquisition), and demanding a copy of the sermon, that he might deal with it as directed by the statute. The sermon was sent as quickly as the severe illness under which Dr. Pusey laboured when it was delivered would allow, accompanied by a note, in which he requested (what seemed hardly necessary) that if any further explanation were required, he might be allowed a hearing. To this request he received no answer, but it transpired that the Vice-Chancellor had called in the aid of the Provost of Oriel Dr. Hawkins, the present Vice-Chancellor Dr. Symons, the Master of Balliol Dr. Jenkyns, Dr. Ogilvie the new Professor of Pastoral Theology, Dr. Faussett Margaret Professor, who is generally understood to have been Dr. Pusey’s accuser (although knowing that by statute he must be one of the judges), and Dr. Jelf Canon of Christ Church. So far Dr. Wynter’s proceedings were statutable. Next came the trial. Of this, when, where, or how, it took place no one but the judges knows anything. No answer at all either way was made to Dr. Pusey’s demand, or rather entreaty, for a hearing. No communication of any kind, direct or indirect, took place between his judges and him until, after eight days, he was privately informed by one of them, Dr. Jelf, that the sermon had been condemned. Whether by the whole court, or by a majority, or on the same grounds, or whether each had different grounds, no one knows.

What follows is hid under a veil of secrecy. We can only know, first, that the sentence of the court was passed upon the sermon without, and prior to, any communication at all with the accused; and secondly, that when, after the court had decided, the judge began to tamper with the condemned, he felt, and still feels, the line of proceeding to be such, that it was safer to leave each man to guess at the truth than to let it be known.

If, as has been hinted, this strict silence was for the sake of the peace of the Church, Dr. Wynter has earned a sort of title to confessorship with his party; for certainly, that secrecy has placed him, we believe, in a position as unen-

viable as was ever occupied by a judge who bore the Christian name. All we can know is, that after condemnation of the sermon, the writer (known to be labouring under very serious illness) was tampered with by his judges. Papers were then shown to him which he was not allowed to see until he had been bound by promise to conceal from every one both their contents, and even the fact that any communication had been made to him; and, above all, to consult no friend upon the subject—it being the avowed resolution of the Vice-Chancellor to suspend him at once, without any communication at all, unless he first bound himself, by solemn promise, to consult no one, and to keep secret from all men both the nature of the communication to him, and the fact that any had been made!

After this process had gone on awhile without result, (for we can only guess that Dr. Pusey proved to be of less pliant mould than was anticipated,) the following sentence was sent to him:—

“Junii 2^o, 1843. Cum Edvardus Bouverie Pusey, S.T.P. *Ædis Christi Canonicus, necnon Linguae Hebraicae Professor Regius, in concione intra Universitatem Maii 14^o proxime elapso habita, quædam Doctrinae Ecclesiae Anglicanae dissona et contraria protulisse delatus fuerit*; Idemque Edvardus Bouverie Pusey, S.T.P. postulante Vice-Cancellario concionis suæ verum exemplar eisdem terminis conscriptum virtute juramenti tradiderit: *Mihi igitur Vice-Cancellario verbis quæ in quæstionem vocabantur in medium prolatis et rite perpensis, adhibito consilio sex aliorum Sanctæ Theologiæ Doctorum, scilicet D. Doctoris Jenkyns, D. Doctoris Hawkins, D. Doctoris Symons, D. Doctoris Jelf, D. Doctoris Ogilvie, nec non et Prælectoris Dominae Margaraetæ Comitissæ de Richmond, criminis objecti dictum Edvardum Bouverie Pusey, S.T.P. reum inventum, a munere prædicandi intra præcinctum Universitatis per duos annos suspendere placuit.*

“P. Wynter, Vice-Cancellarius,

“Philippus Bliss, Registrarius, Univ. Oxon.”

Against this sentence Dr. Pusey protested as follows:—

PROTEST.

“MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR.—You will be assured that the following Protest, which I feel it my duty to the Church to deliver, is written with entire respect for your office, and without any imputation on yourself individually.

“I have stated to you on different occasions, as opportunity offered, that I was at a loss to conceive what in my sermon could be construed into discordance with the formularies of our Church; I have requested you to adopt that alternative in the Statutes which allows the accused a hearing; I have again and again requested that the definite propositions which were thought to be at variance with our formularies should, according to the alternative of the Statute, be proposed to me

I have declared repeatedly, my entire assent, *ex animo*, to all the doctrinal statements of our Church on this subject, and have, as far as I had opportunity, declared my sincere and entire consent to them individually; I have ground to think, that as no propositions out of my sermon have been exhibited to me as at variance with the doctrine of our Church, so neither can they; but that I have been condemned either on a mistaken construction of my words, founded upon the doctrinal opinions of my judges, or on grounds distinct from the formularies of our Church.

"Under these circumstances, since the Statute manifestly contemplates certain grave and definite instances of contrariety and discordance from the formularies of our Church, I feel it my duty to protest against the late sentence against me, as unstatutable, as well as unjust. I remain, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, your humble servant,

"E. B. PUSEY."

"*Christ Church, June 2, 1843.*"

Upon the publication of this protest, the first public document, or act, in the whole case, the judges (who, be it observed, did not, in any degree, consider themselves bound on their side of the question by any promise of secrecy, similar to that extorted from Dr. Pusey,) began to think that they would stand in a better position with the world, if the fact were made public that communications had been made to Dr. Pusey, after the condemnation of his sermon. Thus much, therefore, was stated by one of the six (the Provost of Oriel College), and stated in a manner which was understood to cast a reflection upon the truth of the facts stated in Dr. Pusey's protest. Being thus released from his promise of secrecy only to the extent which his judges deemed most convenient for their own character, Dr. Pusey published the following letter:—

"MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,—When I drew out my protest, I felt myself bound not to allude to the fact, that, after it was announced to me that my sermon had been condemned, I received confidential communications from yourself. I had been informed, when I received them, that the fact of my having received them, as well as their contents, was strictly confidential, and this injunction to entire silence had not been removed. I felt it, therefore, even my duty to ascertain that there was nothing in my protest which could trench upon that confidence.

"I expressed to yourself privately at the time, my sense of the kindness of *your* intentions personally, in making to me the first of these communications; and of this I was thinking when in my protest I spoke of 'not casting any imputation on yourself individually.'

"To the nature of these communications I can make no allusion, since you saw right to impose silence upon me. It is sufficient to say, that after they were concluded, I received a message from yourself,—'*Dr. Pusey has my full authority for saying that he has had no hearing.*' It ever was and is my full conviction, that had I had the hearing which

(for the sake of the University and the Church) I earnestly asked for, I must have been acquitted.

"These communications, then, in no way affect my protest. I add this explanation, because while I retain my strong conviction that my sentence was both 'unstatutable and unjust,' it is right, since I am now at liberty to do so, to acknowledge the kindness of your own intentions to me individually.—I remain, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, your humble servant,

"E. B. PUSEY."

"*Christ Church, June 6, 1843.*"

The next document in the case, is the following address 'of a very large Majority of the resident members of Convocation':—

"MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,—We, the undersigned members of Convocation, and Bachelors of Civil Law, beg permission respectfully to address you on the subject of the sentence lately pronounced by you on Dr. Pusey: with the request that you will make known to the University the grounds upon which that sentence was passed, that we may know what statements of doctrine it is intended to mark as dissonant from or contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as publicly received."

This request it certainly would have seemed difficult to refuse, the answer was as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN,—Respecting as I do the motives of those who have signed the paper conveyed to me by you, and ready as I am at all times to satisfy the reasonable demand of members of Convocation, I regret that I cannot in the present instance comply with their request. It is my plain duty as Vice-Chancellor to abide by the statutes of the University, and as these do not prescribe, so I have scarcely a doubt they do not permit, the course which is now suggested to me. For the silence of the statutes on this point, satisfactory reasons may be presumed—reasons which are not applicable to me alone, but to yourselves individually, and to the University at large.

"I beg to subscribe myself, &c.

"The Rev. H. Wall, E. P. Eden, E. Hill, &c."

A correspondence* followed between Dr. Wynter and E. Badeley, Esq., Barrister of the Temple, and Master of Arts of Brazennose College, who writes to inform him, that he is entrusted with an address 'from more than 230 non-resident members of Convocation, respecting the proceedings lately adopted against the Rev. Dr. Pusey, and begs to know when it will be convenient to him to receive it.'

The Vice-Chancellor replies, that he will receive Mr. Badeley, 'or any other gentleman,' but does not promise to receive the address, not knowing its contents. Mr. Badeley then sends a

* 'Times,' August, 19, 1843.

copy of the address, and asks whether he will receive it? and whether, if so, it may be sent by post?

Dr. Wynter replies:—

“ St. John's College, Oxford, August 1, 1843.

“ SIR,—I have to acknowledge your letter of yesterday's date, with a copy of the address, which you inform me has been intrusted to your care in order to its being presented to me.

“ After the address shall have reached my hands, I shall be enabled to tell you whether I will receive it or not.

“ I should not wish to put you to the trouble of coming down to Oxford, if transmitting the address by the post would answer your purpose. I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

“ P. WYNTER, V.C.”

“ E. Badeley, Esq.”

Mr. Badeley sends the address, with a request that, if refused, he may be informed of the reasons of the refusal, that he may communicate them to the gentlemen who signed it.

The address is as follows:—

“ *To the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.*

“ We, the undersigned non-resident members of Convocation, beg leave respectfully to express our serious regret at the course which you have adopted with reference to Dr. Pusey's sermon.

“ We deprecate that construction of the statute under which Dr. Pusey has been condemned; which, contrary to the general principles of justice, subjects a person to penalties without affording him the means of explanation or defence; and we think that the interests of the Church and of the University require, that when a sermon is adjudged unsound, the points in which its unsoundness consists should be distinctly stated, if the condemnation of it is intended to operate either as a caution to other preachers, or as a check to the reception of doctrines supposed to be erroneous.

(Signed)

“ DUNGANNON, M.A., Christ Church.

“ COURTENAY, B.C.L., All Souls, M.P.

“ W. E. GLADSTONE, Christ Church.

“ JOHN TAYLOR COLERIDGE, M.A., Exeter.”

Dr. Wynter's reply, together with the address itself, reached Mr. Badeley, at the Temple, not by the post, but by the hands of the University bedel, who was sent to London for this purpose; it was thus worded:—

“ St. John's College, Oxford, August 4, 1843.

“ SIR,—The address, which, as you inform me, you were commissioned to present to me, reached me by yesterday's post; I return it to you by the hands of my bedel.

“ When a document of a similar nature, upon the same subject, was some time since presented to me, I was induced, from respect for the presumed motives of those who signed it, not only to receive it, but to

state the ground on which I felt myself precluded from complying with the request which it contained. But the paper which you have transmitted to me, presents itself to me under very different circumstances, and demands from me a different course of procedure.

"In whatever point of view I feel myself at liberty to regard it, whether as addressed to me in my individual or my official capacity, it is deserving of the strongest censure.

"In the former case, it imputes to me, by implication, that in a matter wherein every thoughtful man occupying my position would most deeply feel its painful responsibilities, I have acted without due deliberation, and am capable of being influenced by many to concede that which I have already denied to a few. Assuming it to be addressed to me in my public capacity, a graver character attaches to it. If it be not altogether nugatory, then is it an unbecoming and unstatutable attempt to overawe the Resident Governor of the University in the execution of his office.

"In either case, I refuse to receive it; and I hold it to be my duty to admonish those who may have hastily signed it, while I warn others who may have been active in promoting it, to have a more careful regard to the oaths by which they bound themselves upon admission to their several degrees; this act of theirs having a direct tendency to foment, if not create, divisions in the University, to disturb its peace, and interfere with its orderly government.

"I am, Sir, your faithful, humble servant,
"P. WYNTER, V.C."

"E. Badeley, Esq., M.A."

We have felt it our duty to put on record the facts and documents of this case, as far as they can be known. Only one fact remains to be mentioned—the communications between Dr. Wynter and Dr. Pusey had been carried on, by the latter, in a spirit so confiding, that he had not retained copies of his notes to the Vice-Chancellor, or of the remarks which Dr. Jelf wrote down at his dictation, when he waited on Dr. Pusey with the mysterious communications of the Vice-Chancellor. Some months afterwards Dr. Pusey wrote to request to see these, as well as some papers which he had sent to the Vice-Chancellor. To which Dr. Wynter replied that 'he regretted that circumstances precluded his compliance with this request.'

We do not enlarge here on the singular mistake which led Dr. Wynter to call himself the resident governor of the University, on the censure of 'Mr. Gladstone for perjury, and Mr. Justice Coleridge for riotous insubordination;' or on many other grotesque features of the case. We are writing seriously. The condemnation of the sermon, while a hearing was refused to the preacher; the messages from the judges under a promise of secrecy, while they allowed themselves the liberty of dis-

closure; statements pronounced heterodox, and the Church not informed what those statements are—such is the summary history of Dr. Pusey's suspension. The sentence is, in fact, condemned by its own form and wording. It alludes to specific 'charges—*verba quæ in quæstionem vocabantur*,'—which words 'were they? *In medium prolatis et vite perpensis*,'—publicity and discussion! where are they?—'*reum inventum*'—the '*reus*' is refused admission!

We turn to another act of Dr. Wynter's Vice-Chancellorship.

Mr. Everett, a Socinian preacher of admitted respectability, in the city of Bristol, following the example of Dr. Priestley, emigrated some years ago to the United States. There, after continuing for some time his old occupation, he abandoned it and betook himself to politics. In this better employment his talents rapidly raised him; and, by a curious coincidence, he was sent back as ambassador to the very native country which he had left as Socinian preacher.

It so chanced that a strong accidental light was thrown, about the period of the events we have been detailing, upon the history of Mr. Everett, by a grotesque notice of him in the well-known book which goes by the name of '*Sam Slick*.' Sam is sent as an *attaché* to the United States embassy in London, and describes himself as calling on the ambassador, whom he styles his Excellency Abednego Layman. He says, 'He was a Unitarian preacher once, was Abednego, but he swapt preaching for politics, and a good trade he made of it, too,—that's a fact.—' "A great change, says I, Abednego, since you was a preaching 'at Connecticut, and I was a vending of clocks," &c.

This fact being thus notorious, it was announced, that Mr. Everett was one of the persons selected by the Heads of Houses, to receive the highest honour the University can give to a stranger, by being publicly admitted to the degree of Doctor of Laws, in the theatre, at the great assemblage which takes place every summer, immediately before the University breaks up for its long vacation. Few Englishmen, or even Englishwomen, are unacquainted with an Oxford Commemoration—the brilliancy of the scene, the season of the year, the throng of strangers, the gaiety of young and old in Oxford, just released from the harness of term, the solemn pageantry of the procession, the academical dresses worn that day in their fullest splendour and variety, make a whole which can hardly be forgotten. On this public stage Dr. Wynter and the Heads resolved to exhibit, practically, the latitudinarian theories which Dr. Hampden had set forth in heavy volumes, read very painfully by very few.

We must mention, that a custom has prevailed, more or less, for many years among the undergraduates, (who occupy a gallery, set apart for them on this occasion,) of expressing, by applause and groans, their feelings upon the academical authorities, the public men of the day, and anything else which happens to come into their heads. On Wednesday, June 28, 1843, it was generally known that they had resolved to carry this licence to an extreme, and interrupt the regular proceedings of the day, in order to signify their dislike of one of the Proctors. This might, of course, have been easily guarded against, had measures been taken for the purpose, but taken they were not.

To return to the case of Mr. Everett. Several members of Convocation waited upon the Vice-Chancellor, upon two several occasions, with an earnest request that, by withdrawing his name, he would save them the pain of publicly opposing his degree. Precedent was entirely in favour of his acquiescence to this petition. Two instances, at least, are remembered, the last occurring as lately as the installation of the Duke of Wellington into the office of Chancellor. It was then proposed to invest with the honours of the day, among other distinguished foreigners, the Ambassador of France, Prince Talleyrand; and the proposal was abandoned, because many members of Convocation thought it unfit that our festivities should be sullied by honours offered to a renegade Bishop. That which had been suffered to pass unnoticed in the case of the French nation and the most distinguished civilian of the age, could hardly have been thought disrespectful to the United States or to Mr. Everett. However, lest their proceedings should in any way be misunderstood, several members of Convocation called upon him, and explained their intention and their reasons. To the Vice-Chancellor, too, their intentions were most clearly announced. He in turn requested them to be satisfied with this private protest, and not interrupt the unanimity of the theatre by dividing the House. They replied that they felt it a point of duty, and must bring their opposition to a division. So fully did Dr. Wynter understand this, that he informed several of his own party that Mr. Everett's degree would be opposed, and requested them to be prepared for the vote. The procession entered the theatre as usual, and was greeted with unusual uproar by the young occupants of the gallery. This had been foreseen. Whether the omission of precautions against it was connected with what followed cannot of course be known. It was certainly a remarkable omission, and as certainly it enabled the Vice-Chancellor (whose duty it was to have prevented any indecency upon such an occasion, and who showed this year that he did not want power to fulfil that duty,) to commit a far more

serious breach of law, upon which he could hardly otherwise have ventured. The custom is, that, after taking his seat, the Vice-Chancellor puts the question in Latin, first to the Doctors and then to the Masters, with regard to each candidate for a degree separately. This is of course in ordinary cases met by a unanimous assent, and when the House has voted all the degrees, the candidates are introduced, conducted up the centre of the area through the crowd which occupies it, and stationed in front of the Vice-Chancellor, to whom each one is separately presented with a Latin oration by the Professor of Civil Law; after which the Vice-Chancellor, addressing the candidate, says, 'Ego auctoritate mea et totius Universitatis admitto te ad gradum Doctoris in Jure civili, Honoris causâ.' A bar is then opened which separates the seats of the Doctors from the area belonging to the Masters, and the new Doctor having made his reverence, walks up and takes his seat. Such is the routine in unopposed degrees. With regard to an opposed degree, as this is the first instance in which a Vice-Chancellor has refused to attend to the expressed wish of the Masters, and has pushed the affair to a division, we can only speak from the analogy of other disputed proposals in Convocation. If any Doctor or Master replies 'non placet' to the first question, the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor asks whether a scrutiny be demanded; and if demanded by any individual, the scrutiny takes place as a matter of course. The result is decided by the majority of voices.

There is absolutely no instance on record, of any Vice-Chancellor venturing upon so daring a measure, as that of refusing to take the votes of the House—of course, if it were legal to do so, his authority would at once be absolute, and the assemblies of the University, as much of a form, as those of the Roman people under the emperors.

In this instance, the Vice-Chancellor put the question to the House when the uproar was at the loudest, and availing himself of that circumstance, went on as if no opposition had been made, although many masters quite close to him vociferated 'non placet,' as he had been informed by themselves that they would, with the utmost power of their voices. He never asked whether a scrutiny was demanded; and when some made their way to him through the crowd and demanded it, although Mr. Everett had not yet been introduced, he disregarded the demand, and conferred upon him on his arrival, the honours of the University, 'by my own authority, and by the authority of the whole University.'

There are of course, two aspects, in which this action must be regarded—in its bearing upon Christian doctrine, and upon the constitution of the University.—Of course, if the act of such a

Vice-Chancellor as Dr. Wynter could be regarded as a precedent for his successor, this cause would amount to an entire annihilation of the University Constitution. It is as if in the state, the Speaker of the Lords or Commons should first suffer the deliberation of the House to be overwhelmed by cries from the gallery (through his own neglect), and then avail himself of that interruption, to pronounce some favourite measure of his own, voted by the House, when he knew that it was the intention of the members to reject it. There are quarters in which the comparison of the Convocation to a House of Parliament may excite a smile—yet even politically, the question is not unimportant; for if Dr. Wynter's precedent had been lawful, there is nothing to prevent any future Vice-Chancellor from returning both the Members of Parliament for the University, 'by his own authority, and that of the whole University,' but against the avowed opposition of every one but himself.—The election is by law vested in the same body—the House of Convocation.

But we confess that, regarding this particular act as too irregular to find supporters, especially as the Masters obtained the opinion of three eminent barristers that 'the degree is a nullity, and that Mr. Everett cannot lawfully assume the rank of Doctor of Civil Law of the University of Oxford,'*—we think the religious bearing of the question the most practical, as it is, of course, infinitely the most important. A distinguished clergyman, the Hon. and Rev. Arthur Perceval, wrote soon afterwards—'It is some consolation to consider, that both the attempt to degrade one who is conspicuous for his zealous exertions in defence of that truth for which the Lord of Glory bled, and the attempt to confer honour upon another, who is reported to maintain and to have taught that doctrine, which St. John declares to be the mark of antichrist, and which the Church, in all ages, has condemned as blasphemy; that both these attempts, which have been exhibited in the chief seat of learning of this nation, have been the work of one and the same individual, for whose conduct the Church is in no degree, and the University only indirectly, responsible.'

But we must turn to another series of events which began before those which we have lately been detailing, but which we have postponed in our narrative because they carry us on to the very close of Dr. Wynter's Vice-Chancellorship. In June, 1842, while the agitation excited by the Heads of Houses in their attempt to repeal the censure upon Dr. Hampden was at the hottest, it became necessary for the Rev. R. G. Macmullen,

* The opinion at length was published in the 'Times' of Dec. 11, 1843.

Fellow of Corpus Christi College, to proceed in due course to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. We must again beg any Oxonian, who may honour us by a perusal, to excuse our giving some explanation for the benefit of others. The Divinity degrees granted by the University are those of Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity, commonly written B.D. and D.D., or S.T.B. and S.T.P. respectively. All that has ever been required to the attainment of these titles is, that the candidate should have taken his degrees in Arts—first Bachelor and then Master—B.A. and M.A. (which of late years implies a general examination) that he should have received Holy Orders, have resided certain years in the study of theology, and have performed certain exercises—of these requirements some, (which required residence, &c.) have been habitually dispensed with, and in practice the degree has been granted to all clerical M.A.'s who possessed the requisite standing, paid the fees, and performed the exercises. These last were a relic of the ancient scholastic system, once common to Oxford, with every other University. The candidate for degrees (whether in Divinity or any other faculty) was to hold public discussions in Latin in the schools. Twice he was required to act the opponent to some other candidate, whose duty it was to defend an appointed thesis,—once to be prepared to answer the objections of opponents who impugned his own. Mere intellectual tournaments, we need hardly say, were, in their day, the exercise of the keenest intellects of Europe; and their influence upon the minds of men and the whole literature of ages, was as great as that of chivalry and its encounters upon their civil and military habits. But times are changed; and if the times of chivalry are gone by, not less so the days of scholastic disputations. Still, however, the statute remained unaltered, and still the candidates for degrees ascended the opposite pulpits, and the Moderator took his seat elevated above them, and in such Latin as they could compose or purchase did they discuss to empty benches the proposed theories.

All this being, however, somewhat of a farce, Dr. Burton, the universally beloved Professor of peaceful days, by his own authority, and without statute, modified the system. Instead of Latin disputations he introduced the custom of the candidate reading an essay in English upon some theological question, and without an opponent. The selection of this question was left to the candidate; and if he was at a loss, it was the custom of the Professor to present to him a considerable list of subjects, out of which to select such as he preferred. When the time came for the reading of the exercises, Dr. Burton (according to the immemorial custom of Divinity Professors) presided,

although he could hardly be said to moderate when there was no longer any disputation.

The practice thus adopted by Dr. Burton, was continued from 1836 to 1842, by his successor, Dr. Hampden, and thus had the authority (such as it is) of ten years' practice against law; and many years more it might have continued, until its origin had been forgotten, if Dr. Hampden had not conceived the project of employing it as a test, which would enable him to prevent any person distasteful to him from proceeding to degrees in Divinity. Let no man think the object in itself a small one; not to mention that certain privileges in the University belong to these degrees. The statutes of a considerable number of colleges absolutely require every fellow to proceed to them, on pain of forfeiting his fellowship, and with it his present maintenance—his ultimate succession to a benefice—in a word, his prospects for life. It was evident, then, that if Dr. Hampden could carry his point, one-half of the University would be in his power: he might boldly demand the repeal of the censures against him, or indeed upon anything else. Still the attempt was so erroneously, so incredibly bold, that (great as was the prize) we cannot believe that he would have ventured it in cold blood. Those, however, who heard the lecture delivered by the Professor in the school of theology, on June 1, 1842, would be inclined, we believe, to think his state anything but one of cool blood. The same impression, we understand, was conveyed, both by his conduct and correspondence during the struggle of 1836, not to mention the letters published by him, and entitled, 'Correspondence between Dr. Hampden and Dr. Howley.' However this may be, the attempt was made. To estimate its boldness we must not merely consider the difficulty of establishing a new test in the present day, in a Church so divided as ours unhappily is, and which has always allowed so great variety of opinion on many religious subjects;—we must add, that Dr. Hampden had, publishing in print and from the pulpit, opposed all tests as such: that, in this particular point, among others, he still professed not to have changed his mind. His object was not to revive any antiquated test of doctrinal soundness; not to enforce any obsolete statute; but to establish a wholly new test in a case where confessedly there had never before been any such thing at any period however remote, and where moreover he had no statute at all on his side. Again, a man may often put his own interpretation upon immemorial customs, and defy the world to prove that such may not have been their original intention; but the custom which Dr. Hampden hoped to convert into a test, was but of ten years' standing, and was simply

illegal from the commencement. For it must be carefully borne in mind, that it was upon Dr. Burton's new and unstatutable custom alone, that the attempt was founded. And Dr. Hampden, moreover, could only establish as his test, agreement in his own theological opinions,—namely, in those which had been already three several times, solemnly condemned by the whole University; and which had raised so great a thrill of indignation through the whole Church, that the clergy from remote parts of England, had come forward to thank the committee in the University, which had procured their condemnation.

The means adopted by the Professor, were as follow:—When Mr. Macmullen called upon him to request subjects on which to write according to custom, and (as he erroneously believed) to statute, he was not surprised to be received coldly, and kept standing; but he was surprised that, instead of settling the matter at once, the Professor told him he would send him subjects on which to write, before he left Oxford. This not being done, Mr. Macmullen renewed his application, which produced the following letter.

“ Ch. Ch. June 11, 1842.

“ The Regius Professor of Divinity, encloses these subjects to Mr. Macmullen, for the Divinity exercises, agreeably to his request. The Professor will thank Mr. Macmullen, to give him a week's notice of the days when he wishes to read his exercises. *He should also mention, that he expects to have copies of the exercises, delivered to him after the reading of them.*

“ 1. The Church of England does not teach, nor can it be proved from Scripture, that any change takes place in the elements at consecration in the Lord's Supper.

“ 2. It is a mode of expression calculated to give erroneous views of Divine Revelation, to speak of Scripture and Catholic Tradition, as joint authorities in the matter of Christian Doctrine.

“ REV. R. G. MACMULLEN, C.C.C.”

We must observe that the requirement of the copy of the exercises was wholly unprecedented.

To proceed with our narrative, Mr. Macmullen finding it impossible to take the view required by the Professor, of Theses purposely worded so as to entrap him, requests to be allowed to write on those clauses of the Thirty-nine Articles, which relate to the same subject,—namely, that on Transubstantiation in the Twenty-eighth, and that on the authority of Holy Scripture in the Eighth. It seemed impossible that a proposal so reasonable should be rejected, by a Professor who had allowed other candidates to select their own subjects;—but Dr. Hampden drew a subtle distinction between this, and Mr. Macmullen's case; because, as the latter had requested subjects from the Professor,

he was bound to write on them,—though why so bound, he did not think fit to explain. Mr. Macmullen now examined the statute, and finding there no admission of the Professor's claim to select the subjects, renewed his endeavours. The correspondence lasted for three months; at the end of which, the Professor intimates for the first time, that 'he by no means prescribed to Mr. Macmullen, the view which he was to take of the Theses, or restrict the line of his argument. He merely states, in each case, the proposition on which the disputation is to turn.'

Mr. Macmullen now wrote a statement of the facts to the Vice-Chancellor, requesting him 'either personally, or in conjunction with the Board of Heads of Houses, or with any other body, to whom may be intrusted the decision of such questions,' to advise him how he ought to proceed. The Vice-Chancellor replies very kindly, that the Board did not feel justified in coming to any decision, and therefore advises personally, that Mr. Macmullen should 'fulfil the previous conditions required by the Divinity statute, in regard to subjects for exercise,—i. e. those conditions which had of late years been neglected; for he adds, 'It may be as well to remind you, that your notices should be in Latin'—which had not been practised since the Latin disputations had been discontinued. Mr. Macmullen follows the advice of the Vice-Chancellor, and proceeds with the required forms. The Professor refuses to preside at the disputation, assigning as his reason, that Mr. Macmullen has not fulfilled the letter of the statute, but declining to say wherein the defect is. He drops the following important words:—

"As Mr. Macmullen resorts to the letter of the statutes, not simply for the maintenance of the statutes, but for the purpose of avoiding particular theses, which, he avows, are distasteful to him, (though the Professor cannot understand how the given theses can be distasteful to any minister of the Church of England), it becomes the obvious duty of the Professor to see, for his part, that the appeal to the statutes be not used for the same purpose, but that it be a real appeal, and strictly followed out."—P. 20.

That is, the Professor impedes Mr. Macmullen's degree, because he objects to subjects which the Professor deems unobjectionable to any clergyman. The test, then, after all, is, as we have already seen, agreement with the Professor's views,—that is, with views denounced by the whole University, and the mass of the clergy.

However, preside the Professor will not, and what is to be done? Mr. Macmullen proceeded with the formal notices requisite before disputations; but the Vice-Chancellor now

interferes, although still in the most friendly manner, and will not allow the disputation, which he had himself suggested, to take place, except under the Professor, as moderator. Even in doing this, however, he reminds the candidate that the formal steps already taken will be very useful, should he at length be forced into a court of law, which, however, the Vice-Chancellor does not at present wish to recommend. The unfortunate candidate next applies for advice to the Heads of Houses, who answer almost in the words of Dr. Hampden (himself one of their Board) that, having applied for questions, he ought to write on them; although without explaining how this resolution is to be reconciled with the statutes which it is the business of the Board to see not set aside.

Mr. Macmullen then commenced the action which the Vice-chancellor had not obscurely suggested, and the object of which was to compel the Professor to preside. The assessor, a sound lawyer, determines that he is bound to preside; but Dr. Hampden appeals to the delegates,—a set of very respectable clergymen, who reverse, with costs, the sentence of the lawyer, on being told by Dr. Hampden's counsel that the presence of the Professor was not necessary. Mr. Macmullen having now burnt his fingers with law, makes one more attempt to prevail on the Vice-Chancellor to allow the disputation to take place, without the Professor, in accordance with the doctrine of Dr. Hampden as counsel. This, however, was still refused by the Vice-Chancellor, while the Professor is equally resolved, delicately, never to preside, unless his subjects are taken. Thus tenderly was the new test tendered to poor Mr. Macmullen, his kind friend the Vice-Chancellor refusing to allow his exercises to take place without the Professor's presence, and the Professor refusing to preside, because that presence was not necessary to the performance of the exercises.

While Mr. Macmullen was in this unenviable dilemma, reports were spread through Oxford that the Heads of Houses were about to propose a legislative measure on the subject of divinity degrees. Mr. Macmullen then stays all further proceedings, and waits to avail himself of the promised redress. Then, as before, the Board came forward; and, as the publication of Dr. Hampden's 'Bampton Lectures,' and 'Observations on Religious Dissent with a View to the Use of Tests in the University,' had been followed by their proposal to dispense with subscription; so now his attempt on Mr. Macmullen they rewarded by a statute which (had it passed) would have gone far to give him the legal authority to exercise upon every other candidate for degrees the same power which he had practised illegally upon one.

The proposed statute was announced to the University in February, 1844. One most important effect it would have produced; and that by a claim so incidental and unobtrusive that its meaning was for some time actually unnoticed by many careful readers. It rendered compulsory upon all candidates for degrees in Theology, the hitherto voluntary examination of 1842. Thus it of course armed three examiners, over whose appointment, as we have seen, the University has no control, with the power of entirely barring any individual's access to his degree, and in many cases endangering his fellowship. It rendered an additional year of residence necessary to the obtaining a B.D. degree, but moreover it practically changed this theological examination from an honour, which it was when it was voluntary, into a doctrinal test, which it would immediately become when every candidate for a B. D. degree was obliged to pass it. So objectionable did this clause appear upon consideration, that men thought the rest of the statute would have been superfluous for Dr. Hampden's purpose had this been carried. It would of itself have changed the character of the University.

However, as this would but have given most dangerous powers, not to the Regius Professor personally, but to the Board of Theological Professors; and, moreover, as some might pass this ordeal a year after taking their degree, in Arts, whom it might be an object to test at a later period; another net was to be spread at the conclusion as this was at the commencement of the seven years which elapse between the degrees of M.A. and B.D., and the strings of this net were placed in the sole hands of Dr. Hampden. It required the copy of the candidates' essays to be delivered to the Professor for his private perusal; and it provided, that if any dispute arose (leaving the expressions so vague as to exclude every question of doctrine as well as the form of exercises and the like) it should be referred, not to the Courts of the University, but to the private and individual determination of the Vice-Chancellor, which determination was to be final.

The effect of all this, of course, would have been to change the exercise into a doctrinal test, and to take away from the University the power which it had ever possessed of granting or refusing divinity degrees; transferring the entire and irresponsible control over them, and through them, over half the fellowships in Oxford, to the Professor and the Vice-Chancellor. The former being selected by the Prime Minister, who may be a Socinian or a professed infidel, and whose nominee may, like Dr. Hampden himself, be appointed in open defiance of the expressed judgment of the University and of the whole Church;

and the latter, or Head of a House, taken in rotation, and if it so chance, a layman. Above all, these powers were proposed to be given to these functionaries, when one office was held by Dr. Wynter, and the other by Dr. Hampden!

We need not say that the whole proposal was received with astonishment by the University and the whole Church. There had been enough of secret conclaves, accusations, courts, accusers, judges, accused refused admittance or hearing; sentences, without arraignment, trial, defence. 'The resident governor of the University,'—would have had the statutable right now of sitting in his own drawing-room and ejecting from his degrees one member of the University after another—all with the utmost kindness and tenderness, without public discussion, or any of those inconvenient forms which the common consent of men has established. This is indeed already a recognized theory of the constitution of the University, though one not yet realized. Let our readers observe the following passage from the demi-official gazettes of the Board, the '*Morning Herald*,' and '*Standard*' of September 26, 1844:—

"The grand fallacy of the Tractarians consists in this—that they choose, because it answers their purpose, to argue as if the University were a democracy; and as if nothing could lawfully be done in it without a debate and a taking of votes. Now the real fact is, that the University more resembles, on a large scale, a School; in which, as every one knows, there must be an arbitrary Governor. Nobody is *forced* to go to the University—youths are sent there by their parents, and with their own assent; but both the parents and the young men know full well, that they are consenting to submit to an arbitrary dominion for a limited time, and for an especial purpose.

"Dr. Pusey, it is true, was not a young man. But our observation was, that the general system of the University is that of absolute sway, not of a democracy, or a place where all things are to be discussed and put to the vote."

We need not tell our readers that the proposed statute obtained actually no support at all. We at least have never heard of any member of Convocation who approved it. It was therefore very soon announced that the proposal was referred back to the Board for reconsideration.

And now to return to Mr. Macmullen, whose case was to be set at rest by this statute; he was of course left where he was—pent up between Dr. Hampden and the Vice-Chancellor. The amended statute, of course, was to set all right; but he could wait no longer, for the time was come when he must graduate or lose his fellowship. Having therefore made one more vain appeal to the Vice-Chancellor, he was forced 'to accept, under protest, the original theses which the Regius Professor

had imposed.' He wrote accordingly, and read his exercises in the school on Thursday 18th, and Friday 19th of April, 1844. 'After the reading of the first exercise, the Professor pronounced 'the words, "Non sufficit pro formâ,"—words which no one had ever heard before, and which certainly do not carry their own meaning with them, but which, under the circumstances of time and place, and yet more of person, were understood to mean, that he did not admit the exercise as qualifying Mr. Macmullen for his degree.

We have no room to discuss the doctrinal merits of the exercise which had the ill-fortune to displease Dr. Hampden. It is published, however, and there is one remark which we think every one who has read it will admit to be true,—we mean, that if Mr. Macmullen maintained the negative side of Dr. Hampden's thesis at all, he could not have done it in a manner more moderate, or with more care to guard against misconception of his meaning. This we think will be admitted even by those who think that the thesis cannot safely be denied at all; although Mr. Macmullen shows that it is denied by the Fathers, the chief divines of the modern Church of England, and by plain inference by the Prayer-book:—it remains then that the exercise was rejected merely because it denied, instead of affirming, the thesis; and that, although we have seen the Professor had volunteered the statement, that 'he by no means prescribes to Mr. Macmullen the view which he is to take of 'the thesis, or restricts his line of argument.' By no means,—only he impedes his degree, if that view is not the same as his own!

This may be deemed exceedingly clever management in the secret conclaves of the Hebdomadal Board. How the world, and men of the world, commonly estimate such proceedings, we need not say. We admit that their opinion is no safe standard for divines, or even for Christians. Yet we think their conduct should not sink below, but rise above it. Upon these proceedings the 'Times' says,—

"We have simply to remark, that impertinent as are unauthorized tests, and extremely impertinent and glaringly ridiculous as are such tests from a formally condemned latitudinarian—there is another thing to which we have even a stronger objection, and that is, to dishonesty."

Meanwhile the statute comes out again from the hands of the Board slightly amended, in deference to the unanimous opinion of the University. Dr. Hampden's usurpations were not sanctioned in the mass, for the copy of the exercise was no longer to be given in to the Regius Professor; and with regard to the power of forcing subjects upon the candidates, and the appeal from the Professor to the Vice-Chancellor, verbal changes were made, which, if the University had believed

them to be concessions *bonâ fide*, might, in some degree, have changed the character of the statute; but the words now proposed would throw the whole into the hands of the Professor and the Vice-Chancellor, if interpreted with far less violence than had been already exercised upon the celebrated Six Doctor Statute, when an instrument of oppression against Dr. Pusey was needed: and it was universally believed that these seeming concessions were only intended to get the measure through the House; when once past, the University (in its turn) had 'scarcely a doubt' how the Vice-Chancellor would interpret it.

In Oxford, therefore, and throughout the country, there was really but one feeling about the statute, and yet this general feeling was curiously mixed. Every one whom we saw or heard of rejected it with indignation—every one seemed convinced that the pretended alterations were but illusory, and that it was really, in its meaning and effect, the same as ever; yet this common feeling turned itself (as it was natural) in different minds towards several parts of the measure. All were indignant; but one was felt most, the pretended alteration devised to remove the edge of opposition, where there was no real change. Another (and this was stated to be the feeling of the venerable President of Magdalen College, the representative in Oxford of the ancient theology) felt strongly the attempt of the Board, now a second time repeated, to remove indirectly the censure upon Dr. Hampden, which they had in vain openly assailed. Another was most keen in deprecating the statute, because he felt sure that it was calculated and intended to remove the real power out of the hands of the University into those of the Hebdomadal Board and the Vice-Chancellor. Another, because he knew well the way in which whatever power was obtained, would be employed. With feelings like these, the clergy came to Oxford. Daily prayers were intermitted in perhaps half the churches where they are offered—men who can ill bear travelling expenses, came from Northumberland and Cornwall. But (what was almost the most remarkable feature of this assemblage) men came to deliver their own souls, without knowing, or professing to know, which way the majority would be. And when they came together they asked, 'Where are our opponents?' For then it appeared, that of all the Oxford graduates in England, the measure of the Heads could obtain the support of only twenty-one, that is, only eight more than a bare majority of their own Board. Of this number several had been brought up from the country for the purpose; while those who passed the vote of no confidence and censure upon the Board, its measures, and its 'Resident Governor,' were 341, about 16 to 1. Men felt that it was no measure of University detail; it was a condemnation of the Hebdomadal

Board's censure on Mr. Newman; the condemnation of Dr. Pusey without trial; the attempted repeal of the Hampden censure; the theological statute; the treatment of Mr. Macmullen; the degree of Mr. Everett; the systematic exclusion of genius, devotion, and learning from the offices of the University;—things written upon our hearts; things which we can never forget till we cease to be ourselves. These were they which thronged the Convocation House that day.

Neither had men any cause to go far back in order to justify these feelings. Convocation met at noon. In congregation, at 10 the same morning, Mr. Macmullen's degree had been refused. We left this gentleman when the Professor had spoken the enigmatical words which were supposed to mean that he rejected the exercise. As, however, the Professor was believed by those who knew the statutes to have no right of refusal beyond that which belongs to every member of the Houses, this did not prevent his proceeding. Proceed indeed he must, and having performed his exercises, although not statutably, which the Vice-Chancellor refused to allow, yet according to the custom of the University for several years past, he was now by that custom qualified to receive it. The degree is conferred by the House of Convocation; but before it reaches this step, a Grace, as it is called, *i. e.* a permission, must pass the House of Congregation. The passing of these graces is the chief practical business of this House; and while all other questions submitted to either House are decided by the vote of the majority, the manner of granting these graces is regulated by a peculiar statute. The vote is secret, and every member of the House may stop any grace without making public his name or assigning his reason. But when this has been done at three several meetings of the House, it cannot be a fourth time repeated. The objector must then assign the reasons of his refusal, and these are judged of by the House, which grants or refuses the grace at its discretion. The Vice-Chancellor singly, or the two Proctors jointly, having, as we before mentioned, a veto on all business in either House, Dr. Hampden then, as a member of Congregation, had an unquestioned right to refuse Mr. Macmullen's grace three times without giving a reason. And when men heard on the morning of the 2d of May that it had been that day refused, they took for granted that it was his act. This, however, time would of course show; for Mr. Macmullen could not but repeat his application, and after the third time, the name and reasons of the objector must be made public. Meanwhile it was felt that if at ten o'clock Mr. Macmullen received the censure of Dr. Hampden or his unknown supporter, Dr. Hampden and his supporters received a censure of the University at noon.

Mr. Macmullen's grace was a second time presented to Con-

gregation, and a second time refused in silence and mystery. A third time the same scene was enacted, and men were expecting the fourth, when lo! on the 20th of May, the Heads of Houses assembled, and, as if laboriously and studiously to stultify themselves, passed a unanimous resolution, 'That the Vice-Chancellor should direct the Regius Professor of Divinity to recur to 'the legitimate statutable exercises of the B.D. degree.' This very Board had been repeatedly consulted by Mr. Macmullen when his degree and his fellowship were in jeopardy, through no fault or omission of his own, but solely because the Professor refused to allow him to fulfil the statute, both when he earnestly entreated to be allowed to do so as a favour, and when afterwards he sought it by law as a right! The dignitaries of the University—the resident Governor, the pro-resident Governor (our readers will excuse us if we coin new words to express unheard-of claims)—put off Mr. Macmullen with the cool resolution, 'that having applied to the Professor for subjects, he ought to write upon them;' and then having driven this innocent victim into the toils of his persecutor, they turn round—as if to assure the world that they have done what they did, not from any ignorance of the statutes, nor from any love of the existing system, but from pure, simple delight in persecution—and pass a resolution that the whole system on which they compelled him to act was, from the beginning, illegitimate and unstatutable, and that what he was begging as a favour, and what they refused, was plainly enjoined upon one and the other by the statutes to which both had sworn obedience! Their only excuse is, that a measure had lately been contemplated for putting the exercises on a new footing; as if that could form any excuse for maintaining, even for a day, a system illegal in itself, and actually abused for the purpose of unjust oppression. Yet, even this excuse could hardly apply to the past period when Mr. Macmullen asked their advice, two years ago.

Thus, then, the whole of Dr. Hampden's test scheme ended for the present in the restoration of the old disputations; the very idea of which, as we have shown, precludes their being so employed; and the weariness that the Professor may, at times, feel stealing over him as he listens to long hours of theological Latin from one candidate after another, must, we fear, be regarded as no more than a just penance for the boldness of his attempt.

But we must return to Mr. Macmullen; a few days after the unanimous resolution of the Heads, which acknowledged the total illegality of the whole system employed for his oppression, his grace was a fourth time sought, when it appeared that the obstacle proceeded, not from Dr. Hampden, but from the Vice-Chancellor—the same functionary by whom his most important steps had been recommended; who, by assisting him with advice

after he had refused the theses, had shown his opinion that a man might differ on those subjects, even from so great an authority as Dr. Hampden, without forfeiting his claim to be considered a sound member of the English Church. The same, too, who had refused to allow him to perform his exercise in the way which he himself had now admitted to be alone legitimate and statutory, and which, as such, he was actually enforcing upon the Regius Professor.

It is stated in the newspapers of the period, that Dr. Wynter's reason was, that he could not tell officially that Mr. Macmullen's exercises had been performed; as his grace was not supplicated by the Regius Professor, but by the authorities of his college. In the newspaper, we repeat,—and if it be asked what was the reason alleged to congregation on the fourth refusal according to statute? the answer unfolds a proceeding highly characteristic of Dr. Wynter. On the fourth occasion he did not, as before, object as a member of the House; because he must, in that case, have assigned his reason. He therefore interposed his official veto, as Vice-Chancellor, upon the grace, which he could do without explanation. The statutes having provided that every member may reject a grace secretly for three times, on condition of avowing his reason on the fourth; and that the Vice-Chancellor may reject without reason, on condition of avowing his act from the first. Dr. Wynter lays aside the Vice-Chancellor's prerogative, and avails himself of the former privilege as long as it gives him the power of striking altogether in the dark; and when called upon to fulfil the condition upon which that power is given, he shifts his ground, and acts in his other capacity, which enables him to conceal his reason, though not any longer his person. Common fairness, we suppose, requires that he should make his election at once in which character he would act, and give to the candidate whom he rejected, the full advantages allowed him in either case by the statute.

Whether the history of the University affords any other example of veto interposed by a Vice-Chancellor, we are not aware. The calendar published every year by authority, speaks of it as almost as rare as the exercise of the royal veto in parliament.

With respect to Mr. Macmullen's fellowship, it appeared, upon the close examination which legal proceedings required, that it was in the power of his own college by presenting him for his degree to prevent its forfeiture, although the degree might be refused by the authorities of the University. This fact, alike unknown to both parties at the commencement of the struggle, has as yet saved him from the full effects of the persecution of Dr. Hampden and Dr. Wynter; although, not receiving his

degree, he becomes, of necessity, junior to each of the fellows below himself upon the list, as they proceed to it; and thus suffers very serious injury, both in his present position and his succession to a benefice. It is said that the Vice-Chancellor wrote to Mr. Macmullen's college, urging them not to present him for his degree; and intimating that by doing so they would break their oaths to the University, because, forsooth, such a measure would tend to disturb the public peace. If this statement is correct (and we confess we think the caution about the oath bears much internal evidence of truth), the success of the attempt would have cut off the only resource by which it was possible for him to escape the loss of his fellowship, and of his prospects in life.

And now having traced Dr. Wynter's course in office, it remains to mention some circumstances of his retirement from it. Nothing in his life became him like his leaving it; it was all his own. In the usual rotation of university office, it was his lot to be succeeded by Dr. Symons, the Warden of Wadham, at the commencement of the present term. Why the admission of this new functionary was opposed we need not repeat. That he was strongly supported could not be a matter of surprise. Formally, although not virtually, he was nominated by the Duke of Wellington. There was no precedent for refusing to admit a Vice-Chancellor. We need not detail the other reasons which kept from Oxford many of those who usually support the cause of the Church, and divided those who were there against each other. Dr. Wynter however was seriously alarmed, and his method of assisting his friends was this: Having, in his official capacity, the right of appointing the day on which the nomination should be submitted to Convocation, he carefully kept this a secret from all whom he thought likely to inform the opponents of Dr. Symons. The Senior Proctor (the second resident official in Oxford) made a formal request to be informed of it. 'The answer was substantially (and nearly in words) this—that he should feel himself extremely culpable in departing from the custom which had prevailed—that he could give no official information of the day. And (not *but*) although unofficially he might say that one day, or one of two days,' (not naming either of those days, or the week in which they might occur,) 'is more likely than any other, yet at this distance of time he could not pledge himself to any day.'

The following notice was then circulated and appeared in the newspapers:—

"Oxford, Sept. 23, 1844.

"Members of Convocation are respectfully informed, that the Vice-Chancellor, although requested by the Senior Proctor, has refused to give any information as to the day of the nomination of his successor.

Whether this information will be open to Dr. Symons, Members of Convocation may decide for themselves from the events of the past year. At all events it is to be hoped that they will hold themselves in readiness to come up, on the receipt of a notice of the day, if the discovery of it prove possible; or if not, to show in some other marked way their sense of this fresh act of injustice."

And now it came out, that the committee of Dr. Symons, which met at Wadham, had known several days before this that October 8th was to be the day; for they had written to inform their country supporters of the fact, and, incautiously, had actually sent the same notice to some of whom they thought themselves secure, but who voted on the other side. One at least of these wrote to the newspapers announcing the fact.

The disgrace of this could not well be borne at such a moment; 'it hurt their conscience to be found out.' All men argued, in the words of a paper which appeared in Oxford, 'How did Dr. Symons's party come to the knowledge of the day? It must have been by intuition inducted from former years, or direct information. The first is hardly possible. For the second an uniformity of precedents would be necessary. But there is unhappily no such uniformity; for last year the nomination took place on the 6th Oct. And it may be just stated by the way, that this fixing of the day so early was boasted of by a friend of Dr. Wynter as an artifice to avoid the opposition that was expected. In 1842 the nomination was on the 8th, 1841 and 40 on the 9th, 1839 on the 8th, 1838 on the 9th, 1837 on the 7th. Too much variation here for any induction! The last alternative therefore is inevitable.'

The only remaining chance for the Vice-Chancellor was to show that he had not concealed, from either side, the day he intended to name. The Wadham committee, therefore, the chairman of which is the Head of a House, the secretary a highly respected tutor of Wadham College, threw itself into the breach. Its circular announced that—

"It has been the invariable custom, that the notice of the day on which such nominations will be made, shall not be given before the previous afternoon; and the Vice-Chancellor has declined to change the custom this year by any *official* declaration. But he has concealed from no one his *opinion* that Tuesday, the 8th of October, will be the day; and there is no doubt that such will be the case. The customary hour is twelve o'clock."

This statement, it must be observed, directly contradicts that of the Senior Proctor, upon a point on which he could not by possibility be either mistaken, or forgetful,—viz., whether the Vice-Chancellor had concealed from him the day of nomination. Moreover, as it was impossible that the truth of the assertion (that he had never concealed from any one his opinion, that

Tuesday 8th would be the day) could be known to any man living, except Dr. Wynter himself, that assertion must have been made upon his authority. To suppose otherwise, would be to accuse the Wadham Committee of publicly making a statement in direct contradiction of the fact stated, on his own knowledge, by the Senior Proctor, and yet wholly gratuitous. No one who knows Mr. Griffiths can think this possible. Yet, while we see no way of avoiding the conclusion that this assertion was made upon the authority of Dr. Wynter, it is impossible to deny that that conclusion exhibited the University in a novel and unpleasant attitude. For, here were two distinct, positive, statements of fact, published to all the world, one by the Senior Proctor, the other by the Vice-Chancellor, relating to a question upon which it was not easy to conceive either mistake or forgetfulness to exist on either side, and yet directly contradictory to each other. This fact seems to have so deeply impressed Dr. Symons's Committee, that they declared to the world their full conviction that the Proctor, in his letter of Sept. 23, (in which, it will be remembered, he stated that, in answer to his request, the Vice-Chancellor had *refused to give any information* as to the day of nomination,) had not suppressed anything which the Vice-Chancellor had actually told him. Their notice was as follows:—

“ COMMITTEE ROOM, WADHAM COLLEGE,
October 8, 1844.

“ Whereas we have been informed that the following paragraph in the circular issued from this room on the 26th of September, viz.—

“ ‘ It has been the invariable custom, that the notice of the day, on which such nominations will be made, shall not be given before the previous afternoon ; and the Vice-Chancellor has declined to change the custom this year by any *official* declaration. But he has concealed from no one his *opinion* that Tuesday the 8th of October will be the day ; and there is no doubt that such will be the case. The customary hour is twelve o'clock.’

has been supposed to charge the Senior Proctor with suppressing some information which had been given him by the Vice-Chancellor.

“ We beg to have it understood that we are not aware of any grounds for casting such an imputation upon him, and that no such imputation was intended.

“ EDWARD CARDWELL, *Chairman.*
JOHN GRIFFITHS, *Secretary.*”

And here the matter rested, in a condition satisfactory, as it appears, to all parties concerned ; and the same day Dr. Wynter resigned his office, in which he declared his pleasure in finding himself relieved of it, and that he forgave his enemies.

The facts which Dr. Wynter's administration appears to us to have developed, are these ; that there has been for some time a systematic attempt going on in Oxford to transfer the admi-

nistration of the University from its legal holders, the two Houses, to the Board of Heads, and the Vice-Chancellor; that, in this attempt especially, two powers have been exercised by Dr. Wynter, which were never before claimed by any man; viz. that of condemning those who are obnoxious without a hearing, and that of passing decrees in the name of the whole University, while refusing their votes. Of this last usurpation, we may say, in passing, a second instance was threatened on the very last day of Dr. Wynter's rule. It was confidently denied that the University had the power of disapproving a Vice-Chancellor, a right never before questioned, and acknowledged, as it was observed in the Oxford Calendar, published every year, by authority.

We have now concluded our annals, much to our own satisfaction as well as that of our readers. It is no pleasing task to reckon up acts of injustice—injustice committed with a trembling hand—concealed to the last possible moment—at last detected rather than avowed. It is no pleasure to tell of Englishmen condemned without trial, punished while they are still kept upon honour, under an obligation of secrecy as to the communications which passed between them and their judge. To exhibit authorities usurping power which was never given to them, and yet wholly incompetent to use that which they do possess, the voice of authority, and at the same moment refusing to the members of a supreme assembly the right of voting on their own affairs; one day disallowing those who earnestly request the permission, to fulfil their legal obligations, and then the next day compelling all to fulfil the same obligations; permitting the voice of authority to be drowned by the uproar of pupils, and at the same moment declining to receive the votes of a supreme assembly when met in lawful gathering, for the discharge of its own duty. Neither is it any gratification to tell of numerous acts of unauthorized, undignified, unsustained interference; of the Vice-Chancellor forbidding Mr. Macmullen to publish the correspondence which stands at the head of this article, yet not ensuring obedience to his own command; forbidding the publication of the legal opinion as to Mr. Everett's pretended degree, yet quietly sitting down in the unenviable situation in which its publication left him. Equally painful is it to see ancient authority made ridiculous; to see 'my bedel' pompously bearing to London threatenings against the judges and clergy of England, and the counsellors of Queen Victoria, on the part of one, who, because he had refused to hear the humble and holy man whom he had unjustly condemned, seemed to imagine himself above censure and beyond blame, forgetting that, after all, there are strong things, even here upon earth—justice, and law, and right, the shadows of the Almighty

among men—shame and punishment dogging the guilty, and that God Himself is above all. But chiefly, to find those who sit in the seats of our worthies, and are appointed guardians of our theology, condemning doctrines which they dare not give us the opportunity of defending, and tampering with heresies against which the very object of their office was the maintenance of perpetual war.*

Few considerations are more awful than that of the heavy responsibility which men often bring upon themselves and of which they seem the while all unconscious. The Church of England is just now in a state more critical than she has known for two hundred years. Many who promised much faithful service seem shaken and unsettled; some have left us; who can say that others may not go after them? Many more, there is every reason to fear, will be discouraged by these instances of instability, from turning their thoughts to high and holy things at all. It may be that carelessness or scepticism may be really the danger that is imminently impending upon Oxford; we may even see it in a few months. Can any thoughtful observer think these things unlikely? Now in this state of things God had given us a preacher with soul of fire—whose very daily life is a sermon which the most careless could not put from them—whose voice was likely, above all other human means, to bring home to the hearts of men the solemn truth, that religion is indeed a rule of practice and of life, or it is nothing; that time is short, and judgment is near; and withal, one who is well known to be fixed and firm himself, and, above all things, to

* Nor is it in Oxford alone, nor by Oxford men, that the general administrations of the Heads of Houses are put together as parts of one whole. We can mention one instance amongst thousands. A very exemplary clergyman, a Cambridge incumbent, holds a parish on the eastern coast, which has been miserably demoralized by smuggling. To his great surprise, a young and most estimable Oxonian, a Fellow of a College, who was spending the vacation in his neighbourhood, applied to him to direct him to some smuggler. The vicar, who knew his parish well enough, did not, probably, want power, but he certainly had no will. Upon this, the Oxonian told him, that before he left Oxford, the head of his college sent for him, and said, 'Sir, I believe you are going into the neighbourhood of —?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Well, then, you can do a commission for me. I hear that the smugglers there import particularly good brandy, and I want you to buy a keg for me.' It was really lucky that the clergyman, whom we have introduced to our readers, was a Cambridge man. He, therefore, has nothing to fear; had he been of Oxford, there is great reason to think that his orthodoxy would have been found in fault, for he represented so strongly to the young man the sin of encouraging smuggling, that he returned without the keg. Whether the dignitary was driven to the hard necessity of drinking lawfully imported brandy, or whether he found a less scrupulous agent, we do not know; but we can assure our readers, that our Cambridge friend, whenever he hears of any valiant deed of that zealous head, against the revivers of obsolete error, seems to detect in it a certain smack of smuggled brandy. Highly illogical, no doubt; for the authority would tell him that whether it be right or wrong to deal with smugglers, that is a question which, in the favourite phrase of the day, 'has nothing to do with theology;' but illogical as it may be, the effect upon our friend's mind was such as we have described.

labour in fixing others in dutiful adherence to the English Church. This voice is now silenced: and shall we say by whom?

There are men who, owing to circumstances, produce momentous effects, without possessing any very unusual qualities, either good or ill. May God defend His Church among us, and the venerable institutions which have grown up in her shade; and of these, not the least, our Ancient University. May He shield her from all dangers. But, assuredly, if she is to fall,—if she is to lose her privileges, and be made the slave of some parliamentary commission,—if her independence, her powers of self-government, are to be taken from her, and her time-honoured name disgraced,—we may venture to predict how all this will be accomplished. It will not begin through violence from without, but in evil government within; in an administration oppressive while it is feeble; in a rule which forces the members of the University into resistance, while it invites contempt and aggression from the world around; in one word, in Vice-Chancellors like Dr. Wynter.

But in saying this, we do not forget that there is One above Who can and does bring good out of evil—Whose purposes must stand, and are never nearer to their accomplishment than when they seem baffled: to Him we commend His Church and His servants. For ourselves, one consideration has been continually impressed upon us in the course of our narrative. It is this:—Few, we suppose, have failed to wonder in their earlier years why it is, that in the Psalms, that pure well of devotion for all ages, we find so frequently recurring the exhortation, ‘Fret not thyself:’ ‘Be not grieved at the ungodly;’ and the like. It seemed to us hardly practical; so many other temptations were rather to be guarded against. But as life goes by, and the real state of this world opens to us, how sweetly do these texts fall upon the ear! ‘Put thou thy trust in the Lord, and be doing good:’ ‘Fret not thyself, else shalt thou be moved to do evil.’ We are, then, but in the circumstances to which we have been taught to look forward, when we see wrong prevail. Let us wait awhile, each in his daily duties. Let us not be moved to wrath; though we find Englishmen content to abandon all that has made the name of England really glorious, so that an obnoxious divine may but be crushed. These sayings would not have been so often repeated, unless it had been appointed for us, in every age, to feel, in one form or other, the peculiar temptations against which they warn us; to be moved to indignation by finding those of whom the world is not worthy, rejected by the world; those who condemn the world, condemned in their turn. Be it ours to be preparing, each one himself, for the day when these things shall be set right.

- Art. VII.—1. *The Oxford University Calendar*. 1844. Oxford : Parker, &c.
2. *Corpus Statutorum, &c.* Oxonii : E Typographeo Academico.
3. *Suggestions on the New Statute proposed to the University of Oxford*. By W. GRESLEY, M.A. *Prebendary of Lichfield*. London : Burns. 1845.
4. *The Subject of Tract XC. Historically Examined: with a Preface on the Measure about to be submitted to the Oxford Convocation*. By FREDERICK OAKELEY, M.A. *Fellow of Balliol College*. Second Edition. London : Toovey. 1845.

THOUGHTFUL minds have long since anticipated the quarter of the theological heavens in which the gathering storm of years would break. Without going into a superfluous proof of what the simplest must have felt, there can be little question that, speaking generally, the two great parties in the Church have each their strong position. The symbol of one is, in the main, the Prayer-book; that of the other, the Articles. They represent respectively, and perhaps fairly enough, the Voice of Antiquity and the Spirit of the Reformation: it is a separate question how far, it may be entirely, the two may be found, or made, to harmonize; but on the first glance at them they certainly present a different aspect. Lord Chatham expressed this distinction not accurately, but still with a sufficient approximation to truth for a popular statement, when he talked of our Papistical Book of Prayer and Calvinistical Book of Articles. It is quite certain that the one is not Papistical; and most are convinced that the other is not Calvinistical. But the two great schools who verge towards either extreme have each felt bound to endure one for the love of the other. They are the Leah and Rachel of the English Church. The Prayer-book party are charged with disparaging the Articles: and those who most quote the Articles seem to tread lightly over the Prayer-book argument. On the one side we find a Lutheran bias, a good many sermons, popular preachers, justification by faith, once-a-week Christians, a disparagement of fasting, penitence, gloomy views, and the like, combined with vigorous and frequent appeals to the Thirty-nine Articles—on the other are seen to be ranked “Romanizing” tendencies, daily service, “exaltation of the sacraments,” the word of God esteemed as something higher than “painful preaching,” and all this combined with a very confident grasp of, and a most consistent and uniform polemical reference to, the Prayer-book. In pamphlets, tracts, and magazines, we frequently find them bracketed: but in conversation, in preaching, and in the Christian walk, we can recall no single instance where the one scale or the other did not very soon preponderate.

Indeed, were it necessary, some of the commonest facts prove this bias. How was it that the Dissenting teachers, till lately, received their licence to preach by Act of Parliament, upon doing what? Assenting to the Thirty-nine Articles: *i.e.* they were legally empowered to preach *against* the Church's Prayer-book, under cover of her Articles. Compare too the source of the Articles—the known principles of their framers—and their sympathies with the Foreign Reformed—with the origin of the Prayer-book. That the Articles are the National, and the Prayer-book the Catholic, element of our mixed communion, is enough for the popular feeling.

The historical argument, however, is in favour of the Catholic line: the Prayer-book has hitherto been the ruling and paramount estate in our confused relations. Every change at each successive Conference and Revision has been in its favour. Since the Reformation, the Church has done nothing but rise in matters both of doctrine and practice. It is decisive of our tempers that we have never taken a backward step. According, then, to the law of natural and moral growth in the Church of England, our next step must still be onward. We do not say that the Articles have been held unfaithfully by the great divines of the Church of England; far from it: but somehow they never seem to have thought of expanding the Articles, of adding to them, of developing in that direction. In the Prayer-book we can point to the restoration of the oblation in the Eucharist emanating from the same set of opinions, whose influence obtained the Declaration prefixed in the seventeenth century to the Book of Articles.

In what way, then, have the Articles been received by the Church of England? The Articles are not terms of communion: the Articles are not a confession of faith: they are articles of religion, a body of teaching, akin rather to the Homilies than to the Service Book; and what was their original intention and practical bearing, men of most parties have, as we shall presently see, agreed. The Articles have been subjected to various siftings, both as to their sense and obligation, the value and extent of subscription to them, and their necessity, and this in various ways, and for very opposite purposes. Several such epochs have occurred since the first legal requirement of subscription to them on the part of the clergy,* by 13 Eliz. cap. 12. First was the long warfare be-

* It does not appear that they were originally introduced into the Universities, whatever relations they had to the clergy, with a purpose so low and confined as a mere protest against Rome: they were designed with a constructive, rather than a destructive purpose; and perhaps to form a text-book, and not so much to exclude this or that set of opinions; as a test only in part, but mainly, whether wisely or not, as an educational instrument. They were first made compulsory at matriculation in 1581. Subscription to the 36th canon originated in 1616, for the express purpose of checking the advance of "the Presbyterian government, and the suffering of young scholars to be seasoned with Calvinian doctrines." It does not appear that the Vice-Chancellor had power to compel subscription to the Articles, according to his own will, until the

tween the Travers and Cartwright party on the one hand, against Hooker and Whitgift on the other, which at last developed itself into the predestinarian dispute. In the course of this, both parties appealed to the Articles, and it was primarily to declare the interpretation of the Articles on this dispute, that the Caroline declaration was prefixed to them: though it is obvious, that this document then enounced a principle which might safely be applied to any other dispute besides the *Quinquarticular*. Next in order, in 1712, came the controversy concerning the right sense of subscription, which produced Waterland's dispute with Sykes and others on subscription in an Arian sense. But it was between the years 1766 and 1773 that the Articles were most furiously attacked and stubbornly defended. This dispute grew out of the publication of the 'Confessional,' by Blackburne, and the Feathers Tavern Association: the flame raged not only in Oxford and Parliament, but throughout the Church: in Oxford, however, with especial reference to subscription at matriculation. This last dispute was repeated with singular exactness in our own days: and the events of 1772 might be read for those of 1835, if we substitute the names of Hampden for Blackburne, and Lord Radnor for Sir William Meredith. The same caution of the respective Chancellors, Lord North and the Duke of Wellington, the same unfaithfulness and truckling of the Hebdomadal Board, by substituting, after the fatal precedent of Cambridge, a declaration for submission, and the same stern and indignant rejection of it on the part of Convocation, characterised either period.

Hitherto, however, it is significant that the defenders of the Articles had all along one line of defence which is common to every successive revival of the dispute, under whatever forms:—viz. they all assume the sense of the Articles to be equivalent to the mind of the Church. Ten years ago, or seventy years ago, upon what grounds was subscription to the Articles defended by Messrs. Sewell and Maurice, or Dr. Turton—or, again, by Bishop Horne? The various defenders of subscription have assumed that the sense of the Articles was ascertained: and so have the assailants. It was because the Articles were Articles of the Church; because they were a fettering of the liberty of Protestantism, that Jebb and Disney opposed subscription in any sense: because as Lord, then Mr., Grey, said, 'As to speculative matters in religion, they are by no means material; the Articles are the offspring of monkish enthusiasm, a jumble of contradictions: away with such fanatical stuff; we live in more enlightened times;' or, as Dr. Hampden expresses the same idea in terms more scholarly, but quite as intelligible, 'I do not scruple to avow myself favourable to a removal of *all tests*, so far as they are employed as secu-

present statute was enacted. Its object could not have been other than consistent with Laud's well-known views on the Regale, and Church authority.

rities of orthodoxy among our members at large.' And elsewhere, where he speaks of the 'unphilosophical and unscriptural notions on which the Creeds and Articles are founded.' It is only incidentally—we speak now of the period which has elapsed since the Rebellion,—that the sense of the Articles, or whether the Articles had one exclusive sense, has been disputed. It is only by hints that we can gain the opinions on this head of more recent writers, who are very full and valuable on points which we are not called upon at present to discuss. But since the publication of No. 90, (Tracts for the Times,) the question has turned upon the interpretation of the Articles, not upon the abstract desirableness of symbolical writings, nor upon undergraduate subscription, nor any other form and mode of subscription. We do not mean to assert that there has ever been a uniformly current and consistent recognition among our divines of the tribunal to which disputed interpretations of the Articles must yield; the authorized, if such they be, expositors may possibly be as numerous as their authorized expositions. For our present purpose, it would be quite sufficient to take even this ground, and to show that we have received, and subscribe certain articles which do not assert their own authority; and still further, which do not, in the event of varying interpretations, appeal to any standard authority for the resolution of doubts as they arise: it would be enough, then, to rest upon the admission, that there is *no* accredited court of appeal. It would be easy to show that such is the case, but none seem to doubt it: indeed, the conflicting views upon this or that authority, and all held without condemnation, would be a very sufficient argument against the establishment of such an authorized interpretation in days like these, and under the precarious auspices of an Oxford Hebdomadal Board. Taken by itself, the *fact* of the non-existence of any received interpretation of the Articles, we repeat, would be quite enough to condemn that which is now proposed. But we can do more than this; though there may be no synodical decision of the Church on the interpretation of the Articles, we can show what the chief Anglican divines have said on the subject; and we mean to prove that, more or less, they have interpreted the Articles by the general doctrine of the Church, *i. e.* by Catholic belief, rather than by the *obiter dicta* of certain individuals who happened to be their writers or compilers.

The occasion which leads us into this discussion is well known. It is now nearly four years ago since Mr. Newman published the celebrated No. 90, (Tracts for the Times,) grounded upon this free interpretation of the Articles. Among those who accepted with marked gratitude this interpretation, was Mr. W. G. Ward, Fellow of Baliol, who, in two publications of that year, 'A Few Words,' and 'A Few more Words in defence of No. 90,' carried

this principle to its utmost limits, and, in subsequent publications, as most people think, beyond its limits; especially in a publication, 'The Ideal of a Christian Church.' With this work we are not now concerned, nor with Mr. Newman's tract; but only with a certain proposed statute, which is to come before Convocation, Feb. 13, which we subjoin in a note.*

* 'WHEREAS, it is notoriously reputed and believed throughout this University, that a book, entitled "The Ideal of a Christian Church considered," has recently been published in Oxford, by the Rev. William George Ward, M.A.; in which book are contained the following passages: viz.—

- P. 45 (note). 'I know no single movement in the Church except Arianism in the fourth century, which seems to me so wholly destitute of all claims on our sympathy and regard, as the English Reformation.'
- P. 473. 'For my own part I think it would not be right to conceal, indeed I am anxious openly to express, my own most firm and undoubting conviction,—that were we as a Church to pursue such a line of conduct as has been here sketched, in proportion as we did so, we should be taught from above to discern and appreciate the plain marks of Divine wisdom and authority in the Roman Church, to repent in sorrow and bitterness of heart our great sin in deserting her communion, and to sue humbly at her feet for pardon and restoration.'
- P. 68. 'That the phrase "teaching of the Prayer-Book" conveys a definite and important meaning, I do not deny; considering that it is mainly a selection from the Breviary, it is not surprising that the Prayer-Book should, on the whole, breathe an uniform, most edifying, deeply orthodox, spirit; a spirit which corresponds to one particular body of doctrine, and not to its contradictory. Again, that the phrase, "teaching of the Articles," conveys a definite meaning, I cannot deny; for (excepting the five first, which belong to the old theology) they also breathe an uniform intelligible spirit. But then these respective spirits are not different merely, but absolutely contradictory; as well could a student in the heathen schools have imbibed at once the Stoic and the Epicurean philosophies, as could a humble member of our Church at the present time learn his creed both from Prayer-Book and Articles. This I set out at length in two Pamphlets, with an Appendix, which I published three years ago; and it cannot therefore be necessary to go again over the same ground: though something must be added, occasionally in notes, and more methodically in a future chapter. The manner in which the old wording of the Articles can be divorced from their natural spirit, and accepted by an orthodox believer; how their *prima facie* meaning is evaded, and the artifice of their inventors thrown back in recoil on themselves; this, and the arguments which prove the honesty of this, have now been for some time before the public.'
- P. 100 (note). 'In my Pamphlets three years since, I distinctly charged the Reformers with fully tolerating the absence from the Articles of any real anti-Roman determination, so only they were allowed to preserve an *apparent* one: a charge, which I here beg as distinctly to repeat.'
- P. 479. 'Our twelfth Article is as plain as words can make it, on the 'evangelical' side: (observe 'in particular the word "necessarily": of course I think its natural meaning may be explained away, for I subscribe it myself in a non-natural sense.'
- P. 565. 'We find, oh most joyful, most wonderful, most unexpected sight! we find the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of English Churchmen.'
- P. 567. 'Three years have passed since I said plainly, that, in subscribing the Articles, I renounce no one Roman doctrine.'

And whereas the said William George Ward, before the publication of the said book, was admitted to the respective Degrees of B.A. and M.A. of this University, on the faith of the following Declaration; which Declaration was made and subscribed by him before and in order to his being admitted to each of the said Degrees; that is to say:—'I allow the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixty and two; and I acknowledge all and every the Articles therein contained, being in number nine and thirty, besides the Ratification, to be agreeable to the Word of God.'

And whereas the said passages of the said book appear to be inconsistent with the said Articles, and with the said Declaration, and with the good faith of him the said William George Ward, in making and subscribing the same:

In A CONVOCATION to be holden on Thursday, the 13th day of February next, at One o'Clock, the foregoing passages from the said book will be read, and the following Proposition will be submitted to the House:—

That the Passages now read from the book entitled 'The Ideal of a Christian Church considered' are utterly inconsistent with the Articles of Religion of the Church of England, and with the Declaration in respect of those Articles made and subscribed by William George Ward previously and in order to his being admitted to the Degrees of B.A. and M.A. respectively, and with the good faith of him the said William George Ward in respect of such Declaration and Subscription.

Before

Had we space, we might say something on such obvious points as the unfairness of this proceeding *now*; if the Heads of Houses had thought it right to interfere with this standard of interpretation, this ought to have been done in 1841. Can it be that they

Before the question "Placetne, &c." is put, the Vice-Chancellor will give Mr. Ward an opportunity of answering to the charge of having published such passages so inconsistent as aforesaid.

If this Proposition is affirmed, the following Proposition will be submitted to the House:—

That the said William George Ward has disentitled himself to the rights and privileges conveyed by the said Degrees, and is hereby degraded from the said Degrees of B.A. and M.A. respectively.

Before the question "Placetne, &c." is put, the Vice-Chancellor will give Mr. Ward an opportunity of stating any grounds he may have for showing that he should not be degraded.

In the same CONVOCATION the following altered form of Statute, which will be promulgated in Congregation on Monday, the 10th day of February next, at ten o'clock, will be submitted to the House.

TITULUS XVII.

SECT. III.

§ 2. *De Auctoritate et Officio Vice-Cancellarii.*

1. After the words, —

'— Et ut Hæreticos, Schismaticos, et quoscunque alios minus recte de fide Catholica, et Doctrina vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sentientes, procul a finibus Universitatis amandos curet.

'Quem in finem, quo quisque modo erga Doctrinam vel Disciplinam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ affectus sit, Subscriptionis criterio explorandi ipsi jus ac potestas esto'—

it will be proposed to insert the following:—

Quoniam vero Articulus illos Fidei et Religionis, in quibus male-sanæ opiniones, et præsertim Romanensium errores, reprehenduntur, ita nonnulli perperam interpretati sunt, ut erroribus istis vix aut ne vix quidem adversari videantur, nemini posthac, qui coram Vice-Cancellario, utpote minus recte de Doctrina vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sentiens, conveniatur, Articulis subscribere fas sit, nisi prius Declarationi subscripserit sub hac forma:

Ego A. B. Articulus Fidei et Religionis, necnon tribus Articulis in Canone xxxvi^o. comprehensis subscripsurus, profiteor, fide mea data huic Universitati, me Articulis istis omnibus et singulis eo sensu subscripsurum, in quo eos ex animo credo et primitus editos esse, et nunc mihi ab Universitate propositos tanquam opinionum mearum certum ac indubitatum signum.

Also in the next sentence of the existing Statute, beginning 'Quod si quis S. Ordinibus initiatus,' before the words 'subscribere a Vice-Cancellario requisitus,' to insert the following words,—

una cum Declaratione supra-recitata

2. It will also be proposed in the said sentence to omit the words 'S. Ordinibus initiatus.'

Should these alterations be approved, that part of the Statute Tit. XVII. Sect. III. § 2. *De Auctoritate et Officio Vice-Cancellarii*, which will be affected by them, will stand as follows:

— Et ut Hæreticos, Schismaticos, et quoscunque alios minus recte de fide Catholica et Doctrina vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sentientes, procul a finibus Universitatis amandos curet.

Quem in finem, quo quisque modo erga Doctrinam vel Disciplinam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ affectus sit, Subscriptionis criterio explorandi ipsi jus ac potestas esto. Quoniam vero Articulus illos Fidei et Religionis, in quibus male-sanæ opiniones, et præsertim Romanensium errores, reprehenduntur, ita nonnulli perperam interpretati sunt, ut erroribus istis vix aut ne vix quidem adversari videantur, nemini posthac, qui coram Vice-Cancellario, utpote minus recte de Doctrina vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sentiens, conveniatur, Articulis subscribere fas sit, nisi prius Declarationi subscripserit sub hac forma:

Ego A. B. Articulus Fidei et Religionis necnon tribus Articulis in Canone xxxvi^o. comprehensis subscripsurus, profiteor, fide mea data huic Universitati, me Articulis istis omnibus et singulis eo sensu subscripsurum, in quo eos ex animo credo et primitus editos esse, et nunc mihi ab Universitate propositos tanquam opinionum mearum certum ac indubitatum signum.

Quod si quis (sive Præfectus Domus cujusvis, sive alius quis) Articulus Fidei et Religionis, a Synodo Londini A.D. 1562, editi et confirmatis; necnon tribus Articulis comprehensis Canone xxxvi^o. Libri Constitutionum ac Canonum Ecclesiasticorum, editi in Synodo Londini cæpta A.D. 1603. una cum Declaratione supra-recitata, subscribere a Vice-Cancellario requisitus ter abnuerit seu recusaverit, ipso facto ab Universitate exterminetur et banniatur.

Delegate's Room, Dec. 13, 1844.

B. P. SYMONS, Vice-Chancellor.

have waited only till Tractarianism got unpopular? Mr. Ward, on *this* matter, has said no more than No. 90. But we are obliged to confine ourselves to the new Test: we say nothing of Mr. Ward: that he is about to defend himself is reason enough for our neutrality; but the amended statute does concern us. It is a vital question to every member of Convocation, and of the Church too. The Hebdomadal Board, for the first time since the Reformation, seeks to close that which has always been open: to limit and to bind that which has been hitherto left free. *Seeks*, we say, for we shall see that after all it fails in its object. But the object is the serious matter.

Again, mark the inconsistency of the Hebdomadal Board. Consistent only in inconsistency, the Heads of Houses have but a single virtue, that of submitting to the majestic popular voice: inflexible as a rock against right, in the shape of Convocation, they reserve all their suavity for the legitimate influence of might in the intelligible shape of Premiers, and Expediency, and the Spirit of the Age. Of the present Heads of Colleges and Halls, sixteen held office in 1835, *i.e.* two-thirds of the existing Hebdomadal Board: *then* Liberalism was the religious fashion; *then* Drs. Hampden and Hawkins were liberals; then they were for admitting Dissenters to the University; then 'avowing themselves favourable to the removal of *all* tests,' (Hampden's *Observations*, p. 35,) they actually proposed to Convocation the substitution of a Declaration for Subscription, because 'articles are unsuited to the *present state of theological opinion*, and might be improved in accordance with the advances made in other scientific methods,' *ibid.* p. 42;—because 'articles are fatally adverse to all theological improvement,' *ibid.* p. 22;—because 'adherence to them is no less incongruous and injurious to Religion, than in a society of physicians to make the maxims of Hippocrates and Galen the unalterable basis of their profession,' *ibid.* p. 22. Then, we repeat, Dr. Hampden was a Liberal, and wrote a pamphlet *against* the Articles; and the proposal to dispense with the Articles followed upon his publication. Now Dr. Hampden *acts* evangelical, and reads lectures *upon* the Articles; and this very same board of Heads of Houses—two-thirds of whom held the same office in 1835,—obedient to the same influence, *now* find that 'anti-tractarianism' is the last phase of fashionable Protestantism. They follow, once more, the changeful popular howl; and they actually have the astounding audacity, in 1845, to venture to make the little finger of a new Test thicker than the loins of the old Subscription, that subscription of which, in 1835, they could not bear the intolerable oppression. To suit the latitudinarianism of 1835, they could have trampled on every article, from 1 to 39,—to suit the equally fatal bigotry of 1845, they cannot endure even the most evanescent shade or difference of possible thought, though in the interpretation of a single clause

in a single article. O fickle fortune's wheel!—' the principles of the Reformation ' in 1835 were unscientific, and adverse to theological growth; now a Cranmer's very commas are sacred. Calvin burning Servetus is the only illustration which occurs to us of the melancholy standard of Christian morality which has, during the last decade of years, influenced the Hebdomadal Board.

But the subject is too solemn and serious for an *argumentum ad hominem*, however tempting and irresistible the occasion. The Test has graver faults than being a mere trick of retaliation and inconsistent spitefulness, on the part of its originators: it shares, in common with many reforms of the day, the character of being proposed either in ignorance, or defiance of the deep hidden principles which were, we believe, held by those who enacted the statute of subscription, which this additional declaration seeks practically to supersede; but it has viciousness peculiarly and characteristically its own. It sets up as the standard of interpretation a double measure; the belief of the compilers of the Articles, AND the *animus* of the University as the *imponens*.

We say then distinctly that the belief of the compilers of the Articles was not held as the legitimate exponent of the sense of the Articles by such writers as we are about to quote.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

" The Commons, in pursuance of their opposition against the growing Arminian faction, on the 28th of January, 1628, (but eleven days after the forementioned proclamation concerning Mountague's book, and prohibiting books against it,) passed this notable vote in Parliament, after a large debate; which the Archbishop in his endorsement on it, styles, *The Challenge of the Lower House in matters of Religion.*

An Order made by the Lower House of Parliament the 28th of January, 1628.

' We the Commons now assembled in Parliament, do claim, profess, and avow for truth, the sense of the Articles of Religion, which were established in Parliament the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, which by the public acts of the Church of England, and the general and current exposition of the writers of our Church have been delivered unto us; and we reject the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and all others wherein they do differ from us.'

To which challenge of theirs this pragmatical bishop then returned this bold and peremptory answer, written with his own hand, produced, attested by Master Prynne, and read at the Lords' bar in evidence against him.

' 1. The public acts of the Church in matters of doctrine are canons and acts of councils, as well for expounding as determining; the acts of the High Commission are not in this sense public acts of the Church; nor the meeting of few or more bishops, *extra concilium*, unless they be by lawful authority called to that work, and their decision approved by the Church.

' 2. The current exposition of writers is a strong probable argument, *de sensu canonis Ecclesiæ, vel articuli*, yet but probable: the current

'exposition of the Fathers themselves hath sometimes missed *sensum Ecclesiæ*. * * * *

'6. It seems against the King's declaration, 1. That says, we shall take the general meaning of the Articles; this act restrains them to consent of writers. 2. That says, the Article shall not be drawn aside any way, but that we shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense; this act ties to consent of writers, which may, and perhaps do, go against the literal sense; for here is no exception. So we shall be perplexed, and our consent required to things contrary.

'7. All consent in all ages, as far as I have observed, to an Article or Canon, is to itself, as it is laid down in the body of it, and if it bear more senses than one, it is lawful for any man to choose what sense his judgment directs him to, so that it be a sense, *secundum analogiam fidei*, and that he hold it peaceably without distracting the Church, and this till the Church which made the Article, determine a sense. And the wisdom of the Church hath been in all ages, or the most, to require consent to articles in general as much as may be, because that is the way of unity; and the Church in high points requiring assent to particulars, hath been rent. As *de transubstantiatione*, &c.' So he in 'affront of the Commons.'—*Prynne's Canterburie's Doome*, pp. 163, 164.

This is the incident referred to by Dr. Pusey's letter in the English Churchman, given below,* in a quotation from Heylyn,

* MY DEAR —, You ask me what I should do in case this new Test, to be proposed to Convocation, should pass. I would say at once, that others, not so immediately affected or intended by this Test as I am, need not, I should think, make up their minds yet. I plainly have no choice; it is not meant that I should take it, nor can I. You will not mistake me; I sign the Articles as I ever have since I have known what Catholic Antiquity is (to which our Church guides us) in their "literal grammatical sense," determined, where it is ambiguous, by "the faith of the whole Church," (as good Bishop Ken says) "before East and West were divided." It is to me quite plain that in so doing I am following the guidance of our Church.

The proposed Test restrains that liberty which Archbishop Laud won for us. Hitherto High and Low Church have been comprised under the same Articles. And I have felt that in these sad confusions of our Church, things must so remain, until, by the mercy of Almighty God, we be brought more nearly into one mind. But as long as this is so, the Articles cannot be, (which the new Test requires) "certum atque indubitatum opinionum signum." How can they be any "certain and indubitable token of opinion" when they can be signed by myself and — ? This new Test requires that they should be: one then of the two parties who have hitherto signed them must be excluded. We know that those who framed the Test are opposed to such as myself. It is clear then *who* are henceforth excluded. The Test is indeed at once miserably vague and stringent; vague enough to tempt people to take it, too stringent in its conclusion to enable me to take it with a good conscience. Beginning and end do harmonize, if it be regarded as a revival of the Puritan "Anti-Declaration" that the Articles should be interpreted according to "the consent of divines;" they do not in any other case. This shifting of ground would indeed (were not so much at stake) be somewhat curious; how those who speak so much of "fallible men" would require us now to be bound in the interpretation of the Articles by the private judgment of the Reformers (it being assumed, for convenience sake, that Cranmer, Ridley, and Hooper,* agreed among themselves), instead of Archbishop Laud's broader and truer rule, "according to the analogy of the faith." It would indeed be well, if all who have urged on this test, could sign the 1st and 8th Articles, in the same sense as Cranmer and Jewell. Well, indeed, would it be for our Church, if all could sign

* *Vide Heylyn's Life of Lau* 478, 182.

who himself speaking of the imposition of the Articles in Elizabeth's reign, says, in words which are barely quotable :

HEYLYN. (*Life of Laud*, p. 182.)

"Some ministers of the Church, so stiffly wedded to their old *mum-sinus* of the mass, and some as furiously prosecuting their new *sump-sinus* of inconvincibility, it was thought fit that *between those contending parties* the doctrine of the Church should be kept inviolate."

HEYLYN. (*Hist. Quinquart.* Part ii. ch. ix. p. 34.)

"In what sense we ought to understand the Book of Articles, hath been made a question. Some take the Articles in the literal and grammatical sense, which is the fairest and most approved way of interpretation. . . . Others there are, of which his late Majesty complained, 'who draw the Articles aside and put their own sense,' &c. . . . The true English Protestants (whom for distinction sake we may call *confessionists*) *accommodate*, though they do not captivate, *their own sense to the sense of*

the 27th in the same sense as all the Reformers, except perhaps Hooper. One could have wished that before this Test had been proposed to us, the board who accepted it and proposed it to us, had thought of ascertaining among themselves whether they themselves all took all and singular of the Articles in one and the same sense. And yet while they enjoy this latitude, how can the signature of the Articles be any certain and indubitable token of people's opinions?

However, this is matter for others; my concern is with myself. I have too much reason to know that my own signature of the Articles would not satisfy some of those from whom this Test emanates, since, when a year and a half ago, I declared repeatedly (as I then stated) that I accepted and would subscribe *ex animo*, every statement of our Formularies on the solemn subject upon which I preached, that offer was rejected; and this on the very ground (I subsequently learnt) that they did not trust my interpretation. When, then, they require that the signature should be "*certum atque indubitatum opinionum mearum signum*," it is plain that they mean something more than what I offered, and they refused to accept.

The Articles I now sign in the way in which from Archbishop Laud's time they have been proposed by the Church: this Test I should have to receive not from the Church, but from the University, in the sense in which it is proposed to me by them. Could I then ever so much satisfy myself that I could take the Test according to any general meaning of the words, I must know from past experience that I should not take it in the sense in which it was proposed to me. I could not then take it without a feeling of dishonesty.

You will imagine that I feel the responsibility of making such a declaration, knowing, as I must, that in case, in the present state of excitement, the statute should pass, younger men, whom it might involve in various difficulties, might be influenced by my example. I know, too, of course, that some will be the more anxious to press the Test, in hopes that my refusal to take it may end in my removal from this place. Whether it would or no I know not. But whatever be the result, it seems to me the straightforward course. It is best in cases of great moment, that people should know the effect of what they are doing.

I am ashamed to write so much about myself, but I cannot explain myself in few words. What is my case, would, probably, be that of others. It has often been painful to witness the apparent want of seriousness in people when things far more serious than office, or home, or even one's allotted duties in God's vineyard have been at stake. But people can feel more readily what it is to lose office and home, and the associations of the greater part of life. It will be a great gain, if what is done is done with deep earnestness. For myself, I cheerfully commit all things into His hands, Who ordereth all things well, and from Whom I deserve nothing.

Ever yours, affectionately,

E. B. PUSEY.

Christ Church, Advent, Ember Week, 1844.—Tuesday.

NO. XLVII.—N.S.

O

the Church, according to the plain and full meaning of the Articles in the points disputed."

HEYLYN. (*Hist. Quinquart.* Part ii. ch. viii. p. 31.)

"The Articles of the English Protestant Church . . . were drawn up in general terms, . . . meaning that these holy men did prudently discover that differences in judgment would unavoidably happen in the Church, and were loth to unchurch any, and drive them off from an ecclesiastical communion for petty differences, which made them pen the Articles in *comprehensive words, to take in all*, who differing in the branches, meet in the root of the same religion."

Nor was this doctrine of the Laudian School on the faith of the Church new; the Puritans had already admitted to the full that the meaning of the Articles was ascertained by the intention of the Church. They argued that the doctrine or intention of the Church had changed, and as the intention of the Church regulated the meaning of the Articles, **they must withdraw their subscription.**

ROGERS, *Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft.* (*Preface to his 'Faith, Doctrine, &c. expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles,'* sec. 34.)

"Again, of these brethren [the Puritans] that will subscribe but unto which they please of these Articles, there be some who fain would beat into men's heads . . . that the doctrine of our Church is altered from that it was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But this assertion being too gross, &c., . . . they secondly give out and report . . . how the *purpose*, if not the doctrine, of *our Church* is of late altered from what it was. And, therefore, though they can be well content to allow of the old doctrine and ancient intention; yet unto the old doctrine and new intention of our Church they cannot subscribe," &c.

where all that is sought to be established is, the absence of any recognition—and this holds good of both parties in the dispute—of authority in the belief of the writers of the Articles: the dispute turns on the current belief of the Church, not on the sentiments of the compilers of the Thirty-nine Articles. So also

ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL. (*Schism Guarded*, p. 476, vol. ii. New edition.)

"He (Serjeant) might even as well let our thirty-nine Articles alone for old acquaintance' sake ('*dissuenda non dissecanda est amicitia*') as to bring them upon the stage and have nothing to say against them. Some of them are the very same that are contained in the Creed; some others of them are practical truths, which come not within the proper list of points or articles to be believed; lastly, some of them are *pious opinions* or inferior truths, which are proposed by the Church of England to all her sons, *as not to be opposed*; not as essentials of faith necessary to be believed by all Christians, '*necessitate medii*,' under pain of damnation."

Two other passages are cited from the same great authority by Mr. Newman,* (*Letter to Jelf*, p. 20, *et seq.*) who also quotes—

* Dr. Faussett, in his *Lecture on the Articles*, p. 40, seems to say that these passages from Stillingfleet and Bramhall only refer to 'Lay Communion,' and

BISHOP BULL. (*Vindication of Church*, 27.)

BISHOP HALL. (*Catholic Propositions*, Prop. 3, 7, 8.)

BISHOP STILLINGFLEET. (*Grounds of Protestant Religion*, i. ch. 11.)

ARCHBISHOP LAUD. (*Conference, &c.*, p. 41, Ed. 1839.)

BISHOP TAYLOR. (*Further Explic. Orig. Sin.*, § 6.)

To which we venture to add—

BISHOP SANDERSON. (*Pax Ecclesiæ*, pp. 51, 52.)

“That particular Churches would be as tender as may be in giving their definitions and determinations in such points as these... especially where there may be admitted a latitude of dissenting without any prejudice done either to the substance of the Catholic Faith, or to the tranquillity of the Church, or to the salvation of the dissenter. In which respect the moderation of the Church of England is much to be commended.”

A passage important, because Dr. Faussett, (Lecture on the Articles, p. 10,) has extracted one from Sanderson's ‘*De Juramenti Obligatione*,’ Prælect. iv. [vi.] sect. 9, which he thinks conclusive the other way. Indeed, Dr. Godfrey Faussett is not quite the person to decide cases of casuistry from Sanderson. Sanderson had said, in the passage cited by the Margaret Professor, that the ‘terms of an *oath* must be understood according to the intention of him to whom the oath is made.’* Well: but what is said elsewhere by this writer, our safest guide in such questions?

BISHOP SANDERSON. (*Nine Cases of Conscience*, p. 94.)

“All expressions by words are subject to such ambiguities, that scarce anything can be said or expressed in *any* words, how cautiously soever chosen, which will not render the whole subject capable of more constructions than one. . . . Where one construction binds to more, another to less, the true sense is to be fixed by the intention of the imposer. For that all promises and assurances wherein faith is required to be given to another, ought to be understood *ad mentem imponentis* [which seems exactly what Dr. F. and the Hebdomadal Board want], according to the mind and meaning of him to whom the faith is given, so far forth as the meaning may reasonably appear. . . . *Reasonably appear*, I mean, by the nature of the matters about which it is conversant, and such signification of the words wherein it is expressed, as, according to the ordinary use of speech among men, agreeth best thereto . . . If the intention of the imposer be not so fully declared by the words and nature of the business, but that the same words may, in fair construction, be still capable of a double meaning, so as, taken in one sense they shall bind to *more*, and in another to *less*, I conceive it is not

not to *subscription*. But Stillingfleet, in his ‘*Conferences*’ (Works, vol. vi. pp. 58, 59,) written expressly to vindicate the ‘*Rational Account*,’ when he again reviews the passages quoted from Bramhall, (cited by Newman in his extract from Stillingfleet, Letter to Jelf, pp. 23, 24,) says, ‘What doth *SUBSCRIPTION* imply less than *agreeing with the sense of the Church*?’

* Compare, from the same book: ‘*Sunt ergo res aliquæ ita comparatæ ut benignam sibi interpretationem suo quodam jure concedi postulent: quæ sc. non sit interclusa verborum angustiis, sed cum quodam (ut Ciceronis verbo utar) laxamento liberior.*’ De Juram. Præcl. ii., sect. 8, p. 29.

necessary, nor always expedient (but rather for the most part otherwise) for the promiser, before he give his faith, to demand of the imposer, whether of the two is his meaning? But he may, by the rule of prudence, and that, for aught I see, without the violation of any law of his conscience, make his just advantage of that ambiguity, and take it in some sense which shall bind him to the less. . . . Since the faith to be given is intended to the behoof of him to whom it is given, it concerneth him to take care that his meaning be expressed in such words as will sufficiently manifest the same to the understanding of a reasonable man. Which if he neglect to do, no law of equity or prudence bindeth the promiser, by an over-scrupulous diligence, to make it out, whereby to lay a greater obligation upon himself than he need to do."

PULLER.* (*Moderation of the Church of England*, c. xvi. § 3, p. 119).

"These articles of religion are generally exhibited as articles of peace and consent, not as articles of faith and communion . . . for the avoiding of diversities of opinions (as the title of the Articles is) . . . the consent designed to be established is such a consent as may keep the peace of our Church undisturbed."

HAMMOND. (*Discourse of God's Grace*, § 24.)

"This I suppose the reason both of our Church's moderation in framing the article of predestination, and of our late King's Declaration."

THORNDIKE. (*Just Weights and Measures*, ch. ix. p. 62.)

"The Articles of this Church, setting forth justification by faith alone, for a most wholesome doctrine and full of comfort, for the sense of it, refer us to the Homily. I will not say that my position is laid down in the Homily. . . . But in the Church Catechism, and in the office of Baptism, it is so clearly laid down as will serve for ever to silence any other sense. And though that which the clergy subscribeth, be as it ought to be, a wholesome doctrine; to wit, if soundly understood; yet that by which Christian people are saved, ought to be that which the offices of the Church, and the instruction which it proposeth, contain."

BISHOP PEARSON. (*Minor Theological Works*, vol. ii.)

[It will be enough to refer to his answer to Cornelius Burges; whose line of argument was that 'the words of the Articles are ambiguous: and therefore they ought to be reformed by an orthodox explanation.']

BENNET. (*Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles*, chap. xxxv. p. 439.)

"If it be inquired with respect to the particular sense of each Article, and the several propositions contained therein, how much we are confined by our subscription, or what liberty is still indulged us; my answer is short and plain. When an Article, or any proposition contained therein, is fairly capable of different interpretations, that man may undoubtedly be said to believe the truth of that Article or proposition, who believes it true in any such sense as it will reasonably admit, without doing violence to the words, and contradicting what our Church has elsewhere taught, and required us to acknowledge. Wherefore, any such sense in which the Article or proposition may fairly be understood, is to be admitted, and may honestly be meant by the subscriber.

* This author quotes "Sancta Clara" for the same purpose.

Because the Church requires only the belief of the Articles in general, and does not restrain us to the belief of any one Article or proposition in any particular sense, further than we are confined and determined by the words themselves. And therefore, where the words themselves do allow a liberty, the Church does also allow the same ; nor are we bound to abridge ourselves, where the Church has left us free.

“ Had the Church so much as intended otherwise, it was in her power to have penned the Articles more strictly, and to have determined every proposition absolutely Wherefore, till the Church exerts such an authority, her first design, or present permission (either of which is sufficient, and of equal consideration, in this case), is manifest : nor is any person bound, either in law or conscience, to inquire farther, or to make any other compliance.

“ Besides, when an Article or proposition is fairly capable of two different senses, I would fain know who has power to determine which is the Church's sense. The Church determines no farther than her words do necessarily mean ; and when her words do not abridge our liberty, can a private person give an authentic explication of her words, and oblige his equals to admit the same ?

“ It may be pretended, perhaps, that the concurrent sense of the first writers ought to interpret the Church's words, and to restrain the sense of the Articles : but to this the answer is easy. It will, I fear, be difficult to get (what may truly deserve the name of) a concurrent sense of writers in the far greater number of cases. A single writer or too will not do. For did they write by authority ? or were all that lived in their time of the same opinion ? Might not the convocation themselves differ as much as the words are capable of admitting ? and must we be determined only by a very few that happened to write, when the rest had equal authority ? For my part, I think it much more reasonable to suppose, that the Church intended a liberty, and was resolved to determine no more than she thought necessary ; and that when she had secured such truths as she was most concerned for, and had chiefly at heart, she was content to leave matters of inferior moment undetermined.”

BISHOP CONYBEARE. (*On Subscription. Enchiridion Theolog.* vol. ii. p. 68. Ed. 1825.)

“ It may happen in some instances that the meaning of words may not be certainly determinable, either by common use, or by the circumstances of the article. If this prove the case, then we are to understand them in such a sense as is consistent with other articles of religion. . . . But if expressions should occur which cannot be determined by passages in other articles, then will it be proper to inquire whether they may be fixed by our public liturgy, or by any other monuments which bear the sanction of ecclesiastical authority. The propositions set forth in our Articles ought to be understood in such a sense as is consistent with every other determination of the Church If the meaning cannot be fixed by [these] . . . then men of different sentiments may fairly subscribe them Such a latitude of expression must certainly admit as great a latitude of interpretation ; and if a liberty of this kind had not been originally intended, we may fairly presume it would, by some act, have been restrained.”

GLOUCESTER RIDLEY. (*Answer to the Confessional*, p. 137, 2d letter.)

“ I suppose, therefore, that you [Blackburne] would have the original

sense of the compilers followed. But might it not as well be asked then, what pretence there can be for construing subscription into a declaration of the subscriber's opinion, in a certain original sense different from the original sense of another subscriber? . . . The compilers might be, and certainly in some things were, of different opinions. (Nichols on Articles, p. 3.) And supposing them men of temper also, they would of course agree to use terms expressing in what they agreed, without determining anything on matters in which they did not agree . . . *Even supposing that in these cases they designedly used ambiguous ones, where they knew that either sense was consistent with Christianity : nay, supposing the terms leaned rather to one sense than another, yet supposing them to know that they might, in their literal and grammatical sense, fairly express either ; they might well and wisely take this method, on purpose, to preserve their own Christian liberty, and that of those who should come after them.*"

BISHOP CLEAVER. (*Sermon on Subscription*, p. 156, *et seq.*)

"It is contrary to all rule that reference should be had to the *imposers* for their sense of the Articles ; a method which would be preposterous, if it were more practicable . . . The sense of the *compilers* . . . will not be less preposterous ; whilst the manner in which it has been practised is open to more objections ; for the reference has been most often made, not to the compilers collectively taken, but particularly to individuals ; . . . and again, not so much to the *actual language of their writings*, as to *such of their known tenets as have best coincided with the sentiments of those who make the reference.*"

Of the writers in the recent controversy, it may be enough to quote one who strongly objects to Tract 90. Not from its principle, but 'for the *application* (sic) of that principle, as contended for in the 'Tract.' The principle of interpretation itself is thus laid down by

BISHOP PHILLPOTTS. (*Charge*, 1842, pp. 33, 34.)

"The only sound principle of interpreting them is to understand them in the sense in which he, who subscribes, has sufficient reason to know that they are understood by the authority which imposes the subscription . . . This authority is the Convocation of 1571 . . . Now the Convocation of that year, in the very canon which imposed subscription to the Articles, tells us what is the sense which they were designed to bear, namely, *the Catholic sense* [and then the well-known canon on *Preachers* is cited.] . . . If this statement asserts the *very principle* propounded in the Tract, namely, that the Articles are to be understood in the Catholic sense, and will be found, on consideration, to be utterly irreconcilable with the *application* of that principle, &c."

For obvious reasons we have not availed ourselves, on the one hand, of such documents as Forbes, (*Considerationes*, &c.) *Sancta Clara*, and the Essay towards a proposal for Catholic Communion ; or in later times, Mr. Wix's pamphlets ; neither have we referred to the Non-jurors ; nor, again, to the school of Burnet, followed by Powell, Balguy, and Hey ; nor, again, do we rest, though the testimony to fact is not without its weight, on the assertion of [Tindal] Preface to the Rights of the Church. 'It has obtained 'with High Church, that our Articles are not articles of belief,

but of peace.' But the proposed Oxford addition to Subscription goes directly to abridge that freedom which so many of our best and most temperate divines have claimed and lived upon.

In principle, the introduction of a new Test is a plain innovation upon the doctrine of the Church; and for the first time a recognition of that very straitness which the Puritans, on the one side, and such as Blackburne on the other, sought to impose. It sets up an authority in the University, the Church's minister, apart from, and paramount to, the Church itself.

It invests an official, who may be a layman, with the power of summoning before him *any individual, upon any occasion*, one even so vague as general suspicion, whether *clergyman or layman*,* and compels him to sign a document in *his*, the imposer's sense, without the least security that the imposer is himself orthodox. It proposes for a standard of interpretation the *animus imponentis*, which must vary every year, according to the accidental constitution of Convocation, or the Hebdomadal Board, or the literature and orthodoxy of a single person, *i.e.* the Vice-Chancellor.

It seeks to combine, as *pari materię*, two authorities equally unascertainable; viz. the sense of the imposers (of which we have disposed), and the sense of the compilers, *who never were imposers at all*: the Articles being framed by the unauthoritative responsibility of Cranmer, &c., to whom *we* owe no duties whatever, but they were not adopted by the Church till the Convocation of 1562. If, therefore, this composite† sense is to be discovered anywhere it must be, 1. either in the records of that very Convocation of 1571, which passed the famous Canon, cited by the Bishop of Exeter, about the Catholic fathers, at the same time that it enjoined subscription to the Articles; or, 2. in the known opinions and writings of the revisers of the Prayer-book in 1661; *beyond whom no Anglican is bound to go, because they are the last Reformers to us*; the last compilers, because revisers, of doctrine and discipline to us, and because they, if any, are imposers of the Articles upon us, and the last declaratists of the Church's sense. And for either of these *ascertainable* standards of interpretation we are called upon to substitute one as vague as it is ensnaring.

For all these reasons, and many more might be urged, had we space or time, we earnestly conjure every one of every school—

* The omission of the phrase *S. ordinibus initiatus* must be carefully weighed.

† It might at first be thought that this compound rule is sanctioned by the statements of the present Bishop of London, in his Charge, 1842; who (p. 14) interprets the Articles, first "by the Church's Liturgy and Homilies, *especially the former*;" failing this, "by the known, or probable, intention of those who framed" the Articles; but (Appendix, Note A, p. 68), in settling how *their* intention is to be discovered, his Lordship says, "we shall derive assistance from the teaching of the earlier Fathers, by whose statements of all the essential points of Christian doctrine, the fathers of our Reformed Church constantly declared themselves willing to abide." The Bishop's triple standard is the Prayer-book, interpreted by the Reformers, *and them by primitive antiquity*; the binary rule suggested by the Hebdomadal Board, is the Reformers interpreted by—the Hebdomadal Board!

save that of the bigoted and inconsistent party which sacrifices the peace of the Church to personal pique, and which, on the strength of an accidental majority in October, now thinks to gain the whole government of the University by this new Test—to resist with all their might the measure of February 13.

The cup is now about full: it is significant as well as cheering to know on what ground all who wish well, in whatever degree, to that great movement which has forced the Church of England out of apathy and false doctrine, may at length combine. It is to reject a measure which, in principle, has been affirmed by the Regicides and Puritans of the great Rebellion,* as we have shown—a measure which is directly opposed to the Declaration of King Charles and Archbishop Laud—a measure which seeks to impose a stringent test, which not one of the great ANGLICAN writers whom we have quoted, the Hammonds and Pearsons, the Bramhalls and Bulls, *could possibly have taken*—which in its degree undoes, for the Church of England, the work of centuries—repeals in principle all that the persecutions of the Rebellion, and the successive revisions of the Prayer-book have achieved for us; and finally, invests an individual with an instrument of the most grinding and oppressive tyranny to the conscience, which has been heard of since the days of the Solemn League and Covenant and the Westminster Assembly.†

* The ordinance convoking the Westminster Assembly recites as its purpose "the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the Church of England from all false aspersions and misconstructions."

† We have said nothing of the two previous measures which are to be proposed in Convocation on the 13th of February. As to the passages from Mr. Ward's book which it is proposed to condemn, we are neither called upon nor are we desirous to defend them: but remembering who sit in the high places of Oxford and the Church, and what they have said and done about Creeds, and the most living truths of the Faith, to inflict *degradation* with its ignominious ceremonial on Mr. Ward, is an attempt at oppression, combined with mob-worship, which we are bound to resist: and this the more because it seems that at least one Head is displeased with the measure because *it does not go far enough*. We leave Dr. Cotton and Mr. Ward to count the steps between degradation and combustion.

At the moment of going to press we have received early copies of a well-timed and well-principled pamphlet from Mr. Gresley, 'Suggestions on the proposed Statute,' &c. (Burns), in which he very earnestly and seasonably remonstrates against the whole measure—and a serviceable reprint of Mr. Oakeley's 'The Subject of Tract XC. Historically Examined, &c.' (Toovey). From a new Preface we make an extract:—

"The sense in which the Articles were propounded, was not a Catholic, nor a Protestant, but a vague, indecisive, and therefore comprehensive, sense; that the Reformers themselves were without any precise doctrinal views of their own upon the points in controversy; that they were consequently the victims, alternately, of extreme Catholic and extreme Protestant influences; that, so far as they had any doctrinal sympathies of their own, they were Protestant rather than Catholic, but that the necessities of their position, as having to provide for the religious pacification of a country partly Catholic, partly Protestant, obliged them to a course (so far as doctrines at issue between the contending parties were concerned) of the strictest neutrality; and that the mode by which they sought to carry out this principle of neutrality, was that of couching their Formulary in language at once sufficiently Protestant in *tone* to satisfy the Reformers abroad, and sufficiently vague in *expression* to include the Catholics at home."

ART. VIII.—1. *The Autobiography of Dr. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Martyr ; collected from his Remains.* Oxford: J. H. Parker. 1839.

2. *Archbishop Laud's Devotions.* Oxford: J. H. Parker.

3. *Archbishop Laud's Speeches on the Liturgy.* Oxford: J. H. Parker.

BEFORE entering on our subject, we will venture a preliminary remark. None of the regular modern lives (we are not speaking, of course, of the Autobiography at the head of our list,) appear to do full justice to Archbishop Laud. We do not mean that they are not eulogistic enough, and defective in favourable intention to him:—by no means. Benevolence in a biographer, however, is not always synonymous with genuineness. What we want to see in a biography is the man himself, and not the biographer's affection for him. Benevolence does really great injustice often in this way, when it least intends it. A friendly portrait is very apt to be a weak one. We are so tender about our hero; we will not let him come out, but keep him in doors like a sickly child. And the more complex and irregular the kind of character, the greater the risk of its suffering in this way. The biographer is too friendly to be bold; he will not confront traits in his hero that do not *primâ facie* promise well; he avoids rough parts, and goes by the dark corners, instead of going into them, and seeing where they lead him. One set of features preoccupies his field: he is afraid of any irruption. The effect of a favourite trait is threatened to be interfered with by an apparent contrary to it lurking in another part of the character; he stops the rising antagonism from coming to the surface. The consequence is, one weak phenomenon instead of two strong ones,—for the probability is, that the two opposite elements of character would have been positively improved and heightened, instead of being nullified by the antagonism; and that each would have been the better for the opposition of the other. It is hardly paradoxical to say, that a friendly hand is almost as capable of being disadvantageous to a portrait, as a hostile one. The effect of the one touch is favourable but mawkish, of the other malignant but real. We have to go to the enemy for colours which the friend will not give us. And perhaps the joint production of both parties is a more really interesting likeness, after all, to an eye that can embrace and combine them, than the purely and exclusively friendly one.

Laud is regarded too generally in the one light of a zealous champion of forms and ceremonies, an uncompromising advocate of rubrical uniformity. He was certainly this; but he was a

great many other things too : and in the department of character, additions tell more than simply arithmetically,—they enlarge, elevate, alter the whole basis of a man. The political department *e. g.* in Laud, throws depth on the ecclesiastical, and each benefits the other. But the biographer is afraid of the politician. The combination of bishop and politician has a worldly look ; and seems to give an advantage to puritans. The politician is accordingly put in the background : the pious upholder of vestments and the Church service is presented to us. The age catches the character, and expresses it in its own way : and the stickler for obsolete forms, the obstinate old zealot about trifles, becomes the one popular figure of Laud.

We must pay our tribute, however, to the contemporary historian, to the vivid, amusing, clever Heylyn. Heylyn was one of those persons whom Laud picked up in the course of his administration, (as he did many others), and set to work in the Church cause. He wrote books and pamphlets when Laud wanted them, and supplied the Archbishop with university and clerical information. It was Laud's character to be most goodnatured and familiar with his subordinates—with any who worked under him, and did what he told them ; and Heylyn thoroughly enjoyed and relished his good graces. There is an amusing under-stream of self-congratulation throughout his biography, at his participation of the great man's patronage. He seems to have been occasionally told secrets and let behind the scenes ;—a matter of great pride to him. He communicates the information, with a kind of sly, invisible smirk in the background, and a nudge under the table to the reader,—to remind him of the Archbishop's cleverness, not forgetting the biographer's. The former would not have been particularly obliged, on one or two occasions, for the candid display of his strategies, and bits of necessary state-craft, in his devoted admirer's pages. Heylyn gives us his own account of his first reception by Laud ; and it is very significant of the relationship of the two. The flattering attentions of the Metropolitan and Premier to the 'poor Oxford scholar,'—that is to say, a fellow of Magdalen, as Heylyn was, were quite enough to win a person of his temperament ; and the courteous arts of the great man, and the pleased sensations of the little man, are equally characteristic.

'Being kept to his chamber at the time with lameness, I 'had,' says Heylyn, 'both the happiness of being taken into 'his special knowledge of me, and the opportunity of a longer 'conference than I should otherwise have expected. I went 'to present my service to him, as he was preparing for 'this journey, and was appointed to attend him the same day 'sevensnight, when I might presume on his return. Coming

‘precisely at the time, I heard of his mischance, and that he kept himself to his chamber; but order had been left among his servants, that if I came, he should be made acquainted with it; which being done accordingly, I was brought into his chamber, where I found him sitting on a chair, with his lame leg resting on a pillow. Commanding that nobody should come and interrupt him till he called for them, he caused me to sit down by him, inquired first into the course of my studies, which he well approved of, exhorting me to hold myself in that moderate course in which he found me. He fell afterwards to discourse of some passages in Oxford in which I was specially concerned, and told me thereupon the story of such opposition as had been made against him in the University by Archbishop Abbot, and others; and encouraged me not to shrink, if I had already, and should hereafter find the like. I was with him thus, *remotis arbitris*, almost two hours. It grew almost 12 of the clock, and then he knocked for his servants to come to him. He dined that day in his ordinary dining-room, which was the first time he had done so since his mishap. He caused me to tarry dinner with him, and used me with no small respect; which was much noticed by some gentlemen (Elphinstone, one of his Majesty’s cupbearers, being one of the company) who dined that day with him. A passage, I confess, not pertinent to my present story, but such as I have good precedent for from Philip de Comines, who telleth us impertinently of the time of his leaving the Duke of Burgundy’s service to betake himself to the employments of King Louis XI.’

Heylyn’s biography, however, only gives one side of the Archbishop: it exhibits the shrewd tactician, the active indefatigable man of business, the spirited Church Champion. Heylyn realizes acutely the religious politics, and party aspects of the times: he catches phrases, watchwords, party notes: a cant term, a piece of abuse that he has treasured up, lets you into the whole feeling of the time being, like a newspaper. Laud, the ecclesiastical combatant and schemer, figures in strong colours throughout; but we are not let into the inner and deeper part of his character: the *homo interior* was not in Heylyn’s line. We read through his book and have barely a glimpse of a whole inward sphere of thought and feeling in which Laud’s mind was moving all the time. We go to another document for this: the Diary reveals a different man from what the active scene presented; and a fresh and rather opposite field of character appears. Heylyn’s portrait has a new colour thrown upon it by the connexion; we look on the stirring features with another eye when we have seen the quiescent ones; the bustle of State and Church politics covers an interior of depth and feeling; the

courtier, statesman, and man of the world kneels before the cross; and we gain a different idea of him altogether.

William Laud was born at Reading in 1573. His father was a clothier of that town: his mother's family had rather more pretensions, and boasted a city knighthood in the person of Sir William Webb, a lord mayor of London, and a salter by trade, Laud's maternal uncle. The puritans did not forget this fact of a mercantile origin in his days of power, and ornamented it with very circumstantial additions. He was born 'of poor and obscure parents in a cottage,' was Prynne's account: he 'was born between the stocks and the cage,' says the Scots' Scout.—'A courtier,' he adds, 'one day chanced to speak thereof, whereupon his Grace removed them thence, and pulled down his father's thatched house, and built a fair one in the place;'—a gratuitous and rather ungracious mode of stating the simple fact, that Laud built and endowed an almshouse in his native town. The subject of his birth was a prolific one; and 'libel after libel,' as he said, 'raked him out of the dunghill.' Even with *his* long and intimate experience of the power of puritanical language, Laud was sometimes horrified with the intensity of abuse which poured in upon him on the subject of his origin. Heylyn found him one day walking in his garden, at Lambeth, looking 'troubled'—disgusted, in modern language: Laud showed him one of these virulent papers: he pleaded guilty to the fact 'of not having the good fortune to be born a gentleman;'—'yet he thanked God he had been born of honest parents, who lived in a plentiful condition, employed many poor people in their way, and left a good report behind them.' 'And therefore,' continues Heylyn, 'beginning to clear up his countenance, I told him as presently as I durst, that Pope Sixtus the Fifth, as stout a pope as ever wore the triple crown, but a poor man's son, did use familiarly to say, in contempt of such libels as frequently were made against him, that he was *domo natus illustri*, because the sunbeams, passing through the broken walls and ragged roof, *illustrated* every corner of that homely cottage in which he was born—with which facetiousness of that pope (so applicable to the present occasion) he seemed very well pleased.' We doubt whether Heylyn's precise case in point would have operated as a consolation to a very marked aspiration after high birth: but Laud's disgust was occasioned by the animus of his libellers, and not by the fact of his own origin.

'In my infancy,' says the Diary, 'I was in danger of death by sickness.' Laud carried with him from his birth one of those constitutions which are always ailing, and never failing. He had never good health for long together; and his fierce attacks of illness brought him sometimes to death's door, leaving him, however, as

strong for work again as ever, as soon as they were passed. A creaking gate lasts: weakness and iron often go together in the bodily constitution. There are different kinds of health; rude and full; slender and wiry: in-doors health, and out-of-doors health: reading health, and hunting health; the healths capacitating respectively for mental and for bodily work. Laud had the weakly kind of health eminently; a vigorous, obstinate, in-doors constitution. His ailings, except when they broke out violently, seem only to have operated as a sort of unconscious stimulus, and mental mustard-plaster, perpetually keeping him up to his work—his internal puritans.

He went to the school of his native town, and had the benefit of a disciplinarian hand over him. 'After a wonderful preservation in his infancy,' we are told, 'from a very sore fit of sickness, he had a happy education in his childhood under a very severe schoolmaster.' He was appreciated, however, for his master 'frequently said to him, that he hoped he would remember 'Reading School when he became a great man.' One of the prognostics, it is curious to notice, was his 'dreams:' the boy had 'strange dreams;' the religious grotesquenesses, superstitions, or whatever critics may call them, of the Diary, seem to have been born with him. We will add that he must have been exceedingly clever to have made the recital of them tell so much in his favour. There is no subject matter that tasks human power more to make interesting. We have no disrespect for the thing itself, for the dream *per se*, for the world of sight, sound, and action, that sleep introduces us into: nevertheless nature herself yawns, and the face of social life lengthens into despondency, as soon as ever the public communication of a dream commences—as soon as ever the preparatory note and prelude is heard—What do you think I dreamed of last night? A man's dream interests himself because it is his own—a plain intimation of reason that it is meant for his own peculiar enjoyment. However, the little Laud had, it appears, very striking dreams; and his schoolmaster saw mind in them. Genuine nature gives a character wherever she is the originator; and the native productions of a soil have a charm about them. We like Laud's dreams for being born with him. He seems to have a right to them; and their shadowy fragmentary character shows an imaginative element in his mind, and points back to a more vivid childish prototype. He appears, in his school-days, to have been what is called a regular sharp boy: and his 'witty speeches, generous spirit, great apprehensions, and notable performances,' raised people's expectations about him.

At sixteen, he went out to Oxford, and entered at St. John's College; became a scholar the next year, and four years afterwards

fellow. 'He was at that time,' we are informed by Wood, 'esteemed by all who knew him, (being little in stature), a very 'forward, confident, and zealous person;' a not unnatural line of character for a young man to fall into, who had great talents, great earnestness, a strong religious bias, and a considerable disgust for the tone of opinion which surrounded him.

The religious atmosphere of the University at this time was, as is well known, Calvinistic in the extreme. The developed Reformation theology was predominant there. The divinity professorships were in the hands of strong Calvinists; and the Genevan doctrines were the regular authorized teaching and standard of the place. First in power in the University was Dr. Laurence Humphries, President of Magdalen College, and Regius Professor of Divinity; a disciple of Zwinglius, and a correspondent of Calvin. 'The best that could be said of him,' says Heylyn, 'by one who commonly speaks well of that party ' [the historian Fuller], was, that he was a moderate and conscientious nonconformist.' He was, however, a clever man, a fluent lecturer, and master of a good Latin style. The Divinity Schools were his great field; and his lectures, which consisted of strong expositions of all the Calvinistic tenets, and fierce denunciations of the Pope, moulded the theology of the University students. 'He sowed in the Divinity Schools,' as we are told, 'such seeds of Calvinism, and laboured to create in ' the younger men such a strong hate against the Papists, as if ' nothing but divine truths were to be found in the one, and ' nothing but abominations to be seen in the other.' His college felt its head: Magdalen 'was stocked with a generation of nonconformists,' and became a conspicuous nursery and hot-bed of Calvinism. A change has passed over the face of that society since these religious movements. The incongenial effervescence, under a happier influence, subsided, and has not returned; and Laurence Humphries, were he to visit the scene of his labours again, would have to mourn over his lapsed college; the rigours of puritanism no longer predominant within its walls; the five points untouched; and a fellow of Magdalen not *ipso facto* a supralapsarian.

The Calvinistic party had aid from the political world. Humphries had a warm coadjutor, indeed, in the Lady Margaret Professor; but as if this was not staff enough for the work: as if these two, says Heylyn, 'did not make the distance wide ' enough between the churches, a new lecture must needs be ' founded.' New theological lectures were the protestantizing machinery of those times, as they have been since. The government of the day favoured the Calvinistic side. Walsingham, the Secretary of State, and the Earl of Leicester, Chan-

cellor of the University, both leant a ready ear to the suggestions of Humphries and his school; and Oxford puritanism was in close and intimate alliance with political power at head-quarters. Walsingham is described by our historian as 'a man of great political ability, an extreme hater of the popes and Church of Rome, and no less favourable unto those of the puritan faction.' Doctor John Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, a learned and rigorous puritan, stood high in Walsingham's good graces: he was appointed to the new lectureship, and joined the other official disseminators of the Calvinistic doctrines in the University.

The coalition engendered a great feeling of security and strength in the party. A party feels itself strong that has a back to lean against; that has reinforcements to call in when it wants them. Confidence is seated in a background; and the mind of the partisan expands with self-complacency and hope as it feels the remoter and more exoteric circle of sympathy and assistance. 'Our friends in the government'—'our parliamentary supporters'—'our friends in the country'—and 'our friends in town,' are indefinite sources of self-gratulatory strength to a side, and the sure aid at a distance has double weight at home. Parties under such circumstances grow easy, boastful, and contemptuous: they ride over the field, clear their way unscrupulously, vote opposition to be *ipso facto* absurd, urge the territorial right, implant themselves in the soil, engraft their own system and character, feel at home, and cover the ground. The Calvinistic party at Oxford enjoyed their alliance with the political world, and nipped all opposition to them in the bud, by simple weight and impetus. They had it all their own way: those who thought differently from them kept their own opinions to themselves, rather than face the storm of censure and vituperation, which they would have encountered by expressing them. Heylyn mentions two names of fellows of colleges as the only public, open, orthodox ones existing in the place at this time. There, doubtless, was another school all the while in embryo, but it was only an embryo one. It had not courage to come out, or voice to make itself heard. It wanted a leader and mouthpiece, somebody to bring it out and make it speak, elicit its powers, encourage its efforts, and mould it into shape and compactness.

Oxford was only a sample of the rest of the country. The Reformation in this country ended in showing itself a decidedly Calvinistic movement. The theology of our native reformers, where it did not run spontaneously in this direction (as it did not in some), was too weak to resist its irruptions; and Calvin and the foreign reformers stepped in almost as soon as the

movement had begun, threw their whole impetus into it, and turned it their own way. A movement shows itself in its fruits: the Reformation produced Calvinism: Calvinism was its immediate offspring, its genuine matter-of-fact expansion. The divines that the Reformation directly produced, its actual disciples and sons, were everywhere of this school; and the Calvinistic foliage sprouted with all the freedom and exuberance of nature.

Laud commenced his course in this state of University theology: and had to push his way through this adverse system. He fought at a disadvantage. He did not *start* with Laudian station and authority: far from it; he had authority regularly against him, and stood a simple individual, and fellow of a college, against the whole official stream of academical opinion, against the favourite and cardinal doctrines of vice-chancellors, heads of houses, and divinity professors. Laud's ultimate historical position is so prominent in our minds, that we hardly think of him in his previous humbler one; as if he had never not been an Archbishop, and been born, on the principle of Minerva's leap out of Jupiter's head, in full-blown metropolitan maturity and canonicals. The Caroline Court and the Regale, appear born with him. We picture him the man of pomp and station to begin with; with all the paraphernalia of ecclesiastical power ready made to his hands, and leave him only the easy task of laying down the law, and punishing the rebel, bringing down the terrors of suspension on the nonconformist, and of the pillory on the libeller. It was very different in fact: Laud certainly made full use of his powers, both ecclesiastical and secular, when he got them; but it was a long time before he got them. He was long all but alone, and had an up-hill course. Dignitaries condemned, acquaintances avoided, even friends suspected him: he endured a humiliating discipline and a severe succession of rubs. He laid his own groundwork, and created his own authoritativeness; we see the result, and forget the process which led to it; we antedate the man of power, and give him what he made himself before he made it.

He appears before us, in short, in the first instance as an innovator upon the dominant and authorized theology of the day. A high Churchman of the 'old school' can now appeal to his sanction and name; but Laud was not one of an 'old school' himself; there was no 'old school' of high-Churchmanship for *him* to belong to: the 'established school' of the Church was then Calvinistic; Calvinism was the theology of the Church dignitary, the Bishop, the Dean, the College Head. The maintainer of another system had to assume the character which thinks for itself, and will not follow the lead; a free,

independent, and original one. Laud's high-Churchmanship was no more made to his hand than his archiepiscopate. It did not come to him in the natural course of his education, as the teaching of the day, as the regular, established, proper, decorous, and respectable orthodox system. His orthodoxy raised itself, was the growth of his own mind in opposition to the prevailing system, and had to be maintained by the force of his own judgment and taste against a whole incongenial and hostile state of contemporary theology.

Laud was ordained in 1601 by Young, Bishop of Rochester. The bishop 'found his study raised above the system and 'opinions of the age, upon the noble foundation of the fathers, 'councils, and the ecclesiastical historians, and presaged that, if 'he lived, he would be an instrument of restoring the Church 'from the narrow and private principles of modern times.'

A series of collisions, accordingly, with the University authorities marks the first period of Laud's theological career. They began upon a tender point. The authorized theology of the Oxford schools denied all definite visibility to the Church through the middle ages. The Pope was Antichrist; Romish orders were the mark of the beast; the Church of England was entirely separated from all connexion with her mediæval existence; and the very idea of deriving her authority from a Romish fountain-head savoured of simple pollution, instead of the dignity of antiquity, to the post-reformation theologians of that day. The visibility of the Church took a leap from the age of the Apostles to that of the Berengarians; from the Berengarians it passed to the Albigenses; from the Albigenses to the Wickliffites; from the Wickliffites to the Hussites; from the Hussites to the congregations of Luther and Calvin; and from them to the English Reformed Church. The English Church was made to rest on a succession of doctrine purely; the torch of 'gospel light' had been caught and passed on by scattered bodies of true believers, one after another, till it lit up the flame of the Reformation: that was the Church's warrant, and the succession of orders was simply beside the mark. Abbot, the future puritanical Archbishop, was then Master of University College, and Vice-Chancellor, a double-dyed Calvinist, and an advocate of this theory especially. When Archbishop, he wrote a treatise in support of it. Laud, in an academical exercise which he delivered shortly after his ordination, maintained the formal ecclesiastical ground, and claimed a regular legitimate existence for the mediæval English Church. He placed the authority of the present Church upon that basis, and traced its orders and genealogy, through the Roman Catholic hierarchy, up to the apostles and the primitive Church. The exercise gave great

offence. Abbot saw with jealousy the start of a young theological antagonist, and seems to have presaged instinctively the course of the future rival, who was to be perpetually treading on his heels:—‘He thought it a great derogation to his parts and credit, that any man should dare to maintain the contrary of his opinion, and thereupon conceived a strong grudge against Laud, which no tract of time could either abolish or diminish.’

His degree of Bachelor of Divinity was the next occasion which brought him out. His exercises in the schools maintained the necessity of episcopacy, and the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. Both were unpopular doctrines at Oxford. A clamour was raised against him: he was accused of creating discord between the English and the other reformed churches. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration was doubly odious, too, defended in the language of Bellarmine. It was thought an insult to a Protestant university for one of its members to be publicly quoting Bellarmine, and borrowing his arguments from a Roman Catholic controversialist. The common-sense answer was, that if the arguments were good, it did not signify where they came from.

A sermon delivered the next year (1606), in the pulpit of St. Mary's, the contents of which we are not informed of, brought down upon him a vehement attack from Dr. Henry Airay, Vice-Chancellor and Provost of Queen's, a pupil of the reformer Bernard Gilpin, a person of great repute for gravity, learning, and sanctity in the puritanical party, and the popular author of a treatise ‘against bowing at the name of Jesus.’ Some passages in the sermon appeared ‘*superstitionem pontificiam sapere*,’ and Dr. Airay cited Laud to answer in his court. The trial went on for some weeks, and made a stir in the theological world. Laud showed great ability, spirit, and acuteness; parried his opponents dexterously, and got clear off at last, without any process of retractation, or apology to go through. It is a pity we are entirely deprived of the details of a scene so highly characteristic. Laud had his first taste here of a theological trial; his last was when he appeared at the bar of the House of Lords. His quickness, steadiness, and vivacity carried him through the academical ordeal, and the terrors of Dr. Henry Airay's tribunal. The Oxford Vice-Chancellor's court had no bill of attainder to fall back upon, when a troublesome adversary had foiled it: the Lords were better provided, and could help themselves to ready-made law, when the statute book failed.

An antagonist is not disliked the less for gaining a victory, or making an escape. Laud was regarded more and more as a dangerous man: Abbot grew more bitter and splenetic every day. Dark rumours were set afloat; and suspicion was rife.

People were afraid of him, and afraid of being seen with him. 'It was a heresy,' was Laud's own account, 'to speak to him, and a suspicion of heresy to salute him as he walked in the street.' — It was dangerous to be seen in his company. Friends even began to be perplexed and suspicious of the formal ecclesiastical bearing in his theology; to think him going too far, to profess not to understand him, not to penetrate his mixture, or get behind his veil. He had a character for subtlety and ambiguity; for not telling people what he was, or where he was going. He lived under a cloud. The reports against him reached the sister university; and Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, writes to him: 'I would I knew where to find you; then I could tell you how to take direct arms, whereas now I must pore and conjecture. To-day you are in the tents of the Romanists, to-morrow in ours, the next day between both, against both. Our adversaries think you ours, we theirs, your conscience finds you with both, and neither: I flatter you not. This of yours is the worst of all tempers. How long will you halt in this indifferency? Resolve one day, and know at last what you do hold, and what you do not. Cast off either your wings or your teeth, and, loathing this bat-like nature, be either a bird or a beast. To die wavering or uncertain, yourself will grant fearful. If you must settle, when begin you? If you must begin, why not now? God crieth with Jehu, 'Who is on my side, who?' Look out at your window to Him, and in a resolute courage cast down the Jezebel that hath bewitched you.' Good Bishop Hall is obviously sorely puzzled with him; he sees in him a change upon the established system of the day, and, what is more alarming still, something of a departure from Bishop Hall: and he does not know what to think of it.

A few years passed, and found matters not improved. Laud preached on a Shrove-Tuesday a sermon reflecting on some of the puritan doctrines. Dr. Abbot, brother of the Archbishop, and Divinity Professor, was Vice-Chancellor. He bottled up his indignation all Lent, and on Easter Sunday burst out; and from the University pulpit at St. Peter's, delivered a strain of theological invective sufficiently open and pointed. Laud was not present on that occasion, but the discourse was re-delivered, according to custom, on the following Sunday, at St. Mary's; and to avoid the appearance of being absent through fear, he went, and sat under his castigator. There was no attempt at disguise on the part of the preacher, and all eyes were fixed on Laud as the following interrogatories were addressed to him from the pulpit: 'Might not Christ say, What art thou? Romish or English, Papist or Protestant? Or what art thou?

‘a mongrel, composed of both; a Protestant by ordination, a Papist in point of free-will, inherent righteousness, and the like. A Protestant in receiving the Sacrament; a Papist in the doctrine of the Sacrament. What! do you think there are two heavens? If there be, get you to the other, and place yourself there, for unto this where I am ye shall not come.’ The preacher added a spirited description of Laud’s party or set: ‘Some,’ he continued, alluding to the latter, ‘are partly Romish, partly English, as occasion serves them, that a man might say, *noster es an adversariorum?* who, under pretence of truth, and preaching against the puritans, strike at the heart and root of the religion now established among us. They cannot plead that they are accounted Papists because they speak against the puritans, but, because being indeed Papists, they speak nothing against them. If they do at any time speak against the Papists, they do but beat a little about the bush, and that but softly too, for fear of waking and quieting the birds that are in it: they speak nothing but that wherein one Papist will speak against another, as against equivocation, the Pope’s temporal power, and the like, and perhaps some of their blasphemous speeches: but in the points of free-will, justification, concupiscence being a sin after baptism, inherent righteousness, and certainty of salvation, the Papists beyond the seas can say they are wholly theirs; and the recusants at home make their boast of them. In all things they keep themselves so near the brink, that upon occasion they may step over to them.’

‘I came time enough,’ said Laud, writing to his friend, Bishop Neil, shortly after, ‘to be at the rehearsal of this sermon, upon much persuasion, where I was fain to sit patiently, and hear myself abused almost an hour together, being pointed at as I sat. For this present I would fain have taken no notice of it, but that the whole University did apply it to me; and my own friends tell me I shall sink my credit if I answer not Dr. Abbot in his own. Nevertheless, in a business of this kind, I will not be swayed from a patient course.’ Perfect coolness and good temper marked Laud’s academical career throughout. The theological tribunal and the pulpit, rumour, suspicion, and black looks; vice-chancellors, heads of houses, and divinity-professors, were all at him: they put themselves into agitation, but not him. Dignitaries were jealous of the junior; Calvinists were disgusted at the theologian: but the junior and the theologian himself was quite calm. Laud pursued his own line, kept his object before him, and went quietly on, never giving way an inch, but never at the same time troubling himself to retaliate. Attacks and invectives simply spent themselves in the air, as

far as he was concerned, and were without practical effect. His mode of aggression showed the same temper, was firm and continuous, taking advantage of opportunities; bold, when there was a blow to be hit; but ordinarily quiet, and working under rather than above ground. He seems to have gone on the rule of keeping as much out of scrapes as he could consistently with his public line: and to get into one was an instantaneous call upon all the faculties of his mind to the rescue; an evoker of all his cleverness and ready wit to get him out of it again. An exercise for a degree, a sermon at St. Mary's, was turned to account, and made a theological weapon. He takes up some definite Church-doctrine—episcopacy, baptismal regeneration, or whatever it may be, and puts it strongly forward. If he is called to account for it, still the thing is done: an inquisition on the sermon, an attack from the pulpit, cannot prevent that fact; the coast is soon clear, and he is quiet again, and resumes his ordinary course. It is remarkable, that no charge of violence, or hot-headedness appears against him through this period. His enemy, Abbot, accuses him of cunning and underhand-work, but not of any violence: the former is of course the charge made, where the latter cannot be.

Ten years of this course had passed, when the Presidency of St. John's became vacant by the promotion of Buckridge to the see of Rochester. Laud had been working his way, and been gaining influence—over his own college especially. He stood for the Presidency; and the whole zeal and activity of the puritanical party were instantly called into play to oppose him. Abbot was indefatigable; the University dignitaries were immediately in communication with the government, and the Chancellor Ellesmere received private notices of Laud being a dangerous man, and having 'papistical' leanings, and of the necessity of keeping him 'out of any place of government in the University.' Ellesmere was gained; Ellesmere had possession of the King's ear, and Laud's election seemed to be fairly done for, before a single vote in St. John's had been taken. Laud was disabled at the time himself from doing anything; being laid up with one of his illnesses in London, and too weak to attempt a journey, or even to write a single line to his friends on the subject. However, the voting came on, and he had a majority. It is a proof of the extraordinary excitement which the election had created, that one of the fellows at this very moment snatched the paper containing the votes out of the hands of the college officer, and tore it in pieces. The evidence of the election was thus disposed of, and Laud's opponents appealed to the Crown, and pushed for an absolutely Royal appointment, quashing all the college votes.

Laud had an intercessor with James, however, in the person of Bishop Neil of Durham. The appeal came before James in person: he heard both parties for the space of three hours, and concluded by declaring Laud President of St. John's. The day of the decision was August 29, 'the day of the decollation of St. John Baptist,' adds the Diary. Laud was a great observer of all coincidences of days, and did not pass over the coincidence of his being declared President of St. John's on St. John's day.

Placed at the head of his college, he instantly adopted the amiable line; forgave and tranquillized, and threw oil upon the angry waters. He was particularly affectionate to the fellow who had torn up the scrutiny paper. College propriety demanded, of course, some judicial notice of such a disorderly proceeding, and a solemn tribunal sat upon the offender. But authority was satisfied with showing itself, and then graciously descended from the judicial chair, and embraced the criminal. He was a clever man, and capable of being useful. Laud took him into favour, and paid him great attention. He afterwards made him his chaplain, gave him preferment, and married him to his niece; and finally raised him to the very presidency which had been the subject of all the commotion. 'To the other fellows,' continues Heylyn, 'who had opposed him in his election, he always showed a fair and equal countenance, hoping to gain them by degrees; but if he found any to be intractable, not easily to be gained by favours, he would find some handsome way or other to remove them out of college, that others, not engaged upon either side, might succeed in their places.—Notwithstanding all this care, the faction still held up against him, the younger fry inclining to the same side which had been taken by their tutors.' Perseverance, however, won the field at last.

We now quit the Oxford scene for a more expansive one; and Laud's real life begins. He steps out of the threshold. A college headship does not ordinarily figure as the starting point; it is more commonly the harbour than the port of exit, and rewards exertions oftener than stimulates them: it does not often send either a political or ecclesiastical adventurer into the world. It did in his case. Laud did not feel the satisfying influences of station. The common tendency of minds to rest upon their oars, and repose at the first stage of their progress,—to erect the *templa serena* on the very first elevated spot,—to think they have done enough as soon as they have done anything at all—to enjoy dignified ease—to give up growth and abandon themselves to efflorescence, was not his failing. The President of St. John's immediately set out for a *terra incognita*, and entered upon a wholly new sphere of exertion and line of life. At

home in one department, Laud was instantly a beginner in another; and the labourer and drudge on the large political field was more to his taste than the University dignitary. His career in Oxford had done what he wanted; drawn him out, given him an experience, exercised his talent, and shown in what direction it lay. He could now apply what he had got to a fresh sphere, and the University-tactician grew into the Church's statesman.

Laud is our last specimen of a very dominant class once—the class of statesmen-ecclesiastic. The character is not a popular one at the present day; and we do not know whether, in the present state of society, such a union of positions is natural or desirable. In ages of the Church's power, the Church is naturally more political than she is in her ages of weakness. Genuine ecclesiastical influence, imbibed, and felt, and acting over society, forms a suitable atmosphere for an ecclesiastical statesman, when another state of opinion does not. In the middle ages, temporal power was actually put into the Church's hands by the world. The world liked to have its statesmen priests, and priests accordingly became its statesmen. The combination was a natural phenomenon of the day, as much as feudalism and chivalry; particular classes were jealous of the Church, but the state of opinion, as a whole, put power—political temporal power—into her hands. She found herself in possession of it; she could not help exerting a vast overwhelming influence with respect to all sorts of subjects, ecclesiastical and secular, upon the public mind. She was a spiritual society indeed, but she was also an actual living and human one, in intimate contact with the world, and her exertion and interference in the social system was called for and expected. With power *de facto* lodged in her, she was responsible for what became of it, and her natural course was to administer it herself, instead of letting it get into worse hands. The case is different when the Church is weak; the effort would be artificial. She does not strain after power, and snatch it eagerly out of the world's hands; she does not care for it on her own account; and therefore, if the world does not voluntarily give it her, she does not seek for it. She administers it if she has it, but she does not want to have it, if people do not want to give it. She does not accept it from reluctant hands, or legislate for a jealous and mistrusting age.

Laud, in his day, just saw the last remaining vestiges of the old system: the vitality gone, the case still partially existing. The form of the old idea of the statesman-ecclesiastic survived. The age rested under the last shadow of the mediæval empire; and the times in which Bishops were set at the political helm, and the Stapledons, the Wykehams, and the Wainfleets of the day were

our Lord High Chancellors and Lord High Treasurers, had still a faint reflection in the position which even the post-reformation prelates occupied in the English Court, the seats in the privy council, the employment on the foreign embassy. A class of higher clergy were a good deal about Court, and took their share in public matters; not as interlopers in the scene, but as if they were at home, and in their natural place: public opinion maintained them there. Minds have their favourite aspects in which they realize particular truths: Laud realized the Church's greatness under this one. A mixture of motives rivetted Laud's eye in this direction. He had caught the particular mediæval idea of the Church's position, as a political estate, an heiress, by a divine nobility of birth, to the world's honours and elevations. The half conscious idea ran in his thoughts perpetually; and incidental acts and expressions show the image in his mind—the form of a Church which haunted him—a sacerdotal political form of a Church in power, her orders nobility, her prelates pillars of the State. He saw dignity and grandeur upon her, a splendid ritual, grave munificence and hospitality, the stamp of venerable power on her brow, and profound homage bending the knee to her. A genuine hierarchical taste vented itself in the mediæval combination, and the priestly idea took the heightening feudal colour and political expression of itself. It is a mistake to charge him with ambition: the feeling was totally different from ambition. A sense of a particular vocation, and the natural tendency of a set of tastes to get scope and exercise, carried him toward the position of statesman-ecclesiastic: but the position had its charm as the expression of an idea, and not as the gratification of a personal aim. His own elevation put his own theory into execution; and he realized the exaltation of his Church in that of himself. He had every bit as much pleasure in putting Juxon into the office of Lord Treasurer, or Archbishop Spottiswoode into the Scotch Chancellorship, as he had in any public preferment of his own. His track was to be recognised everywhere by the elevation of the Church and Clergy. The feeling amounted to a species of poetry in him: the poetical element in his mind took the ecclesiastical form, and pictured the revival of the Church's greatness and splendour. 'The Church has been low these hundred years, but I hope it will flourish again in another hundred,' was a saying of his remembered against him at his trial. A fancy, and a fond dream it may have been: the age was not in keeping with the aim, and it was cut short—still it was a disinterested dream if it was one; and he turned it into a most effective stimulus, and invigorated himself by it. Whether true or not it was a useful one. He seems to have doubted it, mis-

trusted it himself; still there it was—it stood before him, and he followed it. It was something to follow at any rate, something to have before him; it appeared, it shone: the phantom was majestic, even if it was a phantom. It led him on through stage after stage of his work: a mediæval glow terminated the dark laborious vista; and the plodder's slow subterranean passage had an inward poetry to illuminate and relieve it.

The poetical feeling did not at all supersede the strict utilitarian one. The Regale was the great centre of power in that day, both in Church and State; the Court the very first and most necessary instrument for the objects of the Church-reformer. He was obliged to work his way at Court, to get any of the practical acting power of the nation into his hands. A hundred other things he ought to be perhaps, but a courtier he must be; he must gain access to the great political lever, if he was to put a finger on the ecclesiastical. The ins and outs of Court were an essential part of his experience, and the whole order of things went to domiciliate him first at the focus of the nation, in order to obtain any spread of his influence over the general surface. Laud wanted to gain some ground on which he could work upon the nation; he wanted ways and means, facilities, sources of weight, and a whole machinery for producing effects. He fixed his eye on the Court as offering such resources, such machinery. A natural turn for the exercise of power, for tactics, and *managing*,—so strong a taste in a mind that feels itself to have it—sympathized with this object; and the whole political element in Laud's character mingled with the enthusiastic in taking him to a yet unexplored mine of influence and labour—the Court.

The Stuarts had just ascended the English throne, when Laud made his first entrance into Court, in the capacity of king's chaplain—a situation which his patron, Bishop Neil, procured for him, very soon after his election to the Presidency of St. John's. The Stuarts brought with them a very different character to the throne, and to the English Regale, from the Tudor Elizabeth's—a much less imperial and a much more amiable one, better tendencies and less firmness; a temper weak and difficult to keep up to the mark when raised there, but very accessible to influence in the first instance. Elizabeth, made up as she was of caprices and humours, kept up the great family trait with an iron uniformity; hated the puritans, but ground down the Church, and with all her high-church whims, was the very reverse of the character that is subject to Church influence. The Stuart character was open to this influence. Fresh charged with a highly unfavourable experience of puritanism in Scotland, and without the deepset erastian pride of the Plantagenets

in their nature to stiffen them against the Church at starting, they were open ground, and invited cultivation. Laud gave it. He elicited the favourable traits, fastened their predilections, and marked out their line. The great monarchical families of European history seem to have all had their peculiar stamp of character upon them: a Plantagenet is great; a Bourbon is magnificent; a Romanoff is political and adventurous. A more passive character and gentler interest attaches to the name of Stuart; but an interest it is. With all the faults and all the weaknesses of the individuals, enough remains to throw a grace over the dynasty, and race. From the Scotch Mary and her grandson Charles, the victims of a cruel English policy, to the very last of the exiles; history sets them before our eyes in a broken and scattered, but still fascinating colour. The Stuart power ever befriended the Church; and they were the Church's sons when they might have been her foes and oppressors. The pride which is the guilt of the kings of the earth did not belong to their character; their Regale was a religious one; the haughty world frowned upon such half kings, such children in policy, such weak infantine Church dupes. Yet the secret inward Church spell would operate, its very forebodings fascinated and led them on; they hovered around their destiny till it seized them: in an evil hour they left the very communion whom they had nurtured, condemned themselves to melancholy exile, and the Church of England to a reaction of weakness and sterility. They shone like an autumnal sun upon her, and were born for the elevation of our Church and for her depression.

Laud now divided his time between Oxford and the Court, and was penetrating into the upper sphere, while he kept his position in the lower. His progress at court was slow, tedious, and trying; he made no way whatever for a long time. Three years had passed and found him only king's Chaplain still. The black Oxford cloud had followed him, and the pressure of Abbot's archiepiscopate kept him under, and would not let him see daylight. At the end of three years with nothing done and nothing promising, he made up his mind to withdraw from the scene, and return to his simple Oxford headship. However, he told Bishop Neil of his intention; Neil remonstrated; he staid on, and gave the experiment another trial.

Three or four years cleared the prospect a little, and an opening was made: James took notice of him. In 1616 he accompanied James into Scotland. He stood by James's side, and heard pedantic speeches from the Scotch Universities, and listened to James's puns. The king was in capital humour, enjoyed the technicalities and pomps of a progress, made jokes on the Scotch Professors' names, and argued points of ritual. Years ago Laud had seen James on his

favourite stage. The king's manor at Woodstock brought him into the University region; he 'graciously received the Vice-Chancellor of Oxon. together with the doctors, proctors, and 'heads of houses, at his manor of Woodstock.' The invitation was returned, and the king on his part 'accepted a solemn invitation from the University, and performed in all manner of 'scholastic exercises, divinity, law, physic, and philosophy; in 'all of which he showed himself of such great abilities, that he 'might have governed in those chairs as well as all or any of his 'three professors.' Times had changed certainly on a more recent visit of royalty to the place; and George IV. did not adopt his erudite predecessor's model: whether frightened by a more formidable show of scholastic criticism and power, in the divinity professors of the present day than what the latter had to encounter, or for any other reason, we cannot say. James's was a harmless and simple style of affectation after all: it showed itself frankly, and had no concealments. He liked theology, and he liked mulled wine: he liked both for his own amusement and as pleasing cordials and recreations. He was of the nature of a puss in boots, and carried a flattering consciousness of the regal *cothurnus* about with him. The grace of the Stuart-character took a leap from the mother to the grandson, and passed over the personage in the middle. A more comfortable life than that of either, gave him the balance for the loss in a shape which he particularly appreciated; and he was amply compensated for a rather ungainly and ridiculous mediocrity of character by not having to fight, and not being beheaded. On the present occasion he was quite himself, and Laud had the benefit of his royal self-complacency. James, with the usual awkwardness, which always made him choose the most offensive form of speech for a suggestion, told the Scotch divines that 'he had brought some 'English theologians to enlighten their minds.'

Laud wedged his passage further and further through the dense mass, and found himself at last approaching something like a centre, and penetrating within the inner circle, in which stood the great man himself—the wielder of court power, the dispenser of court favours—Buckingham. A proximity once begun became rapidly closer, till the two fairly met, and Laud and Buckingham made a coalition.

The connexion of Laud and Buckingham is one of those odd juxtapositions, which people ordinarily account for by supposing an inconsistency in one or both of the parties in it. We do not think this necessary, at the same time fully recognising its striking, pungent, and comic grotesqueness. Laud and Buckingham, the grave Oxford scholar and the light-hearted 'Favourite,'—the very plume of court chivalry, and bright

flourish of silk mantle and rapier and white feather, dashing manner frankness ease, swordsmanship duelling and dancing; and the stiff-set ecclesiastical figure, the physiognomy in the square cap, side by side, is certainly a picture! Buckingham is an odd companion and intimate for Laud, it is true: but then it is also true that men will form strange friendships when they have a public object in view. The public man, purely political or ecclesiastical, is forced upon a different class of connexions to what he would have had in private life, his very vocation brings him across the person, whoever he may be, who is the key to certain means and resources, the medium of approach to the particular position he wants. He finds him necessary; he makes himself convenient. The bargain is struck, and we have a political friendship formed; so far a political one only. However, once brought into connexion with him, upon whatever ground, the man is seen, the man is known: if he has fine qualities, they are recognised; and the mere fact of his company, places him in a favourable relation to you. Much intercourse between two persons, however it may have originated, if it only as a matter of fact takes place, must have its consequences: and if parties do not get to hate each other, they naturally get to like each other. Mutual convenience produces mutual heart. These mixed relations are in fact the commonest ones in the world, and persons are every day forming the private friendship upon the public. An ecclesiastical object brought Laud into contact with Buckingham, but being brought into contact with him, he saw, knew, and liked him. There was a great deal to like in Buckingham. Spoilt child of a Court, as he was, his mind had a generosity, openness, and transparency of its own. Clarendon mentions his entire 'want of dissimulation.'

To have much to do with persons of wholly different mould from yourself, is no enviable situation. However Laud may have taken to the work and got himself to like persons,—and Buckingham, he really was fond of,—the friendship was a creation of his own out of incongruous material, and was a work of mental art and labour. Endurance, vigilance, and self-command were implied in it. Charles, Strafford, and others, are not to be named with Buckingham; but they are instances of the same power in Laud; of wholly different stamped minds to his own, which one after another he got hold of. An ordinary temper does not like the exertion: it throws off another as soon as ever a symptom of incongeniality arises, and will not bear the burden of an external mind. The vicinity of difference is a yoke, and only another self is comfortable. A larger sympathy is more under discipline and command; is patient of

barriers, and allows whole tracts of difference within its scope and domain. It sees through exteriors, surmounts obstacles, and bears the presence of the incongenial feature for the sake of the congenial one by its side.

It would be injustice to Laud and Buckingham's friendship, not to mention one point in it. The priest and the politician were joined in the knot which bound the two; and Laud was Buckingham's confessor. The commotions and intrigues of the court arena and the life diplomatical, which bore the great noble and the ecclesiastic along together, covered a deeper relation. A politician of the present day may think the combination a grotesque one, but it never seems to have entered either into Laud's or Buckingham's head to think it so. The same cabinet walls heard them scheme, and heard them talk religion; and the two statesmen dropped from the political attitude without effort, whenever they chose it, into that of the religious pupil and teacher. Laud, at the proper moment, put off the politician and put on the divine, and was grave and spiritual with the gay splendid duke. 'Whitsunday, June 9,' says the Diary, 'the Marquis of Buckingham was pleased to enter upon a nearer respect unto me, the particulars whereof are not for paper. —June 15, I become C. to my Lord of Buckingham.' 'Confessor,' says Heylyn. The modern biographer of Laud does not like 'confessor,' and makes C. stand for 'chaplain;' but it obviously means confessor: the whole context interprets it so; and Laud, as Bishop of Bath and Wells, as he was then, could hardly become a domestic chaplain to a nobleman. 'On the morrow after,' it follows, 'being Trinity Sunday, the marquis having thus prepared himself received the sacrament at Greenwich.' In the midst of the turmoil of politics, we catch a glimpse of Buckingham on a sick bed, and Laud by his side. 'He was extreme impatient of his fits till Laud came to visit him, by whom he was so charmed and sweetened, that at first he endured his fits with patience, and by that patience did so break their heats and violence, that at last they left him.' Laud improved the occasion, and made Buckingham take in a considerable share of theology. He was made to understand distinctions—to see the doctrinal differences between the Puritans and the Church. 'The duke had a desire to learn the heads of doctrinal Puritanism, and he served him in it.' The treasury was desperately empty, and a project was on foot to alienate the lands of the Charterhouse, for the maintenance of the army. Laud dissuaded Buckingham from it. The notices in the Diary let us into a department altogether behind the scenes, and odd mysterious fragments come across us; 'Jan. 11. My Lord of Buckingham and I in the inner chamber at York House. *Quod est Deus Salvator noster Jesus Christus;*'

a Sunday-night talk on the supernatural world:—‘The discourse which my lord duke had with me about witches and ‘astrologers.’ Buckingham was a mixture. The man of gaiety and court license had a religious element in his character, and was deeply attached to a devout mother. The Roman Catholics tried to turn the family stream into their own church. Laud kept the duchess back a long time, and brought her back once, but she slipped his hold at last. The duke was near following his mother. The prayers in the Breviate, ‘*pro Duce Buckinghamiæ*’ show the religious interest which Laud took in him. He seems to have had a pleasure in eliciting what religion there was in the naturally generous but wild soil, to have wished to make his fascinating scholar as good a boy as might be, to have had a quiet power over him, and been able to calm, soothe, and attract the wayward mind of the princely child.

The alliance of Laud and Buckingham once struck up, Laud was always at his side, was his adviser and assister, helped him through the scrape, supplied his place by the royal ear when he was gone, kept up his influence, and prevented rivals starting. Ciphers and mysterious signs passed between them, and an invisible cabinet enclosed the pair. Laud did not do anything by halves; and once a politician, he threw himself into the character. He entered deep into court struggles; into diplomacy, domestic and foreign; watched parliament, and watched the king. He got a good share of the duke’s odium, and the affair of the Spanish match, and the expedition of Charles and Buckingham into Spain, brought popular feeling upon him. James’s policy then was to please the Pope, who was to grant the dispensation for the match. The English recusants were consequently let off their fines; and the expressions of the royal controversialist, on the point of the Pope being Antichrist, were explained—he had only made the assertion argumentatively. The relief and the explanation were attributed to Laud, and the Spanish journey was reported to be a stratagem to convert the prince to Popery.

The crown was in perpetual want of money, and a war, or other extraordinary event, made national loans necessary. Laud, as the term was, ‘tuned the pulpits,’ a practice of Elizabethan origin: and the clergy received their instructions to lay before their congregations the hard case of ‘our dear uncle, the King of Denmark, just brought into great straits by General Tilly,’ who would be exceedingly obliged to them for liberal contributions to his cause, in which they were so extremely interested. The German Emperor was made the bugbear, and a break up of the balance of power, and a German march over the Continent, were predicted to the auditors, if his present designs on Den-

mark succeeded; 'for if the Emperor of Austria once get Germany, he will be able, though he had no gold from India, to supply the necessity of those wars, and to hinder all trade and traffic of the greatest staple commodities of this kingdom, cloth and wool, and so make them of little or no value.' The majority of auditors would probably feel their connexion with Denmark but feebly, but the last appeal would, at any rate, tell on the imagination.

The secret ramifications of political life now begin to spread, and his feelers extend over the ground, touch here and there, and find out this man and the other. Connexions widen underground, and a mysterious world of acquaintance forms, and we explore with him the parts behind the scenes of the political stage. Alphabetical personages appear in the pages of his Diary, E. B., and C. D., A. H., and S. and T., with whom he has interviews, private engagements, compacts, pledges given and taken, and an issue awaited. A taste for the Eleusinian chambers, and hidden strata, of statesmanship, is a characteristic of Laud's; and his course to the last is perpetually dipping under, or retiring behind a screen, or sounding some depth, or following some cavernous winding. He, and the unknown X. Y. or Z., are seen in an obscure corner of the stage, standing together in mysterious attitude; and what they are talking about nobody knows; but it seems to be on some matter of deep interest to them, and signs and looks pass, and their faces have a serious expression. And they seem sometimes as if they could not understand one another, and parted in displeasure. 'My unfortunatenesses with T.—with S. S., M. S.'—'Ill hap with E.'—or, 'There I first knew what F. H. thought of me.' The balance is long trembling with K. B.—'May 29. My meeting and settling upon express terms with K. B., in the gallery at Greenwich, in which business God bless me.'—'Jan. 1. My being with K. B. this day, in the afternoon, troubled me much. God send me a good issue out of it.' There is a change, and 'K. B. and I came unexpectedly to a clearer declaration of ourselves, which God bless;' and then a relapse—'K. B. and I meet—the lowest ebb that ever I saw. I go away much troubled.' Another meeting, and 'All settled well again;' another, and 'An absolute settlement between me and K. B.' He notes down when he first saw a man, and when he begins to know him; and when he knows him better; and the mystic scale of sympathy has every line marked. These corners spring up everywhere, and he is in contact with half the Alphabet at once, with the ubiquity of a ghost—'*hic et ubique*,' would Hamlet have said—'a worthy pioneer—rest, rest, perturbed spirit.' He lives in a prolific world of occult life, and individual influences and

conjunctions; and a diplomatic astrology spreads its filmy web over the scene.

Laud stood fast by Buckingham in his parliamentary battles, made him an able adviser, and, it is said, wrote his speeches. In the parliament of 1626, both houses, Commons and Lords, were combined against him: the Earl of Bristol attacked him in the upper house: the whole regiment of lawyers in the lower. 'Glanville, Herbert, Selden, Pym, Wansford, and Sherland managed the case; the prologue was made by Sir Dudley Diggs, the epilogue by Sir John Eliot.' He was accused of engrossing offices, buying the places of lord admiral, and lord warden of the Cinque Ports, and of not guarding the seas when he had got them; of 'staying the St. Peter of Newhaven, and the East India fleet, and lending the Vantguard to the French at the siege of Rochelle; of selling honours and offices, procuring honours to his kinsfolk, of diminishing the revenues of the crown; and, lastly, applying physic to King James, in the time of his sickness.' Buckingham's answer to this curious House of Commons mixture of charges was cautious, temperate, and humble; strong in denying all particular facts, but balancing the denial with general professions of humility, and acknowledgments of deficiency. 'He acknowledged how easy a thing it was to him in his younger years, and inexperienced, to fall into thousands of errors. But still he hoped the fear of God, his sincerity in the true religion established in the Church of England (though accompanied with many weaknesses and imperfections, which he is not ashamed humbly and heartily to confess), his carefulness not willingly to offend so good and gracious a master, and his love and duty to his country, had restrained and preserved him from running into any heinous misdemeanors and crimes. For his own part, he both hoped, and would daily pray, that for the future he might so watch over all his actions, both public and private, as not to give cause of just offence to any person.' Buckingham's new appearance in the penitential character astonished people not a little; the line of defence had not the look of being wholly a self-suggested one, and the sagacious immediately detected Laud's hand underneath. The speech, however, answered its purpose, and gained and softened many. 'The answer of the Duke,' says a contemporary, 'was so inlaid with modesty and humility, that it became a new grievance to his adversaries, and was like to have a powerful influence toward the conversion of many who expected a defence of another and more disdainful spirit.'

Two envious eyes, meantime, were fixed on the alliance; and Laud, cabined with Buckingham, was an intolerable eyesore

to the old Oxford enemy, Abbot, and the Lord Keeper Williams. 'There he sits,' says Abbot, 'privately whole hours with Buckingham, feeding his humours with malice and spite.' Abbot was the disgusted Puritan. Williams, calm and serpentine, writhed under the feelings of a supplanted rival.

Williams had long felt Laud in his way: on one occasion especially, when Abbot's unfortunate shot in Lord Zouch's Park at Bramsall, seemed to open a road to the primacy. Abbot became by that act 'a man of blood,' and fell under canonical disabilities. James, who enjoyed a theme of canonical disputation, instituted with promptness a commission, composed of bishops, judges, and doctors of laws, to sit on the offender; and while the unfortunate criminal retired to melancholy solitude in his native town Guildford, a variety of opinions were given. Sir Edward Coke looked on the matter with a lawyer's eye. On the question being propounded, 'Whether a Bishop might lawfully hunt in 'his own, or in any other park' (in which point lay the greatest pinch of the present difficulty), that most profound lawyer returned this answer thereunto; viz. 'That by the law a Bishop 'at his death was to leave his pack of dogs (by the French 'called *Morte de chiens*, in some old records) to be disposed 'of by the king at his will and pleasure. And if the king was 'to have the dogs when the bishop died, there was no question 'to be made, but that the bishop might make use of them 'when he was alive.' Williams most characteristically wished to be lenient, but also wished for the Primacy, to which he looked forward on the first vacancy; and his letter was a model of significant ambiguity:—'I wish with all my heart his 'Majesty would be as merciful as ever he was in his life; but 'yet I hold it my duty to let his Majesty know, that his Majesty 'is fallen upon a matter of great advice and deliberation. To add 'affliction unto the afflicted is against the King's nature: To 'leave *virum sanguineum*, a man of blood, primate and patriarch 'of all his churches, is a thing that sounds very harsh in the old 'councils and canons of the Church. The Papists will not 'spare to descant upon the one and the other. I leave the 'knot for his Majesty's deep wisdom to advise and resolve 'upon.' Laud and Bishop Andrewes thought Williams much the more formidable person of the two, and kept Abbot in his see, to prevent Williams getting it.

Cool and keen, absolutely unprincipled, and as slippery as an eel, Laud had a sort of dread of Williams, as of some subtle, malicious animal. He did not show it; but in his Diary Williams's evil eye seems to pursue him. 'Oct. 3, Friday. I 'was with my Lord Keeper; he was very jealous of L. B.'s 'favour.—Dec. 14. Tuesday night I did dream that the Lord

‘Keeper was dead; that I passed by one of his men that was about a monument for him. This dream did trouble me.— Dec. 27, St. John’s day. I was with my Lord of Buckingham. I found that all went not right with my Lord Keeper.— Jan. 25. It was Sunday. I was alone, and languishing with I know not what sadness. I was much concerned with the envy and undeserved hatred borne to me by the Lord Keeper. I took into my hands the Greek Testament, that I might read the portion of the day. I lighted upon the thirteenth chapter to the Hebrews, wherein that of David, Psalm lvi., occurred to me, then grieving and fearing: *The Lord is my helper: I will not fear what man can do unto me.* I thought an example was set to me, and who is not safe under that shield? Protect me, O Lord my God!—Feb. 18, Wednesday. My Lord of Buckingham told me of the reconciliation and submission of my Lord Keeper, and that it was confessed unto him his favour to me was the chief cause. *Invidia quo tendis? &c. At ille de novo fœdus pepigit.* Williams now lay in wait, and Laud had to watch him narrowly. He made some attempts at undermining Buckingham, during the Spanish journey, which were failures: Laud, says Heylin, ‘was not asleep.’ He was nearer success on the next occasion. The parliament of 1625 wanted to make an example of some great official—the fashionable parliamentary game then: Cranfield had been tried the parliament before; Bacon, the one before that. Williams now seemed a proper person to take in hand: he emulated Wolsey almost as a pluralist; being Lord Keeper, Bishop of Lincoln, and Dean of Westminster, besides livings and prebendal stalls. He managed most artfully to convert his own danger into a gratification of his spleen. Parliament were more particular about their sport, than about the object of it: he recommended them Buckingham. The humility of the ground assigned was impressive: the Great Duke ‘was a more noble prey, and fitter for such mighty hunters than a silly priest.’ Parliament took the hint, and ‘the great game was no sooner started, but they followed it with such an outcry, that the noise thereof came presently to his Majesty’s ears.’ Indeed, they were only torn from their prey by a dissolution.

Abbot meantime was surly and angry, called names, opposed for opposition’s sake, and had his revenge as long as he could by keeping Laud out of the High Commission. The royal subsidies fell with disproportionate weight on the poorer clergy, and Laud had a scheme of relieving them, and Buckingham, as the representative of the State, agreed to it. The plan aimed at nothing more than this, and was no party effort whatever; even Williams concurring in it. Laud took it to Abbot

for his approval, and was roughly asked, 'What he had 'to do to make any suit for the Church; that never any bishop 'attempted the like before, and that nobody would have done 'it but himself; that he had given the Church such a wound in 'speaking to any lord of the laity about it, as he would never 'make whole again.' He replied, very quietly, 'that he 'thought he had done a very good office for the Church, and so 'did his betters too: that if his Grace thought otherwise he 'was sorry he had offended; but that he hoped he had done it 'out of a good mind; and for the support of many poor vicars 'abroad in the country; and, therefore, that his error might be 'pardonable, if it were an error.' Abbot played the churl; and Laud's disciplined courtesy and humility always put him in the wrong, and unseated him.

Laud's line towards opponents was the quiet effective one; not hurried or importunate, catching at advantages, leaping to success. At Oxford and at Court the same, one strong but quiet course, temper, vigilance, and perseverance, put aside obstacles, and cleared the road to power. Adversaries found themselves gradually displaced without the violence of an assault, and a moving influence insensibly elbowed and sidled them out of the field. The union of Buckingham and Laud was a nucleus of strength, creating a widening circle and atmosphere of its own around it. With his hold upon the centre, he was necessarily from his position the rising man. Williams bit at his heels, lay in ambush, crouched, and made his spring; he was suffered to go on opposing impeding and undermining, till his efforts became open, and he had fairly revealed himself: a disgrace at Court then ensued, and he retired to his diocese. Abbot growled morosely from his palace at Lambeth at the growing power, but he could only show his temper, and could do nothing. A cloud was upon him, and his name was tarnished. He retired savagely before the advancing power, scowling and muttering as he went; shut himself up in his palace with Calvinist chaplains, and secretaries, and gathered the disaffected around him. Midnight conclaves and a sepulchral focus and glare of Calvinism lit up the gloomy interior of Lambeth. 'Towards his death,' says Heylyn, 'he was not only discontented himself, but his house was the rendezvous of all the 'malcontents in Church and State; that he turned midnight 'into noonday by constant keeping of candles lighted in his 'chamber and study; as also that such visitants as repaired unto 'him called themselves Nicodemites, because of their secret 'coming to him by night.' An uncomfortable inauspicious shade covers the character of the puritanical Archbishop, and he moves off the scene like a magician to his fastness, or a wild

animal to its den. The keeper's ghost gibbered through his silent halls. The dark vapour gathered itself up and withdrew reluctantly from the incongenial sky. His death removed an evil eye from the scene, and Laud saw the career of one of his great opponents out; but he had not seen the last of Williams.

Meantime Laud had been the ecclesiastic, had risen to one post after another, the Deanery of Gloucester, the Bishopric of St. David's, Bath and Wells, and London, successively; and been active in Church restorations, and in the fiscal and other external departments of Church administration. As Dean of Gloucester he gave a specimen of what he wanted to do in Church external worship, and mortally offended the Bishop, Dr. Miles Smith, the great Hebrician, and one of the Bible translators; who 'protested unto the Dean and some of the 'prebends, that if such innovations were brought into that 'cathedral, he would never come more within those walls; 'which promise or protestation he is said to have made good, 'and not to have come within that church to his dying day.' The Bishop was certainly 'a man of great pertinacity' if he kept his word,—'the alteration being made in the decline of 'the year 1616, his palace standing near the walls of that 'cathedral, and he not dying till the year 1624, which was eight 'years after.'

His episcopal journeys in his Welch diocese do not appear to have had the advantage of the comfortable smoothness of modern roads. — 'August 24, Wednesday. The festival of 'St. Bartholomew. I came safely (thanks be to God) to my 'own house at Aberguille, although my coach had been twice 'that day overturned between Abermarkes and my house. 'The first time I was in it, but the second time it was empty.' His new chapel at Aberguilly comes in, in the Diary. His active ecclesiastical eye, meantime, was carried up and down, and everywhere over the kingdom; and from the public centre where he lived, he suggested plans of church improvements, and threw out hints, acted much in the capacity of Archbishop, in Abbot's retirement, and was, in fact, virtual Archbishop before he actually succeeded to the place.

Laud was in a position now to rise to the top, at the first regular opening: and the head which had long guided in the background only waited for the call of circumstances to place it in the front. A melancholy opening arrived: the Duke of Buckingham's assassination at Portsmouth made a successor necessary; and Laud was called to the head of affairs, and became the chief adviser of royalty, or, in the language of the present day, prime-minister. The metropolitan throne became vacant by Abbot's death.

Laud succeeded, as a matter of course, and the salutation of 'My Lord's Grace of Canterbury' was his next greeting from the royal lips. Minor honours flowed in thick. The Chancellorship of Oxford had fallen vacant: Laud succeeded, as a matter of course: circumstances pointed him out. The Chancellorship of Dublin fell vacant: Laud succeeded: circumstances pointed him out. Circumstances pointed him out for posts of power and influence as soon as they fell in. He had made himself necessary, and things could not go on without him. The official development was the natural result of what he had gone through; the evolution of the bud, the necessary expansion of the force and spring that had been collecting. Laud began to smile at his own official ubiquity, and only reluctantly yielded to Strafford's urgency in accepting the last post. 'I think you have a plot to see, he writes, whether I will be *Universalis Episcopus*, that you and your brethren may take occasion to call me Antichrist.' He is amused with Strafford's assuming stiffness to him, and treating him as a great man. 'So you are not well enough acquainted with Lambeth,' he writes. Strafford on his elevation, like a true gentleman, refrained from the ordinary freedom and humour with which he corresponded with Laud, and waited to be invited before he resumed it. Laud rallies him on the subject, 'You are afraid that some sour ghost walks there—you have not given me one word of your wonted recreation.'

Laud now had to act the minister; to entertain kings and nobles, and gather a court scene about him. The stream of public visitors poured in and out of his doors—

————— 'foribus domus alta superbis
Mane salutantum totis vomat ædibus undam.'

The levee, and the interview, the arrival of messengers, and the announcements of important news foreign and domestic, men at arms and horsemen, enlivened and disturbed the interior of Lambeth. He had to wink at some lighter departments of court life. He lived in a court of masques and theatricals, and gay formalities: they were the order of the day, and had succeeded to the tournament and field of arms. Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, and Milton's *Comus*, poetry and sentimentality, sense and nonsense, assumed the masquerading form; and eclogues and bucolics were the vents of courtly humour and taste: princesses figured as shepherdesses, and dukes and barons as herdsmen. Laud was supposed especially to encourage these frivolities by his puritan assailants, and called sharply to account for it. The 'professors' throughout the country set upon him, and reprimanded him for carnality of mind and love of the world. *Prynne's Hystriomastix* came out, and a most

furious piece of vituperation indeed it was, dragging king and court, the queen and her ladies of honour before the bar as shocking and notorious profligates. The four inns of court took the matter up, and determined to show that Prynne did not represent them on this point. 'The gentlemen of the four societies presented their Majesties with a pompous and magnificent masque, to let them see that Prynne's leaven had not soured them all, and that they were not poisoned with the same infection.' The exhibition gave such contentment to his sacred Majesty that he desired them to make a representation of it to the city of London. The masque accordingly was repeated, 'to the delight of the people,' and the principle of masques was triumphantly vindicated, and carried public opinion with it. Laud stood up for them on a utilitarian view. He had been used to them, he said, at St. John's, and could assert that the dramatic exercises were of use to the young men, strengthened the memory, 'trained them in the art of speaking, and taught them confidence.'

As Chancellor of Oxford, an especial act of magnificence devolved upon him. In 1636 he had to go down to Oxford with his retinue of fifty horse, and entertain the king, queen, and court, in his academical domain, which he did with a sumptuousness and splendour that made a sensation. Heylyn's description is written with *goût* :—

'He invited the king and the queen, the prince elector and his brother, to an academical entertainment on the 29th of August, being the anniversary day on which the Presidentship of St. John's College was adjudged to him by king James. The time being come and the University put in a posture for that royal visit, their Majesties were first received with an eloquent speech, as he passed by the House, being directly in his way from Woodstock to Christ Church, not without great honour to the college that the Lord Archbishop, the Lord Treasurer, the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, and one of the Proctors should be at that time of the same foundation. At Christ Church his Majesty was entertained with another oration by Strode, the University orator; the University presenting his Majesty with a fair and costly pair of gloves (as their custom was) the queen with a fair English Bible, the prince elector with Hooker's books of ecclesiastical polity, his brother Rupert with Cæsar's Commentaries in English, illustrated by the learned explanations and discourses of Sir Clement Edmonds. His Majesty was lodged in Christ Church in the great hall (one of the goodliest in the world). He was entertained, together with the queen, the two princes and the rest of the court, with an English comedy, but such as had

' more of the philosopher than the poet in it, called the "Passions Calmed," or the "Settling of the Floating Islands." On the morrow morning, being Tuesday, he began with a sermon, preached before him in that cathedral from these words of St. Luke—"Blessed is the king that cometh in the name of the Lord." [Whoever the preacher was we do not exactly commend his text. These texts were too much the fashion then.] ' The sermon being ended, the Archbishop as Chancellor of the University calls a convocation, in which he admits the prince elector, his brother prince Rupert, and many of the chiefs of the nobility to the degree of Master of Arts, and that being done attends the king and queen to St. John's College: where in the new gallery of his own building, he entertains the king and queen, the two princes, with all the lords and ladies of the court, at a stately and magnificent dinner; the king and queen sitting at one table at the north end of the room; the two princes, with the lords and ladies at a long table, reaching almost from one end to the other; at which all the gallantry and beauty of the kingdom seemed to meet. After dinner he entertained his principal guests with a pleasant comedy, presented in the public hall; and that being done attends them back again to Christ Church, where they were feasted after supper with another comedy called the "Royal Slave;" the interludes represented with as much variety of scenes and motions, as the great wit of Inigo Jones (surveyor general of his Majesty's works, and excellently well skilled in setting out a court masque to the best advantage) could extend unto. It was the day of St. Felix (as himself observeth) and all things went happily. On Wednesday, the next morning, the court removed, his Majesty going that same night to Winchester, and the Archbishop the same day entertaining all the heads of houses at a solemn feast: order being given at his departure, that the three comedies should be acted again, for the content and satisfaction of the University.'

The affair was successful. Laud was a good manager; internally grumbling however at the great bore and trouble it was, and truly happy when it was over,—well over. 'I will not detain you,' writes Strafford at the time, 'as you are busied with small matters at Oxford.' 'Tis most true,' replies Laud, with the feeling of a recent experience, 'the matters are small in themselves, but to me they have been great. I am most heartily glad they are over.'

But though masques and entertainments were not exactly in Laud's line, he had, as a genuine patron of learning and literature, a common ground with a well-informed Court, and an accomplished and literary monarch. The Stuart Court was

clever and intellectual. Charles was a connoisseur in art and a scientific man, liked chemistry, had his laboratory, and experimentalized. The gallery at Whitehall bid fair to be the first in Europe: the king was himself an artist and handled the brush, and his artistical friendship with Rubens and Vandyke, spread an atmosphere of taste around it. The court was the sphere of natural philosophy, elegance, literature, and art. Laud was no judge of pictures like his friend Strafford, or Charles; but he had thoroughly imbibed the literary tone of the day in his own line. He found out men of learning, encouraged the growth of recondite information, collected manuscripts and coins; sent out Pocock to the east. He enriched the library at Oxford with Hebrew, Arabian, Persian, Turkish, Russian, Armenian, Chinese, Greek, Italian, French, Latin, and old English manuscripts. He endowed a professorship of Arabic, and annexed a canonry to the professorship of Hebrew; and another canonry to the public oratorship, as a stimulus to the art of rhetoric. He procured for the Universities the privilege of printing bibles, which had hitherto been engrossed by the king's stationers. He set the Oxford press going on a more systematic plan, and set up a Greek press in London. His idea of a University was an enlarged one, a place of *generale studium*, a general field of learning and science; and his mind went upon the large basis, of encouraging and appreciating all departments, and all sorts of men, even where he had no acquaintance of his own with the subject.

Laud's court line, indeed, and liberal view of society, brings occasionally men to Lambeth that make us rather stare. Court wits of a brilliant, but rather lax stamp, found their way there, and Lord Conway seems to have had a particular *penchant* for the Archbishop. The mixed external connexion with men of the world was carried on a large scale, and he was ready for anybody that came. And a great many did come, and court jokers carried themselves and their jokes to Lambeth, and jostled with the men of business and secretaries. All made a whole together, and went into his reservoir.

An esoteric life accompanied the public one in Laud. It is the peculiar calling of some devotional minds to be able to throw themselves into the character of the able man of the world, as a distinct phase of mind which does not affect its real internal state. The mediæval prelates were politicians because they were churchmen, and the ascent to power and the atmosphere of a court did not interfere with true sacerdotal sanctity. Laud's devotional character was of the peculiarly ecclesiastical mould—formal and systematic, simple and penitential. The bible in his study, with the five wounds of Christ upon the binding, the gift of a religious

lady, which was brought up against him at his trial—his feeling for the crucifix—his chapels, oratories, consecrations of churches and altars, sacramental chalices—his bowings, prostrations before the altar—his constant references to saints' days—his almsgiving, fasting, canonical hours of devotion—his prejudice for clerical celibacy—show that peculiar religious shape of mind. "Seven 'times a day do I pray unto Thee, because of Thy righteous 'judgments.' The seven hours of the Church were his hours of prayer, and gave, constantly recurring short respites and pauses to his life of intense activity. His first act as a parish priest was to apportion an annual allowance from the living to twelve poor men. The poor of Reading were especially in his thoughts. 'Jan. 1.' we read in the Diary, 'The way to do the town of 'Reading good for their poor, which may be compassed by God's 'blessing upon me, though my wealth be small; and I hope 'God will bless me in it, because it was His own motion in me; 'for this way never came into my thoughts (though I had much 'beaten them about) till this night, as I was at my prayers. 'Amen, Lord.' The poor at Lambeth fed upon his charity, and assembled in hundreds to take their farewell of him when he was summoned to his trial. There is an appearance of simple interest in his poor flock there, in the way in which he casually notices the 'great wind at Lambeth,' and how 'many of the poor water-'men at Lambeth had their boats tumbled up and down, and 'broken in pieces.' The Lent fast was specially observed in the household at Lambeth, and the Lords of the High Commission heard his regrets that the 'merit of fasting' had so died away in the country.

A deeply penitential tone appears in his religious memoranda. The memory of one ecclesiastical offence that he had committed at a very early part of his life, stuck to him to the last, and the day on which he had, contrary to the Church's canons, married Lord Mountjoy to the divorced Lady Rich (St. Stephen's day), was observed as an annual day of fasting and humiliation. Lord Mountjoy had fallen deeply in love with that lady, when her family compelled her to marry Lord Rich; and the result was unfaithfulness on her part, and a divorce. Laud was a young clergyman then; he yielded to urgent entreaties, and married the guilty pair. Prynne, who could not understand the strong language of self-condemnation which a sensitive conscience is apt to use before God in prayer or in private memoranda, thought that some horrible, unutterable crime was alluded to in the expressions of guilt and anguish with which Laud referred to this act. 'My cross about the 'Earl of Devon's marriage, Dec. 26, 1605. Die Jovis.—*O Deus 'meus, respice, servum tuum et miserere mei secundum viscera*

'misericordiæ tuæ'—it is his Latin prayer—'I am become a scandal to Thy name, serving my own ambition, others' sins. Others persuaded, but my own conscience loudly forbad me. Let not this marriage divorce my soul from Thy bosom. Ah! how much better had I suffered martyrdom with Thy proto-martyr upon his commemoration day, than done the pleasure of too faithless, careless friends. I promised myself darkness in my crime, but lo! it flew out; I became more open than the daylight. So didst Thou choose, of Thy undeserved mercy to me, to fill my face with shame, that I might learn to seek Thy name. Even to this day, after so often-repeated prayers, and sorrow and confusion of soul, again and again poured out before Thee, my sin weighs heavily.' The prayer goes on to allude to another sin 'which, on the very same day of the year, I fell into, not made humble or cautious enough by the first. I am not stoned for my sins, but stoned by them. Now raise me up again, that I die no more, but live, and living rejoice in Thee.' Some particular sin marks two other days in his book of devotions. 'Julii 28, 1617. Die Lunæ.'—and below is added, 'Et Martii 6, 1641. I wandered out of my way from Thee into a foul and strange path. Thou madest me see both my folly and my weakness.' Dangers and accidents which happened gave him the idea that he had committed some sins of which God was reminding him; that he had not been living strictly enough, and that these were calls to greater strictness and severity with himself.—'St. John's College on fire under the staircase in the chaplain's chamber, by the library. Sept. 26 and July 28, days of observation to me. *O misericors Pater, quo me vertam.* I, who going out and coming in, have sinned against Thee. *Abii cum prodigo prodigus in longinquam regionem. Dissipavi substantiam meam, tuam luxuriose.* Then first I felt all spent, and me meet only for the companionship of swines. Yet did not even that unclean life, and famine of Thy grace, make me think of returning. Returned from an inauspicious journey, lo! now, Thy judgments, Lord, pursue me. The fire catches the roof under which I dwell. The Lord heard, and was wroth: so the fire was kindled in Jacob, and there came up heavy displeasure against Israel. For my wickedness, I doubt not, conflagration threatened my college and me; for while I was intent on extinguishing the fire, I had very near risk of being extinguished by it. But lo! Thy mercy, O Lord, snatched me by a miracle out of the flame; for while a friendly hand by me pulled me by force away, the spot where else I was going to put my foot burst out with the flame; the stairs sank, and I should have gone with them. *O peccata mea, nunquam satis deflenda! O misericordia tua, Domine,*

'*nunquam satis prædicanda ! O pœnitentia nunquam mihi magis necessaria ! O Gratia tua, Domine, humillime et jugiter imploranda !* I rise, O Lord and Father, I come : with slow and feeble step I come, I confess to Thee. Make me what Thou wilt, but only Thine ; and as the terror of that instant did, so let its memory ever burn out the dregs and refuse of my sins, and be within me a fire of charity and devotion, flaming up with flames of love to Thee.'—'Feb. 5, 1628, [he broke a sinew on a journey,] '*die Martis tendonem fregi, et iter.*' The Latin prayer explains. He has the Augustinian way of putting the account of his accidents in the form of addresses to God. '*O Domine Misericors*, Thy blessed name be glorified. As I was travelling with the king upon duty, forgetful of Thee and human accidents, and full of self-confidence, I trod upon treacherous earth, and broke my sinew. I was lifted into a carriage, and taken to Hampton. My nerves felt excruciating torture. I should have certainly fallen into a raging fever, had not an efflux of blood relieved me. I laboured under great weakness, and walked lame for two years. I feel some infirmity still ; but, immortal thanks to Thee, O most blessed Trinity, Thou didst restore me the perfect use of my feet, and strengthened my goings. Direct them now, O Lord, in the way of Thy commandments, that I halt not between the world and Thee. I will run the way of Thy testimonies, when Thou hast set my heart at liberty. Defer not, I pray, my heart's liberty, my foot's establishment in Thy righteousness.'

There is something in his dreams which looks the same way. Fragmentary, queer, and grotesque as they are, they have a simple sweetness in them at times which make them look like signs of the man : they breathe an amiableness of heart, unfold a quiet devotional scenery, and have an ethical air about them. It is rather an indulgent sentiment, but we are inclined to say that good dreams are much truer signs of a man than bad dreams are ; that the one do not tell against him in at all the same proportion in which the others tell in his favour. We think good people may have bad dreams, be in a passion, and behave themselves extravagantly and outrageously in their sleep ; but that bad people cannot well have good ones. There are certain ideas and forms of feeling which come out in dreams, which cannot come out there if the mind itself has them not in the first instance ; moral scenes which the mind could not enter into and appreciate even in sleep, unless it had an internal taste for them. Dreams indeed, to quote Lands own dictum, 'are not in the power of him that hath them, but in the unruliness of the fancy, which in broken sleep wanders which way it pleases, and shapes what it pleases ;' but they

may at the same time be unconscious indications of character, the more genuine even for being so. The favoured sleeper sees forms and countenances before him in winning attitudes and expressions, friendly faces of living or departed, figures smiling or beckoning, standing, or leaning, or passing by, or in quiet domestic circle, or in garden group around him;—visitors they seem from a calmer world, yet not sepulchral but genial ones; he feels at home, he looks around him, or goes up to one and then another with modest curiosity; he follows the moving imagery, and imbibes the dream's pictorial solaces and calm. True, these dreamy creations come of themselves, and he did not raise them, yet they had their origin within and not out of himself, and the mind has a property in them, if it owns and ratifies them in its waking state. The spontaneous scenery, and interior world which sleep lights up, are then its own, and memory appropriates them. The mind dwells afterwards on what it saw, the gentle look, and glance serene, and marvellous expression that drew the eye towards it, and touched an inner spring and finer chord, and called up new and fragrant sensations in the admiring dreaming mind.

We say an affectionate and devotional character appears in Laud's dreams. We mean that if wedropped suddenly upon them any where, and knew nothing of the person, we should say he was a good man—kind and tender-hearted, concerned for those who were connected with him, and were about him. He has his relations, friends, and servants, in his thoughts, and he sees them in his dreams. Friends smile and foes frown upon him in his dreams; and the new friendship and lately-formed connexion with E. B., C. D., and the rest of his mysterious alphabet, is going on well or ill. In either case he dreams about them; and sees the cheering or the saddening look. Dreams are part of his society—vents to his mind, his journal-confidants. They express some deep religious state of mind.—‘Sunday night. My dream of my Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. One of the most comfortable passages I ever had in my life’—or some vague melancholy one—‘I dreamed of the burial of I know not whom, and that I stood by the grave. I awaked sad.’ His father and mother appear to him.—‘Epiphany-eve. In the night I dreamed that my mother, long since dead, stood by my bed, and drawing aside the clothes a little, looked pleasantly upon me; and that I was glad to see her with so merry an aspect. She then showed me a certain old man long since deceased; whom when alive I both knew and loved. He seemed to lie upon the ground, merry enough, but with a wrinkled countenance. His name was Grove. While I was preparing to salute him I

‘awoke.’——‘Jan. 24, Friday. At night I dreamed that my father (who died forty-six years ago) came to me, and to my thinking he was as well and cheerful as ever I saw him. He asked me what I did here? And after some speech I asked him how long he would stay with me? He answered that he would stay till he had me away with him. I am not moved with dreams, yet I thought fit to remember this.’ His old friend King James appears—‘I saw him only passing by swiftly. He was of a pleasant and serene countenance. In passing he saw me, beckoned to me, smiled, and was immediately withdrawn from my sight.’ We encounter the suspicions and apprehensions of public life—‘Dr. Theodore Prince admonished me concerning Ma. 3, and that he was unfaithful to me, and discovered all he knew: and that I should take heed of him and trust him no more’—and its cheerful side—‘Toward the morning I dreamed that L. M. St. came to me the next day, and showed me all the kindness I could ask.’ It follows—‘L. M. St. *did* come to me, and was very kind to me, the next day.’ The dream was fulfilled, but he adds, ‘*Somniis tamen haud multum fido.*’ A dream about an old servant has a remarkable coincidence attending it.—‘This morning, between four and five of the clock, lying at Hampton Court, I dreamed that I was going out in haste, and that when I had come to my outer chamber, there was my servant Will. Pennel, in the same riding-suit which he had on, on that day sevensnight at Hampton Court with me. Methought I wondered to see him (for I left him sick at home), and asked him how he did, and what he made there. And that he answered me he came to receive my blessing; and with that fell on his knees. That herewith I prayed over him, and therewith awaked.’ It follows—‘When I was up I told this to them of my chamber, and added that I should find Pennel dead or dying. My coach came; and when I came home I found him past sense, and giving up the ghost. So my prayers, as they have frequently before, commended him to God.’ Laud’s kind of parental relation for those under him, and feeling for old acquaintances, and old servants, and all about him, is a great feature in him; and we see when—‘my ancient friend Mr. Pearshall,’ dies, and when ‘Mr. Adam Forbes, my ancient, loving, and faithful servant and steward, who had served me full forty-two years, died, to my great loss and grief;’ and when ‘my ancient friend E. R. came and performed great kindnesses to me, which I can never forget.’ And the conversion of Kenelm Digby to Rome is annoying to him on account of the fact, but especially because he never told Laud of his intention beforehand, whose old friendship had a right to know it.

Or we turn to his patronage of religious minds, and anxiety to secure the benefit of their services to the Church—and see him the ordainer of Nicolas Ferrar and George Herbert ; putting Jeremy Taylor into All Souls ; promoting Cosens and others. He met Herbert at Wilton House, who had been oscillating in his mind long between the Court and the priesthood. A conversation with Laud had the effect immediately of sending for the tailor from Salisbury to cut him out a canonical suit. Cosens's hours of devotion for the court ladies, were an attempt to supply the regularity of devotional exercises which the Roman Catholic ladies about Henrietta Maria had, and take away a religious scandal from the English Court.

His patronage of the Ferrar family, and the devotional establishment at Little Gidding, was marked. We know pretty well what would be thought of such a religious retreat now ; a domestic monastery of the strictest rule, where the whole Psalter was recited every twenty-four hours, and prayer never stopped night or day. Nicolas Ferrar slept on bearskin on the boards, in a loose frieze gown, rose always at midnight, and watched in his oratory three nights of the week. We do not want to make invidious comparisons, but would not men in station now be found to look rather coldly upon such a place ? and among the mass what suspicions, black looks, ominous gestures, and shakes of the head would arise on the subject. People would be divided between the hypothesis of superstition and insanity to account for the phenomenon : King and Court would not, of course, know of its existence. Imagine, indeed, the royal suite now going out of their way to see such a place—‘ The King and the Prince, the Palsgrave, the Duke of Lennox, and divers other nobles staying a morning there’—visiting chapel, hall, and looking into all the corners. The younger members of the Court were not quite so grave as their seniors. The ‘ young lords went into the buttery, and there found ‘ apple pies and cheese cakes, and came out with pieces in their ‘ hands, laughing, to the prince ; and—“ Sir, will your Highness ‘ taste ?” ‘ Charles, especially, admired the old poor widows’ alms-houses, and their clean wainscoted well-rubbed rooms—‘ God’s blessing upon the founders of it’—and turning to the Palsgrave, ‘ Time was you would have thought such a lodging ‘ not amiss.’ The Palsgrave entirely assented. A nice speech accompanied the five gold pieces he then took out of his pocket, for the benefit of the poor widows,—‘ It is all I have, else they ‘ should have more,’ [these he had won the night before of the Palsgrave, at cards, at Huntingdon, says the document,] ‘ tell ‘ them to pray for me.’ After walking and talking, His Majesty finds the evening closing in. ‘ It grows late, the sun is

‘going down—we must away.’ So ‘their horses were brought to the door. The king mounting, those of the family, men and women, all kneeled down, and heartily prayed God to bless and defend him from his enemies.’ He took off his hat, ‘Pray, pray, for my speedy return again,’ he said, and then rode away.

Laud patronized Little Gidding, and showed great affection to young Nicolas Ferrar, who came up to Court with presents of the home-manufactured volumes of the Gidding press, and binding-shop. Annual compliments of this kind passed between Charles and the Ferrars: as soon as he had one book, he was so pleased with it, that he insisted on having another. The ‘purple velvet, gilt,’ the ‘green velvet, gilt,’ the ‘great broad strings, edged with gold lace, and curiously bound,’ were highly appreciated; and ‘glorious,’ ‘diamonds,’ ‘jewels,’ ‘precious stones,’ ‘crystals,’ came thick from the royal mouth, as the ornature was inspected. He read the books, (one was ‘A Harmony of the Gospels,’ another of the ‘Kings and Chronicles,’) and made marginal notes. Young Nicolas came up to London on one of these occasions of a presentation, and went straight, as he had directions to do, to ‘My Lord of Canterbury.’ Conducted into the Archbishop’s presence, he ‘knelt down, craved his blessing, and kissed his hand.’—‘My lord embraced him very lovingly, took him up, and after some salutes,’ had the book shown him, and was enchanted. Nicolas had to prepare himself for presentation to the King next day. Next day, Maundy Thursday, the Archbishop led his young *protégé* into a room where the king stood by the fire, with many nobles attending him. ‘What, have you brought with you those rarities and jewels you told me of?’—‘Yes, here is the young gentleman and his works.’ The Archbishop led him by the hand up to the king; the box was opened, and the whole party were full of admiration. The book was the ‘Gospel of our Lord and Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, in eight several languages;’ all the undivided learning of young Ferrar himself. Charles was astonished, asked the youth’s age, and resolved on the spot to send him to Oxford, at his own expense. ‘But what a pity,’ said Charles, when the youth had retired, ‘was that impediment in his tongue!’ Laud did not think so; for if the young gentleman had had the full use of his natural tongue, the chance was, he would not have gained so many written ones. Lord Holland recommended pebbles; Charles had tried pebbles himself, and found they did no good; he should learn to sing, and would find singing a good cure.—The same envoy brought a book for Prince Charles, too; the pretty pictures made a great sensation. ‘Will you

'not make me such another fine book?' said the little Duke of York—'Do.' Certainly his Grace 'should have one without fail.' 'But how long will it be before I have it?' 'Very soon.' 'Yes, but how long will that be?—tell the ladies at Gidding to be quick.' Young Ferrar was then introduced at the court table, and dined with 'divers young lords, the Duke of Buckingham, and others.'

The Archbishop, at parting, the next day, informed him of the king's good intentions, and filled his young mind with a grand object for his Oxford career. 'The king would have 'this work of the New Testament in twenty-four languages,' and Nicolas Ferrar was to be the editor of the grand polyglott, and to have all the help of the learning of the nation at his command. 'The youth, kneeling down, took the Archbishop by the 'hand, and kissed it. The Archbishop took him up in his arms, 'and laid his hand upon his cheek, and earnestly besought God 'Almighty to bless him, and increase all graces in him, and fit him 'every day more and more for an instrument of his glory here upon 'earth, and a saint in heaven. God bless you! God bless you! 'I have told your father what is to be done for you after the 'holidays. God will provide for you better than your father 'can. God bless you, and keep you.' Young Ferrar was cut off before he fulfilled the Archbishop's predictions. A premature intellect had undermined his health, and he died not long after this scene.

We must return to our subject. Laud, now Archbishop and Premier, and, in the full swing of official magnificence, had no thought of the *otium cum dignitate* in his head. Thirty years of hard continuous work at Oxford and at Court, had cemented him; he was too old to change; he had cast his own mould, and it was a good hard one. The regions of damask, velvet, and crimson glow—the increased rich air of station—the 'violet blue and full-blown roses,' and soft, encircling pomp and cushioning fumes, embraced a very tough insensible material in him. The sterling, wiry mind went on working in its own hole, stuck to its objects, pushed for results, and saw, in the ramifications of office, simply channels of employment, and nothing more. The pure, unalloyed, practical view excluded the idle, self-important one. Laud was sixty-two when he was made Archbishop, and he was then in the very thick of the struggle, and had the world before him. Still further and further,—further from the Archbishop than from the President of St. John's, fled the inward consummation and the *præmium virtutis*, the elysium of the official mind, the blushing and the blossoming, the state when cares are pleasures and duties treats, and the happy conscience and the

satisfied taste expand over their department of genial exertion and dignity; and the choice nest warms under the maternal wing, and the sunbeams glitter on the garden-plot. O happy, indescribable state of ministerial, parliamentary, judicial, magisterial, episcopal, archidiaconal, collegiate, parochial efflorescence; union of peace, plenty, and virtue, oil and perfume of the soul, development of life, and climax of man! and ill-fated person he who does not contrive to get admittance within your sacred enclosure, especially if he has been so presumptuous as to decline it! The wide ocean rages outside of you, clouds lower, and restless illimitableness distresses the eye. And triple brass for him, 'who can love to hear the winds roar, and calmly gaze on floating monsters, and a swollen sea, and those dreadful rocks, the Acroceraunia.'

Melancholy forebodings sounded in Laud's ear as he entered upon his archiepiscopal course, and a determination to go through with everything mingled with a kind of gloom and hopelessness as to how it would all end. 'My lord,' is his answer to Strafford's congratulations, 'I thank you heartily for your kind wishes to me, that God would send me many and many happy days where I am now to be: Amen. I can do little for myself, if I cannot say so. But truly, my lord, I look for neither: not for many, for I am in years, and have had a troublesome life; not for happy, for I have no hope to do the good I desire. And, besides, I doubt I shall never be able to hold my health there one year; for instead of all the jolting which I have had over the stones between London-house and Whitehall, which was almost daily, I shall now have no exercise, but slide over in a barge to the Court and Star Chamber. And in truth, my lord, I speak seriously; I have had a heaviness hanging over me ever since I was nominated to the place, and I can give myself no account of it, unless it proceed from an apprehension that there is more expected from me than the craziness of these times will give me leave to do.'—'Methinks I see a cloud arising, and threatening the Church of England; God, of His mercy, dissipate it,' was the notice of his Diary years ago, as soon as the House of Commons war with Montague began. With the reader's permission we will go back an interval, and take him to the scene. The theological war had begun sometime before, upon the national field; and a series of collisions between Laud and the House of Commons ushered in the contest, which afterwards overwhelmed Church and State. It is curious to see the first stages of a great struggle.

Mr. Richard Montague was a fellow of Eton College, and Prebendary of Windsor; an able and a learned man. The

acuteness, point, and clearness which his controversial writings show, give him, notwithstanding a too unchastised form in which he clothes them, an undoubted rank as a man of talent. Some Jesuits had found their way into his parish, with a tract against the English Church,—‘A new Gag for an old Gospel.’ Montague answered it by showing that the doctrines of the English Church were much higher than the assailants had given her credit for, and issued the ‘Gagger.’ The ‘Gagger’ came under the criticism of other eyes than those of Jesuits, and its statement of Church of England doctrines irritated the puritanical party, who saw in them simple unqualified popery: and Montague was threatened with an arraignment before a most formidable theological tribunal.

This tribunal was the House of Commons. We do not at this day regard the honourable house as much of a theological body, nor does it consider itself so. It was different then. The House of Commons was a Calvinistic body then—not Calvinists individually, perhaps one-tenth part of them, or caring enough about it—but a Calvinistic *body*. Bodies come to act under certain influences as bodies. Corporations, boards, commissions, parliaments, admit some active element into them which gradually rises, and gets itself looked up to, sets the standard, and lays down the law. Bodies subject themselves to a ruling spirit, which, even where it is not felt, is deferred to among its members, as a matter of course; and the aggregate, as such, takes that line, and seems to have a character and soul of its own independent of its individual parts. The House of Commons, as a body, adopted puritanism: in adopting puritanism, it adopted the popular, the vigorous, the ambitious religious principle of the day. The House of Commons represented the political element in the nation, and was then making its first approaches to that gigantic power to which it has since attained—that supremacy of earth and human will which has stamped the sad, though magnificent career of English politics. It represented the State pure with its natural instinctive antipathy to Church power, and it saw in puritanism the instrument for crushing it. With that sharpness of instinct with which a political movement catches at the convenient stepping-stone for its own objects, the House of Commons threw itself into the puritanical mould, and became Calvinistic on the same principle on which it is now latitudinarian. It gathered into it the strength, passion, and impulse of the nation, and became the centre and rallying-point of a new and intense world of feeling and power that had risen up. It became a regularly theological assembly. That ‘lower depth’ of hypocrisy, by which the

powers of earth actually contrive to believe their own religious adoption, and fondle the base instrument, was attained to. It discussed doctrines, prosed, preached, and exhorted, and displayed all manner of unction. It was the Exeter-Hall of the present day, and the 'godly' M. P. threw up his eyes at the very mention of popery, and congratulated himself and the rest of the 'godly' honourable house, that they were not members of Antichrist. Sympathetic compliments passed between the 'godly' House and the 'godly' out of the House; and there were pious diplomatic connexions with nonconformist ministers. The House believed in predestination. The House was powerful on the subject of free grace. The House loved the pure Gospel. The House grieved for the hardness of the human heart, and the opposition of the natural man to truth. The House was severe on the worldliness of prelates. The House was a religious prig of the first order. Heylyn has his laugh, and facetiously attributes these pretensions to the impression which their session in the Divinity School at Oxford made on them:—'The Divinity School was prepared for the 'House of Commons, and a chair made for the speaker, in or 'near the place in which his Majesty's professor of divinity did 'usually read his public lecture, and moderate in all public dis- 'putations. And this first put them into conceit that the deter- 'mining of all points of controversy did belong to them. As 'Vibius Rufus, in the story, having married Tully's widow, 'and bought Cæsar's chair, conceived he was then in a way to gain 'the eloquence of the one and the power of the other. For after 'that we find no parliament without a committee of religion, 'and no committee of religion but what did think itself suffi- 'ciently instructed to manage the greatest controversies of divi- 'nity which were brought before them.'

Yates and Ward, two puritanical lecturers at Ipswich, sent information about Montague to the House. James was then on the throne. Montague, in alarm, appealed to the crown, and was protected; and published, in consequence of this appeal, his '*Appello Cæsarem*,' which repeated in a stronger form the statements of the first book.

The first parliament of Charles met, and immediately summoned the audacious offender. 'He was brought to the bar 'of the House, and the speaker declared to him the pleasure of 'the House.' They deferred the censure, but in the interim committed him to the 'sergeant's ward,' and made him find bail to the amount of two thousand pounds. Charles was very indignant at this stretch of power over one of his own chaplains: Laud engaged Buckingham in the cause; and a formal

letter from himself and two other bishops, Rochester and Oxford, laid down the Church law on the subject. They protested against the assumption of ecclesiastical power by parliament, and declared that convocation was the only theological tribunal to which the Church would or could submit. The letter, however, was very moderate, claimed some doctrines as necessary, and demanded a latitude for others. 'The opinions which troubled many men in the late book of Mr. Montague, were some of them such as were expressly the resolved doctrines of the Church of England: some of them such as were fit only for schools, and to be left at liberty for learned men, so that they keep themselves peaceable, and distract not the Church. They did not intend to make men subscribe the school opinions; they only did not want to be intimidated themselves into abandoning the doctrines of the Church.' The Commons saw a stand made against them, and showed their teeth. When the next motion for supplies came on, they were so deep in spiritual subjects, that no answer could be got out of them on the sublunary one. Charles urged his 'pressing occasions, the necessities of the fleet, the eyes of the confederates that were fixed on him.' The House, in return, told him of the growth of popery, expressed their fears, and humbly offered their assistance in checking it.

Charles's second parliament opened with a sermon from Laud on unity. 'How may unity be preserved in Church and State? How? I will tell you. Would you keep the State in unity? Take heed of breaking the peace of the Church. The peace of the State depends much upon it; for, divide Christ in the hearts of men, or divide the minds of men about their hopes of salvation in Christ, and tell me what unity there will be?' Other prey was in scent, however, now, and Montague, superseded by Buckingham, was 'kept cold' till the next parliament, when the attack was renewed with increased vigour. Charles was frightened, and thought it safest to end the matter by calling in the obnoxious book. The concession gave offence to the Church party, and was thought a 'bending of religion to policy.' But Laud made it up to Montague the next opportunity. The latter had a fellow-sufferer in the person of a Dr. Mainwaring, who had been actually brought to his knees before the mighty tribunal, and been imprisoned, fined, and suspended; his sermon burnt, and himself especially incapacitated from holding any further ecclesiastical preferment. Laud made Montague and Mainwaring, respectively, Bishops of Chichester and St. David's. And the two victims marched under the very face of the Lower House to their episcopal seat in the Lords.

To come to the main scene of our history ;—Laud, in complete and undisputed possession of the regale, now applied its full powers to effect an ecclesiastical reformation in the country, and wielded with unsparing energy the secular weapon in his hands.

The puritanical preachers in the Church now overran the ground like a host, and spread their doctrines with all the zeal and license of preaching friars of protestantism. There were more quiet intellectual specimens of them, of whom Baxter was the head, who half despised their brethren ; but the mass was a vulgar disorderly one. They were the mendicant orders of the Reformation, with a strong mixture of the hedge-priest in their constitution ; and were the genuine successors of the Lollards and Wickliffites of Archbishop Courtney's day. Their whole proceedings take us back to that prototype. The parochial pulpits did not supply them with a sufficient theatre, though they had their share of them : they instituted lectureships. Companies and corporations all over the country were persuaded to found lectureships, and give revenues for additional sermons on the Sunday or week-days, once, twice, or thrice in the week. Their ingenuity in multiplying these opportunities was prodigious. A lecture once instituted became, when they liked, ' a running lecture,' *i. e.* was not confined to one place, but ran from parish to parish. Special fasts were appointed by the authority of the lecturer, or curate, for this or that alleged reason, in neighbourhoods. These fasts were pure excuses for sermons, and were principally devoted to the castigation of the sins of prelates, and especially the Archbishop himself. The audience fasted by feasting their ears. Lectures and fasts were the sores and troubles of High Church bishops in their dioceses : they had to exert themselves to extinguish fasts as often as they sprung up, and prohibit the right of the public fasting. One would imagine that fasting was a great popular sin of the day. ' His lordship of Peterborough certifies that he hath suppressed a seditious lecture at Ripon, and divers monthly lectures, with a fast and a moderator (like that which they called prophesying in Queen Elizabeth's time), as also the Running Lecture, so called because the lecturer went from village to village, and at the end of the week proclaimed where they should hear him next, that his disciples might follow. They say this lecture was ordained to illuminate the dark corners of that diocese.' Their style of preaching was coarse to a degree that could hardly be credited now, and which absolutely prevents us from making quotations. Unscrupulous illustrations, any expression which came to hand, if it was only strong enough, any thing for effect, made their language about our Saviour amount sometimes to blasphemy, and miserably lowered the Bible doctrines. They

preached in Genevan cloaks often, and did not even wear the gown. The class was an English shape of the Scotch Covenanters and Cameronians, forward, rude, and undisciplined, full of angry enthusiasm, and breathing in their spiritual declamations the spirit of war and the carnal knife—of the holster and pistols, and jack-boots. The watchword of the ‘sword of the Lord and of Gideon,’ was in embryo in their discourses, and incontrollable confidence and self-will carried them along. They represented a grotesque religious mixture, which the world perhaps will never see again, in that particular mould and manifestation. Boundless types of the ridiculous, they contrived to unite a temporary intensity of life and power with their absurdities. They were real persons, realities, not shams, writes an admirer. They were realities, beyond a doubt, but in a sense which utterly excludes from the meaning of the word ‘reality’ the sublime, the great, or the interesting. The animal creation, for example, with all its ferocities and humours, is real: and men and mammalia are both real. But the reality of the one nature is human, of the other animal. The puritans had reality; but that they were ridiculous is a simple fact, of which the elemental perception of that principle in our nature is at once the test. They abounded and sprung up with a luxuriant and prolific impetus all over the Church now. Ordination was not limited then by its present rules. Men were ordained with or without cures. Gentlemen of any rank, who chose to afford one, had a chaplain, or person so called, in his house. ‘All persons,’ says Heylyn, ‘were left at liberty to ‘keep as many as they would, and as long as they pleased, without any control. Nor were the chaplains better pleased than their masters were. For having lived upon hard commons, and perhaps under some smart discipline in their halls and colleges, they thought they had spent their studies to good purpose by finding ease and a full belly in these gentlemen’s houses, from whom there was possibly some preferment also.’ The unmanageable theological mass thus sprung up had found their way into schools, among other places; and their notions interfered with common education. And Laud complains that ‘the precisian would read nothing but divinity to his pupils—no, not so much as the grammar rules; unless Mars and Bacchus, Apollo, Pol, and Ædipol were blotted out.’

The doctrine of the school was strong predestinarianism, and they stood upon the language of the seventeenth Article, as the proof that the Church spoke with them. The fact that the seventeenth Article comes almost word for word from St. Augustine, and St. Thomas Aquinas, and that neither could well be Calvinists, could not reach congregations who knew nothing of the history of doctrinal language. The Calvinistic doctrine

of predestination, with all its concomitant views of Original Sin, the Atonement, and Justification by Faith, was put forward as the teaching of the Reformed Church. There is something in the Calvinistic predestinarian, or fatalist view, which wonderfully harmonizes with a low, and fallen religion. It has been the favourite article of heretical bodies from the first. It benumbs the aspiring will, and reduces all Christians to a level; stops up the fountain-head of good works, excuses the aim at graces and perfections, and insinuates the flattering belief that the aim is even sinful, and not intended in God's scheme. It supplants humility, the very basis of the Christian character: by taking away the real reason for it, voluntary sin, it makes humility unnecessary and out of place. If a man could not help doing wrong, why be humbled for it? Proud nature knows that, refuses to appropriate its sin, and turns fatalist. 'I had rather,' says Augustine, speaking of himself, in his Manichean days, 'that Thy incommutable substance erred by necessity, than my own mutable one by will; and sin was derived by immutable law from heaven, that man might be free from it, and remain proud rottenness and flesh and blood.' Man tries to escape from the fact of voluntary sin, but the Church will not let him. She pursues him with the fact of his free-will, drives him into a corner, and points the sharp sword at his conscience. Free-will is the one sore point with sinful nature, which contains worlds, and is the starting point of a whole different religious system to that of natural man—the spiritual ethics of Catholicism.

Calvinism and Arminianism were the two names which the Puritans gave to the two sides on this question. The advocates of free will were called Arminians, though they disclaimed and in fact had nothing to do with Arminius himself. The name was given them by their opponents. Laud's school urged simply the Church doctrine of free-will against the Calvinistic view: and the controversy on the subject of free-will and predestination filled the Church, became the great doctrinal controversy of the day, and was carried on by sermons and books and pamphlets, and all the modes of agitation common in theological war. The Puritan was Calvinist, and the Churchman Arminian. There were exception to the division in many cases, such as Davenant and Usher, who held a certain modification of Calvinism in doctrine, while they were Churchmen in discipline. But the two sides, as a whole, divided on this subject.

Laud's object was a doctrinal clearance; the subjugation of the Calvinistic spirit in the Reformed Church of England. The restoration of Church ceremonial and external worship, was not so much his object as this doctrinal one. The Church was overrun

with heresy—for we cannot call the puritanical movement of the 17th century by any other name; and he was bent on expelling it; on the view that nothing could be made of the Church till it was got rid of. He was a doctrinal reformer. Grievous experience had taught him the nature of the Calvinistic school; and he had suffered under the pressure. The two Abbots, and Vice-Chancellor Airay, and the theological tribunal, and the Oxford contests with the heads of the party, made their impression. He was now in power, and it was his turn to act.

Laud had no sooner gained his position in the Church, than two successive sets of Royal Instructions made their appearance; laying down stringent rules for curtailing the number of this class of preachers, and cramping their pulpit displays. The prolific source of the class was stopped up, and common gentlemen were forbidden private chaplains in their houses. The lecturer had the whole ecclesiastical weight tied to him from the time he went into the Church, to the time he came out. The Church service before the lecture, the surplice, the communion service from the altar in the morning, were all hung like weights upon his performance. 'If you preach, you must pray,' he was told. He found himself under a legal ceremonial burden. He rushed impetuously into the extempore prayer before the sermon, and the bidding prayer instantly filled up the gap. The sermon itself was brought into confinement, and barren was the model of the discourse to which the Puritan imagination was directed. The injunctions proceed: 'I. That no preacher under the degree and calling of a bishop, or dean of a cathedral or collegiate church (and they upon the king's days only and set festivals), do take occasion, by the expounding of any text of Scripture whatever, to fall into any set discourse or common-place, otherwise than by opening the coherence, and division of his text.—II. That no parson, vicar, curate, or lecturer, shall preach any sermon or collation hereafter in the afternoon, but upon some parts of the Catechism, or the Lord's Prayer.—III.' continues the document, with growing impetus and rising displeasure, as it approaches the great point—'That no preacher of what title whatsoever, under the degree of bishop or dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any popular auditory the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's grace.' The animus of the document could have been given in two words—no sermons. Sermons were the unmanageable articles, the essential agents of mischief; and how to cut and pare them down, and put them into strait-waistcoats, and into the stocks, and take out their tongues, and make them say nothing, and mean nothing, and be nothing, was the question.

The instructions of course created large disgust. Country gentlemen thought themselves insulted; it was rumoured that 'nothing less was aimed at than a total suppression of the Divine ordinance of preaching;' and, at the least, 'a dreadful diminution in the number of sermons was anticipated:' and 'as for spending the afternoon in teaching the Church Catechism,' the preacher felt much of the indescribable contempt for the task that Dugald Dalgetty had for bows and arrows. 'It was a work fitter for a pedagogue than a preaching minister, who was ordained to provide strong meats for men, and not such milk for babes.' It was a strange look-out, indeed, if he who had dived into the very arcana of predestinarianism, if the advanced Gospellist, was now to expound the Catechism. The execution of the injunctions led to fresh collisions. The preachers did expound the Catechism; they took a text out of it, and preached a full-length sermon. The bishop of the diocese had to keep watch.

The royal declaration about the Thirty-nine Articles, still appended to our Prayer Book, was the decisive step, however, taken with respect to the doctrinal question at issue. The meaning of the Articles was fought for; the declaration rescued them *vi et armis* from the Calvinistic sense, and said positively, they are not Calvinistic, and they shall not be Calvinistic; we forbid you drawing any inference of your own from them: you shall take the words—the words as they stand—as much of the words as you please—but not one iota of meaning shall you give them. It is no use, the royal document seems to say, disputing with you; you are too much for us with your indomitable tongues: suffice it to say, that it shall be so; we will have no commenting. 'We will that all further curious search be laid aside. No man hereafter shall draw the Articles aside any way. No man shall put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal grammatical sense.' The declaration was perfectly understood by the Calvinists, and pronounced to come 'from the depths of Satan,' and to be 'a Jesuitical plan to subvert the Gospel.' Under pretence of stopping both sides, it tongue-tied them. Even Bishop Davenant had to be called to order for disobedience; and a strong Calvinistic sermon from him in the royal chapel, the Sunday after, in defiance of it, brought him before the High Commission. At the same time, the wording of the document was almost too impartial. The Calvinistic sense was destroyed, but all other senses were stopped at the same time too. No side being allowed to attach its own meaning to them, all meanings were taken away, and Calvinism was removed by a process which cleared the whole ground to achieve its removal; and henceforth a grammatical sense, without a theological mean-

ing, was the subtle abstraction to which the significance of the Articles was reduced, according to this declaration.

Such were the weapons of the day. There is something curious in a contest between two kinds of strength. The naturalist seeks for the spectacle in the animal world; the historical eye sees it in the annals of parties and movements. Puritanism felt the saliency and impetuosity of a new heretical principle; Laud the pertinacity of an old ecclesiastical one. He had not the young power of the age with him, and he must use what power he had. Puritanism came up, like the seed from the dragon's teeth, everywhere; Laud could simply put his foot on it. It turned, and doubled, and fled from him, in Protean fashion; and he followed it. It evaded one law, and another was made. He kept it under, while its prolific vitality threatened to burst the pressure every moment, and overwhelm him. Keep it under, check, block it, was all he could do; and that he did do without fail. Bold impetus found its match, and the coarse vigour and teeming animal life of heresy never made the coercer shrink or flag.

The contest of the two sides for Church Patronage was another form of the same combat. The matter was one of vital importance, and affected the prospective strength of each party strongly. The Puritans had their project—a great scheme, viz. for buying in lay impropriations. A common fund was raised for buying in such impropriations as were in lay hands, and a regular corporation formed. ‘Twelve persons, clergymen, citizens, and lawyers—their names, Googe, Offspring, Sibbs, and Davenport, ministers; Eyre, Brown, White, and Sherland, lawyers; Gearing, Davis, Horwood, and Bridges, citizens; with Rowland Heylin, alderman of London, a thirteenth man, to give the casting vote,’—formed the committee of management. Emissaries were despatched through all parts of the country to collect money. Heylyn, our biographer, first discovered the real drift of the design, which one or two discourses of the nominees of the body sufficiently demonstrated. ‘It then pleased the president of his college, being then vice-chancellor, to appoint him to preach the Advent sermon at St. Mary’s,’ to which, it appears, there was a great concourse in those days. He took for his text—‘But while men slept, the enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way;’ and an *exposé* of the plan followed. ‘A general consternation,’ he says, ‘showed itself in the looks of his auditors,’—the puritan portion of them. He was charged with having been set upon the task by ‘a higher power;’ and ‘honest, well-meaning men thought it a pity to discourage such a pious work’ as the feoffment. A puritan meeting was held

that night, and came to the resolution of taking legal and all other proceedings against the preacher. Heylyn put his sermon and the whole affair in Laud's hands, 'who thereupon entered 'it in the memorandum at the end of his breviat, viz. "to overthrow the feoffment, dangerous both to Church and State, 'going under the specious practice of buying in impropriations." 'The feoffees came to their doom in the Exchequer' in the course of a few months.

Laud had his own schemes, in the meantime, going on for the same object. The same impropriations were in his eye, too; and, at the very time of this discovery, he was holding consultations with Charles about a method of getting back the lay patronage within the Church into the Church's hands again. All openings to patronage were watched. Cottington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Coventry, the privy seal, had a dispute 'about the disposal of such benefices as belonged to 'the king in the minority of his wards.' Coventry claimed his share, Cottington would not let him have it. While the two are fighting, 'Laud ends the difference by taking all unto 'himself.' He urged upon his majesty 'that many deans had 'served as chaplains in his majesty's ships, who should have 'some reward given them for their services past. It was cold 'venturing upon such hot services without some hope of reward. 'He takes occasion, therefore, to inform his majesty, that till 'this controversy be decided, he might do well to take these 'livings unto his own disposal. Which proposition being approved, his majesty committed the said benefices unto *his* 'the Archbishop's disposal.' The acquisition was gained without much ill will, for 'Cottington was not at all displeased 'at the designation—as being more willing that a third man 'should carry off the prize from both, than to be overtopped in 'his own jurisdiction. And the Archbishop, by this accession of 'power, as he increased the number of his dependants, so gained 'the opportunity of supplying the Church with regular conformable men; which served him for a counterbalance against 'the multitude of lecturers established in so many places, especially by the feoffees for impropriations.'

The higher preferments of the Church began now to fall into his hands, and he filled them up with his own men. Corbet, 'one of his fellow-sufferers in the University,' he raised to the see of Norwich; the younger Bancroft, to the see of Oxford; Neile, from Winchester to the Archbishopric of York; Juxon, to the clerkship of the closet; Lyndsell, to Peterborough; Wren, in course of time, to Hereford. A catena of such preferments was brought up against Laud at his trial.

We come to another great department of reform. A miserable

neglect of the externals of worship, and an aspect of coldness, irreverence, and disorder, were now disgracing the celebration of the Church services, and deforming the fabrics. Churches, with their communion-tables drawn out towards the body of the Church, the chancels becoming rapidly shut up with pews, the decay of all ornament, and the positive dirt and defilement in them, were made into conventicles rather than churches. Laud took the work fairly in hand. Some cathedrals and churches, in different parts, where he had influence, had already begun a reform; and the cathedrals of Gloucester, St. Paul's, and Worcester under Mainwaring, and others, had revived in part their ancient splendour, and the forms and outward gestures of Catholic worship. Hangings, palls, fronts, and rich plate vessels, enriched the altar. The canons bowed towards the altar, and bowed at the name of Jesus. At St. Mary's Church, Oxford, the doctors and scholars began to do the same; and college chapels began to show the rising spirit.

Laud had a great taste for Church ceremonial, and his feeling was in the movement. The combination of the man of business and statesman, the practical character with the love of Church ritual, is striking. We draw aside the veil of political life, and find the Archbishop before his chapel-altar, consecrating his communion-plate. A person,—an informer afterwards against him,—happens to stray into the chapel at Lambeth one morning, and ‘sees him bow and wear a cope, then consecrate the vessels, ‘and use part of Solomon’s dedication prayer.’—‘No fault,’ says Laud, at his trial, ‘in any of these; these inanimate things are ‘holy, in that they are deputed to the service of God:—there is ‘an absolute holiness of God, and a relative holiness of the creature.’ ‘If there is no dedication of these things to God, there’s ‘neither thing nor place holy, and thus no sacrilege: no difference ‘between churches and common houses, between “holy tables” ‘and ordinary tables. But I would have no man deceive himself: ‘sacrilege is a grievous thing. “Thou that abhorrest idols, dost ‘thou commit sacrilege?”’ The whole turn and expression of his mind, and his zeal on the subject, show more underneath these measures, than the cold ground of mere external decency and Church respectability. Certain forms of speaking which he and his school made use of, are indeed open to this interpretation. But it should be remembered, that the public and forensic ground is not necessarily the real ground in the individual himself. When Laud summoned non-conformists into his court for not attending to Church ceremonial, he would not argue with them on its beauty or sublimity; he would simply say, ‘This is the rule of the Church, and you must obey it. Because however he makes use of an inferior forensic ground, we need not therefore tie

him to it exclusively. It may perfectly co-exist with the higher one; and his language and acts show this higher ground decidedly.

The restoration of the ceremony of Church consecrations was one of Laud's revivals. The ceremony had stopped since the Reformation; and the regular view was, says Heylyn, 'that the continued series of divine duties in a place set apart for that purpose, doth sufficiently consecrate a place.' 'In Sidney College, Cambridge,' he adds, 'the old dormitory of the Franciscans (on the site of which friary the said college was built), was, after some years, trimmed and fitted, and without any formal consecration, converted into a house of prayer; though formerly, in the opinion of those who allowed thereof, it could have been no better than a den of thieves.' 'The chapel of Emmanuel College, though built at the same time with the rest of the house, was never consecrated.' Laud's consecrations of St. Catherine Creed, and St. Giles's-in-the-fields, performed with high formality and pomp, revived the old idea which had lain dead, and made a sensation which gave a stimulus to the Church. She heard herself addressed in sublime tones which were new to her, and learned to apply high language to herself. 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in.'

But Laud's whole movement about Church externals soon converged to a point, and gathered round the altar. 'The altar,' were his words, 'is the greatest place of God's residence upon earth, greater than the pulpit, for there 'tis *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my body; but in the other it is, at most, but *Hoc est verbum meum*, This is my word.' Here the ceremonial question became a doctrinal one. The disposition of the communion-table in our churches, then removed from the east end, and brought without rails or skreen into an almost congregational position in the church, was an ocular contradiction to all high doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist; a practical denial of the mystery of the Real Presence and the Sacrifice. It was a bar to all sound preaching on that head, to have the whole interior of a church giving the lie to the doctrine. The communion-table was used for all sorts of purposes. 'Churchwardens kept their accounts upon it; parishioners despatched parish business at it; schoolmasters taught the boys to write at it; boys had their hats, satchels and books upon it; men sat and leant irreverently against it at sermon time; glaziers knocked it full of nail-holes.' Laud applied his attentions to the holy table; made that his object, and directed his reforms to it. He wished to do one particular thing—to bring out fairly, and put in its proper position, the Lord's table; to raise it from a table

into an altar. It was a great point to obtain, and quite worth setting to work about: he applied himself singly and vigorously to it. In gaining this he gained a centre, about which a hundred other things were collected.

His injunctions about the communion-table were very simple, and even moderate, and confined themselves to this one object. They enjoined placing the communion-table at the east end, close to the wall: rails were enjoined to separate it fairly from the congregation: it was to be three steps above the chancel floor, and pews in the chancel, that obstructed the sight of it from the body of the church, were to be pulled down. This was enough to vindicate the essential character of the holy table, and here the command stopped. Principle, and not ornament, was the object. In cathedrals and places where ornament could be got, and could be afforded, it was attended to. The scene of a magnificent church interior required it, in order to keep the altar on a par with the rest of the fabric. But in ordinary cases, the simple naked change of position was all aimed at; and for the rest he was content with necessary decency. We must confess we are literally unable to discover that exorbitance in Laud's line about church externals, that some have affected to find. His injunctions have a very moderate tone, aim at realities, and keep to the point.

An order in council, dated Whitehall, November 3, 1633, settled the question for him, in the case of St. Gregory's church, near St. Paul's, in the city, where the change of position had been made. The decision made a noise at the time, and gave him the ground he wanted. An archiepiscopal visitation, commenced immediately after his elevation, enforced a set of instructions on the subject, and Brent, the vicar-general, made a progress through the provinces. He did not encounter more opposition than that of churchwardens here and there, till he came to the diocese of Lincoln.

Here the old enemy, Williams, was on the alert. As soon as ever the order of St. Gregory appeared, he turned the communion tables in his diocese, that happened to be at the east end, back again, raised a cry of 'more capacity to receive communicants, greater audibleness of the minister's voice, &c.' and received Laud with a regular organized opposition. He ingratiated himself forthwith, in a marked way, and with all the arts of humbug, of which he was master, with the nonconformist ministers — 'insomuch that, meeting in the Archdeaconry of Buckingham with one Dr. Bret, a very grave and reverend man, but 'one who was supposed to incline that way, he embraced him 'in his episcopal arms, with these words of St. Augustine, '*Quamvis Episcopus major est presbytero, Augustinus tamen minor*

est Hieronymo; intimating thereby, to the great commendation of his modesty, among those of that faction, that Bret was as much greater than Williams, as the bishop was above a priest.' The vicar-general began with laying his suspension upon the bishop, and all his six archdeacons. Williams pleaded an exemption from the visitorial power, by virtue of certain Papal Bulls. The question was tried before council, and decided against him: and the vicar-general then went through the diocese. As soon as his back was turned, Williams began a counter visitation, and not daring to disobey the whole injunction, adopted the rails without the position, and railed the holy table round in the middle of the chancel.

Williams, disgraced at court, had retired to his diocese some years before; 'having given up the seal,' says Heylyn, 'but supposed to have taken the purse with him.' He lived in great style in his see, and nobody knew where his money came from. Laud soon found him, however, doing as much mischief in the country as he did at court. He set up as patron of the puritans, had before now come out in print as an antagonist on the communion-table question, and was a rising centre of Church disaffection in the country. 'He used all the wit and malice he could,' says Clarendon, 'to awake the people to a jealousy of these innovations.' It was simple pure political malice in him; about the question itself he did not care a straw. He actually had a highly ornamented altar in his own private chapel and cathedral. Laud tried hard and long unsuccessfully to oust him out of his see. Williams laid himself open, by some betrayal of council secrets to his puritan friends. He was instantly brought before the Star-chamber, but by delays and technicalities kept the court at bay for a period of ten years. Strafford, to oblige Laud, tried his hand at him, but found it easier to master Ireland than to get the upper hand of Williams. He was obliged to leave hold of him and go to his Irish government. In 1637 Williams at last received his sentence, was suspended, and put in prison. He supplicated hard for pardon, and offered to give up his bishopric altogether. He was offered an Irish one, as, under Strafford, a safe place to keep him in. The offer was declined. 'He did not like to go where he should fall into the hands of a man who once in seven months would find out some old statute or other for cutting off his head.' He continued in the Tower for three years, 'during which time he never went into the chapel of the Tower to attend divine service, or hear the sermon, or receive the sacrament.'

The great religious contest had, meantime, its offshoots. The Sabbatarian question was one. The Church had taken one view of the Sunday from the first ages; Puritanism had pro-

mulgated another; the one made it a Church feast; the other a Judaical fast. A good deal was involved in the distinction. A whole Church halo gathers round the ecclesiastical Sunday; it appeals for the original choice of the day itself to the Church; it represents the Church system and round of fast and festival, and typifies the high chastised spiritual joy of Catholicism. Puritanism feels itself excluded, and rejects the ecclesiastical festival. There is a spirit in the Church Sunday that particularly harmonizes with Church feeling, and a spirit in the Puritan Sabbath that particularly harmonizes with Puritanism. The consecration of joy by Church sanctions, Church times and seasons, and the being under obligation, as it were, to the Church for your mirth, is a true part of Catholic feeling, and particularly not of Puritan.

The question came out now in the dress of the day. In 1618, King James, on his return from his Scotch progress, issued the first 'Book of Sports.' His motive was, his royal compassion for the melancholy dulness of the poor population on the Sunday. He lifted up his royal eyes, as he returned through Yorkshire and Lancashire, and saw every thing look dull on the Sunday. He thought the Church of England had a very forbidding aspect to the numerous Roman Catholics of those districts. The Church was injured, and the poor were deprived of their proper holiday. He issued a book of rules for Sunday amusements and festivities. The rules prescribed innocent merry games and exercises, and aimed, with a good spirit and intention, at providing the poor with proper recreation, while it, at the same time, prevented them from running into extravagance or brutality. They were to play, they were to go to church too. 'For his good people's lawful recreation, his Majesty's pleasure was, that, after the end of Divine service, his good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation; nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, morrice-dances, and the setting up of May-poles, or other sports, therewith used: so that the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of Divine service. And that women shall have leave to carry rushes into the church, for the decorating of it according to their old custom. But withal, his Majesty doth here account still as prohibited all unlawful games, as bear and bull baitings, &c. &c. All offensive weapons are prohibited to be carried or used in the said times of recreation. And the present recreations are forbidden to any who, though conform in religion, are not present in the church at the service of God, before going

‘to the said recreations.’ The attempt was a good one, and was likely to have considerable effect on the poor, in the way of attaching them to the church. The clergy argued, ‘that they preserved the memorial of the dedication of the several churches, composed differences by mediation and meeting of friends, increased love and amity by feasts of charity, and the relief and comfort of the poor, by opening the rich men’s houses.’

A great set was made at these games from high and low puritan quarters. Besides the ordinary attacks from the puritan press, judges, and magisterial and corporation benches, assumed a precisian look, and were shocked. Puritanism had a certain magnetic influence throughout these times over some opulent official classes in the country. The municipal authorities, and magistrates in high-backed chairs, exhibited the school in its decent, comfortable, and respectable form. The respectable puritan country gentleman saw from the windows of his mansion the poor people enjoying themselves, in their rough way, and saw them, very likely, sometimes go too far. The respectable puritan gentleman was annoyed; the Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire magistracy, were of opinion that these ‘feast-days, church-ales, wakes, and revels,’ did the people harm, and interfered with order and gravity, made a disagreeable noise, and disturbed their own respectable after-dinner repose. Chief Baron Walter and Baron Denham issued their orders at the Devonshire Assizes for the suppression of all ‘revels, church-ales, clerk-ales,’ and the like. The course of suppression went on, and puritan authorities were gradually putting down the Church feasts.

Chief Justice Richardson went down to the Somersetshire assizes with judges’ orders to this effect in his pocket, which he issued, backed by the Grand Jury; and with them an injunction to all the clergy of the county to publish them in their churches, and see them put into effect. Laud now stepped in. He summoned Richardson to answer for ‘an encroachment upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in imposing upon men in holy orders the publishing of warrants and commands from the secular judges.’ The king commanded Richardson to revoke the order. Richardson disobeyed, and re-issued it in a more peremptory form than before: complaints came up from the county; and the bishop, with seventy-two of his clergy, certified, ‘under their signs manual, that on the feast-days, (wakes,) (which commonly fell on the Sunday,) the service of God was more soberly performed, and the Church better frequented, both forenoon and afternoon, than upon any Sunday in the year; and that the people desired the continuance of them.’

Richardson was cited again to the Council-table, and Laud gave him a lecture, which effectually silenced him. He came out of the Council-room in tears, and perfectly overwhelmed—‘choked,’ he declared, ‘with a pair of lawn sleeves.’ The London civic authorities displayed the same pompous scrupulosity; and Lord Mayors Dunbar and Raynton were the terror of the London inferior population on the Sunday. Self-complacent zeal is provocative of a set-down. An old apple-woman triumphed over their lordships: the civic officers had assaulted her upon Church ground, and shoved her out of St. Paul’s church-yard. Laud rebuked the lord mayor for his pains, and told him to keep upon his own territory.

There was a class, it is not to be denied, that Laud rather liked setting down. Self-important official men were highly obnoxious to snubs from him. He had something of a relish for the process. When any one particularly catches it, it is a great chance if he is not a person of dignity; some gentleman who had probably never had his set-down before, and who, upon the ordinary equilibrium of nature, must be supposed to have rather wanted it. His spirit insensibly rose when one of these gentlemen made his appearance: and the ‘big’ man had his lesson, which a little man escaped. The Council-room exhibited a curious mixture often on this head. Some poor insignificant man or other has the whole room arguing with him, trying to persuade him out of his error, and treating him with really flattering attention. ‘One Brabourn, a poor schoolmaster in ‘the diocese of Norfolk,’ is converted by the affability of the Council. He had written on the Sabbatarian side, and been audacious enough to dedicate his book to his Majesty: ‘Brabourn being therefore called into court, his error was so ‘learnedly confuted by the bishops and other judicious divines ‘then present, that he began to stagger in his opinion.’ Their lordships, following up the argumentative victory, ‘admonished ‘him in a grave and fatherly way to submit himself to a conference with such grave and learned men as should be appointed ‘thereunto: to which he cheerfully consented, and found such ‘benefit of that meeting, that, by God’s blessing, he became a ‘convert to the orthodoxal doctrine of the Church of England ‘concerning the Sabbath, or Lord’s-day.’

The fiscal and economical department of the Church came under Laud’s eye, as well as the doctrinal and ceremonial. It wanted looking after not a little. ‘He saw the Church was ‘decaying,’ says Heylin, ‘both in power and patrimony: her ‘patrimony dilapidated by the avarice of several Bishops, in ‘making havock of the woods to enrich themselves; and more ‘often so in making up their grants and leases to the utmost

'term, after they had been nominated to some other bishoprick, to the great wrong of their successors. Her power he found diminished, partly by the Bishops themselves, in leaving their dioceses unregarded, and living together about Westminster, to be in a more ready way for the next preferment.' It is not, we believe, saying anything needlessly severe of the class of Bishops that the Reformation had put into the English sees, that whether or not the doctrines of the Church may have been benefited by them, they certainly did not benefit her property. A great number were systematic depredators. The system went on regularly in Laud's time: the Bishops lived in London, and sucked the Church lands dry. Indulgent kindness to his own order was no failing of Laud's. While the bishops were living comfortably round their London focus, a sudden royal decree came out, worded in an extremely business-like style, exactly to the purpose: 'Charles Rex. I. That the Lords the Bishops be commanded to their several sees, there to keep residence; excepting those which are in necessary attendance at Court.' The document proceeded to other items in the way of business—no reflection intended. 'II. That none of them reside upon his land or lease that he hath purchased, nor in his town residence, if he hold any, but in one of his episcopal houses—and that he waste not the woods thereof.' And after going through a series of points which they were to attend to in their dioceses, it winds up with a recurrence to the subject of estates and woods:—'IX. That no Bishop shall, from the day of his nomination (to another see), presume to make any lease for three lives, or one-and-twenty years, or current lease, or any other way renew any estate, or cut any wood or timber, but merely to receive the rents due, and then quit the place. For we think it hateful that any man's leaving his bishopric should almost undo his successor.' The effect of this order was to scatter the episcopal nucleus at Westminster forthwith, and send their reluctant and grumbling lordships down to diocesan exile. 'The poorer bishops,' says Heylyn, 'were as much troubled as the others, and thought it the worst kind of banishment to be confined unto the country; complaining privately that now the court bishops had served their own turns upon the King, they cared not what miseries their poor brethren were exposed to.' The order respecting the woods and leases was no more popular with them, and they thought it very unfair 'that they could not make the best of their time, but were required to be good husbands for another man, who was to enjoy the place when they were to leave.'

The deans and chapters do not get off any better. Information comes to Laud (he is always receiving information of one

sort or other), 'that the deans and prebends of such and such ' churches had enriched themselves, their wives, and children, ' by taking great fines, for turning leases of twenty-one years ' into leases for lives, leaving their successors destitute,' as well as depriving the Church of a hold over a numerous class of gentry and yeomanry, occupiers of the lands,—' All which his ' Majesty, taking into his princely consideration, caused letters ' under the royal signature to be sent to all the deans and ' chapters of this kingdom respectively, calling and command- ' ing them, upon pain of his utmost displeasure, that they ' presumed not to let any lease belonging to their church into ' lives.' And ' whereas some deans of cathedrals are corpora- ' tions of themselves, no dean is to presume from henceforth ' (after his being translated), to renew any lease either unto ' lives or years: his Majesty having well observed, that at such ' times of remove many men care not what or how they let ' their estates, to the prejudice of the Church and their suc- ' cessors.' The Royal experience is certainly not complimentary to the morals of the Church dignitaries of that period. Laud was a remorseless pursuer of jobbers,—church jobbers especially. It is part of the disinterested public man's nature and instinct, which was strong in him. He brought them out of their holes with remarkable *sang froid*, bishops and archbishops, deans, and canons, and all. The exceedingly small respect which these distinguished officials meet with under such circumstances, is almost entertaining. Practice soon becomes familiar, and England and Ireland was full of the game. In Ireland all attempt at appearances is given up under the pressing emergency, and the pursuit becomes a perfect halloo and field-day after these offenders. They are caught like so many animals. Strafford has to 'trounce' them, to chastise them, 'warm them' in his castle chamber—to 'give my Lord of Cashell a little of his Irish physie.' The only difficulty was what to do with them, what to make of them, after all. To drive them up and down, and shove them like cattle, what did it do after all? That was the material they were made of. The only practical aim was to tie their hands, and get the Church revenues away from them. 'Look you to the bishops,' is Laud's summary of ecclesiastical advice to his friend. Strafford, as President of the North, carried Laud's arrangements into effect in his northern domain. And 'make an example of that unworthy Dean' of York, is an incidental notice we come across.

Laud's care and consideration for the poorer clergy, in the matter of property, was as conspicuous as his severity to the upper. All taxes were laid with the greatest attention to the diminishing ratio of poverty. He instituted a new scale of



taxation to effect this object. He relieved them in ship-money collections. At the Scotch war, when money was wanted urgently, no 'poor curates or stipendaries' were to be made to give. The London clergy were cheated out of the value of their dues: the charge was laid upon the rent, and the owners of houses laid only nominal rent, and had large fines instead; the clergy got nothing. 'Aldermen, who do not use to dwell in 'sheds and cottages, could be charged with no more than twenty 'shillings a whole year's tythe.' The clergy, by the alteration of religion, had lost the advantages of obits, mortuaries, obventions, and were miserably off. The Court of Exchequer, in James's reign, gave them relief for some time; but the city purse prevailed at last in litigation. Laud took the matter up, and constructed a fair valuation.

Schemes for the general advantage of the Church go on. In the Diary we have reference to what looks very like Charles's known intention of restoring Church land in the royal possession. 'March 20, Sunday. His majesty put his great conscience to 'me about all, which I afterwards answered. God bless him in it.'

The restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral was a favourite object. He stirred up all the available sources of money for it in the kingdom. A hundred pounds a year his own contribution—the effects of intestate persons, that portion of them which 'it was 'proper to give to pious uses'—voluntary contributions all over the country, among the clergy especially, raised a considerable sum soon. This was a hobby of Laud's, and he was insatiable in wanting money for it. He never cast eyes on merchant, tradesman, or any substantial man, but he thought he ought to give something to St. Paul's. Every pocket was looked at, and the fertility of his mind was unwearied in catching every opening where money peeped. His hobby got him, in fact, into scrapes, which came up against him at his trial; and he paid for his perpetual Argus-eyed vigilance. A brewer at Lambeth is the complainant now. Laud was walking in his garden with Attorney-General Noy, when a great cloud of smoke from a neighbouring chimney almost suffocated them both. Noy said he should have the nuisance removed. Laud said he would not interfere with an honest man's trade, and did not mind the smoke. However, Noy, in returning home, calls on the man, and threatens him. The man comes to Laud: a bright thought strikes the latter, that this is an opportunity for getting something for St. Paul's. The man is told that his chimney is undoubtedly a nuisance, and that he ought to give St. Paul's 20*l.* in atonement for it. The man offers 10*l.*; Laud refuses to bargain, and sends him off; but the chimney was left to its fate, and fell under a blast from Attorney-General Noy.

But we must expand Laud's ecclesiastical domain, and see him in Ireland and Scotland. The work was going on under him in both these countries, at the same time that it was in England.

Laud, at the commencement of his career found three distinct churches in England, Scotland, and Ireland, differing from each other in articles and liturgy; all in confusion, and each going on in a way of its own. The Irish Church maintained the Lambeth Articles, and was Calvinized at the very centre. The Scotch Church was a complete chaos and unformed body, simply retaining the Episcopacy, without any other external marks of a Church. It had no liturgy, and the bishops were little more than moderators of Presbyterian Synods and General Assemblies. It was miserably poor, and a slight attempt in the Episcopal College to recover a modicum of the old tythes, had brought down upon them the enmity of a whole turbulent and rapacious nobility. Three weak, disordered, disunited Churches, made up the ecclesiastical system of the kingdom.

Laud's was a centralizing, consolidating mind. He did not philosophize on the subject of Church unity, or enter upon the field of Church metaphysics. He was a practical man, and had his work before him. He used the instrument of unity which the state of things provided for him, and aimed at the production of an efficient unity upon the Anglican domain. He wanted uniformity of worship—some good common basis for the whole ecclesiastical affairs of the country to go upon. He had the centralizing powers of the Crown in his hands: he brought the Churches together, and made a whole of them.

He was most fortunate in Strafford to carry out his plans in Ireland. He and Strafford had taken to each other wonderfully, and were friends together against the world, if it was necessary. They thoroughly understood and trusted each other; and the political friendship had grown into the deepest mutual affection. Strafford did what he was wanted to do in Ireland with his own peculiar despatch. Convocation was summoned in course of time, and told to give up the Lambeth Articles, and take the English ones. They remonstrated strongly; but the Viceroy's spirit was too much for them. The Articles were carried, the Canons were carried. Scholars were sent over from England, and the University of Dublin was made to receive a nucleus of Church theology, for indoctrinating afresh the Irish Church. And Laud, as Chancellor of Dublin, had also his own personal position and influence in the country.

He was less fortunate in his agent for the Scotch Church. Lord Traquair had been made what he was entirely by Laud,

who raised him from being a simple Scotch laird to an earldom, and the place of Lord Treasurer of Scotland. He pitched on him, in one of his journeys to Scotland, as his confidant and manager for the Scotch Church. Lord Traquair owed every thing to Laud, and was under every tie of personal gratitude to him that one man could be to another. But acute eyes are deceived occasionally. Laud was wrong in his man. Lord Traquair played false. He sustained the Scotch character of that day, undermined his patron, and 'communicated his secret instructions to the opposite party.' Laud depended on him for knowing the proper times at which to introduce particular changes; and he recommended purposely wrong ones, and delayed the Church manifestations till the opposite side had quite marshalled their strength to meet them.

The whole business of the Scotch Church was an unfortunate one from the first, and had a fate accompanying it; and yet there was no want of caution and forethought in the management of it. The ecclesiastical movement was made to proceed as cautiously and gradually as could be. Laud's first journey into Scotland with James produced no immediate step, and simply gave the Scotch the fact of the English Liturgy performed, for the occasion, in the royal chapel at Holyrood. An interval of some years followed, and another royal progress, for Charles's Scotch coronation, left behind it as its fruit, the regular performance of the Liturgy in Holyrood Chapel; but only in Holyrood as yet. That fact was left to make its impression on the Scotch mind, and gradually accustom them to the idea. A book of canons came next. And it was twenty years after Laud's first Scotch visit, when the real experiment of a Liturgy and Ritual was at last tried upon the nation.

A higher school of doctrine, and a centre of Church feeling, was meantime forming in the episcopal body there. The old bishopric of Edinburgh was revived, and was given to Forbes, a man of deep learning and ascetic life. The Scotch episcopacy rose in tone, and began to wish for a higher ritual, in some parts, than the English book offered; especially a new communion service, to embody the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Laud did not encourage them at all; whether from real caution, or whether he only adopted a manner, we can hardly say. He used to say, however, he had not encouraged them, that they had acted independently, and so on. 'If you really wish for it, and are in earnest among yourselves, have it,' he seems to have said; 'I cannot go farther in my position than recommend the English book: you are Scotch bishops, and have a right to your own book.' A committee of Scotch bishops, Spottiswoode, Ross, and Forbes, sat in Edinburgh, arranging the Scotch book. Laud took the deepest interest in the new Communion Service, and superin-

tended the sheets through the press. And 'inasmuch as no 'reformation in doctrine or discipline can be made perfect at 'once in any Church,' one of the newly-imposed canons left an opening for further alterations, and pronounced that it should be 'lawful for the Kirk of Scotland at any time, to make remon- 'strances to his Majesty,' &c. The canon, and some words he said about it, figured against him afterwards. 'Because this 'canon holds the door open to more innovation,' says the accuser at his trial, 'he writes to the prelate of Ross, his prime agent in 'all this work, of his great gladness that this "canon did stand 'behind a curtain;" and his great desire that this canon might 'be printed freely, as one that was to be most useful.'—'Vain 'accusation,' answers Laud; 'I expressly brought in the royal 'authority; I forbad all innovation of private men, lay or cleric. 'I said the canon stood behind a curtain, and I said true: it 'would not be thoroughly understood by every man.'

It is evident that the Scotch Bishops took hints easily, and followed up Laud's line just in the way a man likes his own line to be followed—as a spontaneous self-suggested one. He had an influence over them which he had not over the English Bishops generally. They gathered round him when he appeared in Scotland; and popular jealousy called them his tools, and said they anticipated his wishes before he expressed them.

Scotland and Ireland were thus growing into system and solidity under his hand, in doctrine and discipline, and external resources. A tremendous open struggle with the Irish aristocracy, ended in the addition of thirty thousand a-year to the Irish Church. The more suitable method of bargaining was resorted to with the Scotch nobles; and the abbey lands of Arbroath, Kelso, and others, restored by the Marquis of Hamilton and Earl of Roxburgh to the Church, procured these noblemen some court favours in exchange.

Laud had confused and rough materials to work upon, and he did a great deal to work them up in the way he did. He did consolidate as he professed to do; and the effect of that consolidation, in spite of intervening storms which have encroached on it, remains in part to this day. The consolidation survives, however, its original spirit. He could not perpetuate a friendly monarchy: the protean power assumed another aspect, and the English Church became secular and latitudinarian under that very power which Laud elevated in order to make her Catholic.

For his own day, however—he did not go into futurity—for his own day, he provided the English Church with what it never had before, and has never had since—an efficient government. The secret of his efficiency was, that he governed the Church himself, and allowed no other Bishop in the country at all to

interfere with him. There is a plausible colour in the charge of his enemies, that he made himself the English Pope: at least he certainly rather roughly used the absolute theory of diocesan independence. He exercised over the Episcopacy of the three kingdoms the most consummate dictatorship, and it never occurs to him to let a Bishop have his own way in his diocese. It seems at first sight natural that an Archbishop of Dublin should look after the churches in his own city; but Laud takes them off his hands. He is at home in every diocese in the three kingdoms. With the deepest reverence for the office, the man—the concrete Bishop—never once seems to have come before his imagination in any other aspect, than as a person who was to be told to do things, and to be made to do them if necessary. For the Episcopacy of the day, with the exception, almost solely, of his own appointments, he entertains a very respectable quantum of contempt. He orders them about; drills them like common soldiers. ‘Right foot, left foot, very well: here are his Majesty’s orders for you, which you will be pleased immediately to execute. I have had nothing to do with making them myself—nothing at all. I assume no power whatever over you; but I know his Majesty is very determined on these points. Your Lordships have been idling about London lately; you must go down to your dioceses all of you immediately. And when you are there, I will send my Vicar-General to look after you.’ The belief that Bishops wanted looking after quite as much as other people, is very deep in him, and from the centre of the Regale he forms them into one body round him. Annual statements go up from each diocese to head-quarters, and are inspected in business-like way. Whatever may be thought of it, the fact cannot be denied that this is a government.

The theory of the day with respect to Church government came in—forced uniformity,—puritans, recusants, all brought into the system; no fragments allowed, and all made one tight whole. The lawfulness of using force for religious purposes was a long-standing theory in the world, which had not then disappeared; and all sides made use of the secular arm, when they could get it, as a matter of course. The law, however, under a Laud and Charles, shows certainly a slight bias in its balance, and is a good deal more stringent with the Puritans than the Roman Catholics. The fines on the Recusants grew lighter and lighter throughout Charles’s reign, till at last an easy composition set them almost free. And a most strange and marked departure from the severities of Elizabeth’s, and even of James’s reign, took place.

A word or two on Laud’s use of the Regale, which has

been going on all this time. We have said he used it as an engine for the good of the Church, to raise her, and not to secularise her. This is simply a question of fact, to be determined by historical reference. A man's motive and spirit, and object in a particular line, is simply an individual internal fact about that person, to be determined by evidence, as all other facts are. No extent whatever of general objectionableness in the principle of the Regale can decide this particular fact against Laud: no *à priori* view as to the Regale itself, can decide Laud's motive in adopting it. If persons, after a candid examination of the facts of history, come to the conclusion that Laud used the Regale for the purpose of depressing and lowering the Church's sacerdotal ground, that is quite a fair line of argument, though we do not think any candid mind whatever, of any side or party, could come to that decision. But the fact cannot be predetermined upon general grounds. Laud stretched the Regale to the full, and made it do everything; he stopped short of nothing that he thought he could do by it,—this is one fact. The *animus*, ecclesiastical or secularizing, is another fact. We do not think that the English Regale, but Parliament, was the secularizing state element in the nation in Laud's day. Where does the political worldly power and animus of the nation reside now? Where has it resided since the revolution of 1688 but in parliament?—the parliament was rising rapidly to this position then. Every nation has the secularizing state element, the anti-Church principle—the *world* residing in it in some part or other of it: but it is a question of fact for the historical eye to determine, in what particular part of a nation, at a particular period, that animus does reside. We believe that the Plantagenets *were* the genuine representatives of the national power and pride in *their* day, and that therefore the state element resided in the English Regale then. The swing of Henry VIII.'s monarchy was simple nationalism, and nothing else: the nation delighted in it. The state element in Prussia and Russia evidently resides now in the Prussian and Russian monarchy, because those monarchies are the focuses respectively of the national power in those countries. But if anything is clear in English history, the fact is clear that parliament was this growing national power in the Stuart times, and that that power had left the monarchy then and passed into the mass. And the modern English monarchy is simply the reflexion of parliament, and shares its spirit.

A Churchman has one rule on this subject. Wherever that public carnal power of the world-pure resides, whether in king or people, the few or the many, with it the Church wrestles. There is our antagonist. Where royalty is against the Church, and the people for her, the churchman sides with the people; and

where the people are against the Church, and royalty for her, the churchman sides with the king. There is no unfairness or slipperiness here, for the line is a plain open one. Show us the 'world,' anywhere, and we are bound to withstand it: wherever it is, at top or at bottom, in earth or sky, concentrated in one, or diffused in a mass, that 'power of the air' is what we fight against. The Church is our home. If any power loves the Church, we love it; if not, we do not.

Nothing can show more closely that Laud's school was not exalting the Regale as such, than the marked anti-regale line in which it issued at last. The Nonjuring school, who wrote vehemently against the Regale, were legitimate successors of the Laudian one. The truth was, that under William III., the regale was against them; and under Charles I., with them. That made the difference, and a very great difference it is—what is called in ordinary affairs, all the difference. We must look historically upon these things, to be able to judge.

To return to our history. The effects of Laud's ecclesiastical administration were soon seen. One of the most prominent was the rise of the Clergy. 'The Clergy were much debased,' he said; 'but it had heretofore been otherwise; and he hoped to see it so again.' Laud exalted his order, and the elevation of the Clergy—the priesthood—to power, came more and more out, like a favourite idea, as his career advanced. He left behind him, on returning from Charles's Scotch coronation, Archbishop Spottiswoode, Chancellor of Scotland, and the Bishop of Ross, privy councillor. A greater step was the appointment of Juxon to the office of Lord High Treasurer. The staff was put into his hands with great pomp and circumstance, and he was conducted in state from London House to Westminster, the Archbishop riding by his side, and a cavalcade of noblemen and gentlemen following. 'March 6, Sunday,' says the Diary, 'William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High Treasurer of England. No Churchman had it since Henry VII.'s time. I pray God bless him to carry it so that the Church may have honour, and the King and State service and contentment by it. And now if the Church will not 'hold themselves up, under God, I can do no more.' The passage is characteristic, because his mind is so obviously going back, unconsciously, to the medieval period of the Church for its image, and congratulating itself on the partial, evanescent restoration of it, which now passes like a dream before him; and does not so much inspire him as a reality, as soothe him as a picture. He 'can do no more;' the Church may fall, after all, but its image gratifies him. The ceremonial of Charles's coronation was made to express the same idea. The

priesthood encircled the king. The Church delivered the crown into the prince's hands; she addressed him, as she crowned him: 'Stand, and hold fast from henceforth the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your fathers, being now delivered unto you by the authority of God, and by the hands of us and all the bishops and servants of God. And as you see the Clergy to come nearer the altar than others, so remember that in place convenient you give them greater honour; that the Mediator of God and man may establish you in the kingly throne, to be the mediator between the Clergy and the laity, that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords.'

The form of alliance which makes the Church succumb to the State, is Erastian; the form which makes it guide the State is not. Laud put power into the hands of the clergy, as being clergy. This is the very opposite of Erastianism. The modern German Church and State idea brings the Church into the world by secularizing her; absorbs her into the State first, and when she has become the State, lets her act. It is a perfectly different, distinct, opposite idea, which gives power to the priesthood, as such, and recognizes the sacerdotal element *per se* in its combination with the political.

Laud's partiality for his order was generous. The temptation in the higher ranks of Clergy is generally just the reverse—to think more of the laity than of their own brethren, and identify themselves with the influential secular world. Mere sacerdotal rank is despised, because it is not earthly rank, and is used only as a stepping-stone to it. Laud's predecessor was a remarkable contrast to him here, and exhibited all that leaning to secular rank, which has so characterized the puritanical religious school. Abbot, '*non amatit gentem nostram*,' says Heylyn: 'he favoured the laity above the Clergy in all cases which were brought before him; he forsook the birds of his own feather, to fly with others.' A country gentleman had only to make his complaint against a clergyman, and Abbot was all ear to him. He abandoned the old archiepiscopal hospitalities at Canterbury to Church tenants and poor, which all his predecessors had kept up, and feasted the Kentish gentry at Lambeth instead; and 'Westminster Hall, St. Paul's Church, and the Royal Exchange,' (the rendezvous of the day) were visited by his servants, with tickets of invitation in their hands, to catch the men of quality they saw about. Laud gave himself small concern on this head. 'He did court persons too little,' says Clarendon. People complained that he went to the other extreme, and that 'out of a dislike to that popularity which was too much affected by his predecessor, he was carried on so far as to fail in many

‘necessary civilities to the nobility and gentry, by which he ‘might have obliged them, and indeed himself.’ A ‘reserved and unplausible humour’ was attributed to him; and one of the Kentish gentlemen, whom Abbot had feasted, and he had not, was observed to ‘throw the first dirt at him’ in parliament, when his troubles came. He made nobles and gentry frown, the Clergy look up: and great men were alarmed, and annoyed, as ‘they did observe the inferior Clergy took more upon ‘them than they were wont, and did not live towards their ‘neighbours of quality, or their patrons themselves, with that ‘civility and condescension they used to do; which disposed ‘them likewise to withdrawing their countenance and good ‘neighbourhood from them.’

The rise of an ecclesiastical discipline began to be felt. It made its appearance under a parti-coloured secular garb, but still the ecclesiastical *animus* was seen underneath, and hated as such. The High Commission Court, with all its lay lords and privy councillors, worked by the Archiepiscopal head, showed an *animus*. It attacked the immoralities of the nobles with boldness; and the fault charged upon law, that it catches the small offenders, and lets the great ones through, was not seen there. ‘He intended the discipline of the Church,’ says Clarendon, ‘should be felt as well as spoken of; and that it should ‘be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressor, as ‘well as to the punishment of smaller offences, and meaner ‘offenders; and therefore called for and cherished the disco- ‘very of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, ‘thinking they were above the reach of other men, or their ‘power and will to chastise. Persons of honour and great qua- ‘lity at the Court, and of the country, were every day cited ‘into the High Commission Court upon the fame of their incon- ‘tinence or other scandal in their lives, and were there prose- ‘cuted to their shame and punishment,’ and complained of what they called ‘the insolent triumph upon their degree and ‘quality, and levelling them with the common people.’ Laud was working a dangerous weapon for himself, and the resentment of an offended nobility retaliated fearfully upon him at his trial. ‘They never forgot’ these acts, and ‘watched for revenge.’ English, Irish, Scotch nobles—he had come into contact with them all. The Church sentence and rebuke, the Church lands got back, the Church an obstacle and sore point in some way, were remembered. The strength of the nobles, and the pride which accompanies strength, had been growing apace, as the royalty was declining. ‘The grandees of the Puritan faction,’ says Heylyn, ‘after the first heats were over in Queen Elizabeth’s ‘time, carried on their work for thirty years together like moles

' underground, not casting up any earth before them till they ' had made so strong a party in the House of Commons, that they could do anything.' And a still larger class, ' who loved ' the established government of the Church, and the exercise ' of religion as it was used, and desired not a change in either, ' and did not dislike the order and decency which they saw ' mended, yet liked not any novelties, and entertained jealousies ' (how descriptive of the conservatives of the day) were sore about the whole movement. It is the national character over again. How aptly does the whole of Clarendon's account—the more so from his own sympathies with the class he mentions—apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to our present movements. The instinctive, vague, antagonistic sensation, which the English mind feels on the first symptoms of the Church moving, and showing life, seems to be hereditary in us. The greater honour to him who did not shrink from encountering it. It should ever be remembered, as a piece of historical justice to Laud, that his was a contest with the great of this world; that the honourer and cherisher of his poor clerical brethren, brought the high noble before the bar, rebuked his vices, or made him refund his spoils, and fought the Church battles with him.

A new theological race of Clergy had sprung up under Laud's administration. The tone of the clerical body was altered; and a theological school, which was a mere handful when he commenced life at Oxford, had spread over the country in all directions. Oxford itself, from being a focus of Calvinism, had come round, and hardly knew its new reflexion in the theology of Jeremy Taylor and Hammond. A puritan remnant remained, and perambulated their old haunts, but they felt their occupation of the place gone, and saw another standard on the ascendant, a new *genius loci* penetrating the air. The crowds of Clergy whom the rebellion and directory threw out of their places, show the strong growth that had been going on in the Church at large, and the change of Church of England theology that a few years had brought about. Laud was popular with the inferior Clergy, though not much so with his brethren on the bench. He stood up for their rights, watched their interests, saw that they were not ill-used; was courteous to them, when they came personally across him; would take great pains, by private talking and arguing, to convert any of them from puritanical tendencies. The bias of his mind was toward the inferior Clergy,—the direct open puritan of course excepted. It is the natural tendency of a centre toward the mass; and the mass returns the compliment. The mass gathers round its centre, and rejoices in a good strong hold in the middle of it, in feeling something beyond the adjacent boundary and

local defence. Laud was an immoveable personal centre of the Churchmanship in the nation. They knew they could trust him; that they could lean upon him, and that he would not give way. His was an absolute pertinacious real substance, formed and hardened in a perpetual life of action and responsibility, risk and trial. Whatever there was of him was solid stone; a mind, by undergoing a certain ordeal, mineralizes, and turns into hard transparent metal, into a crystal steel occupant of the bodily frame. There he stood in the middle, and concentrated singly the hardness of the mass. The Clergy were proud of him, and took their cue from him; and called him high-sounding names, and addresses and eulogiums adopted the '*Sanctitas tua*,' and the '*Summus Pontifex*,' and the '*Arcangelus*,' and '*Quo rectior non stat regula*.'—'The meanest title of them,' he says, 'far too much applied to my person and unworthiness.'—'High language for such an unworthy person;'—'absolute hyperbole,' but well meant, only a way of expressing 'that I deserved well of them;'—'effusions from a luxuriant pen that ran upon these phrases.'

Laud was not inattentive to public opinion. With all his use of power, he made use of the press as well; argued in print; and answered what came out on the Puritan side. Heylyn's '*Antidotum Lincolnense*' answered Williams's attack on the Communion table question. The Scotch Liturgy was followed immediately by an '*Apology*:' Bishop Hall wrote his '*Divine Right of Episcopacy*' to counteract the rising Scotch Presbyterian influence before the Invasion. The state of the religious press in general, apart from the peculiar points of controversy, was attended to, and the rise of Socinian principles in the books of the day had created his alarm. Hales, of Eton, wrote a latitudinarian treatise, in which he carried out the right of private judgment to its full development, and, in short, quite forestalled the liberal theory of the present day. Laud sent for him, and they argued together the whole morning. The hour for dinner broke off the discussion. Heylyn tells us it had a great effect upon Hales, who told him (Heylyn) that his opinions had been much changed by it. Mr. Hallam does not believe Heylyn here. We can only say that Heylyn asserts it as a fact, and that there is no reason why it should not be true. The School of Hoadley and the eighteenth century had its seed in the English Church even now, which favouring circumstances afterwards brought out. And even direct Socinian books had, in the confusion of religious war, crept in to a formidable extent. Laud weeded the press of them.

We have attempted something of an outline of Laud's career. He acted boldly, and he paid for it; he had his endurance taxed considerably. The attacks which poured in upon him

from all sides throughout were, in multitudinous vehemence, equal to what any public man in this world ever experienced. The fact that Prynne's ears were cut off by an order of Star Chamber, is considered by many to have been an ample internal satisfaction to him for his whole personal experience from this quarter. Without defending cutting off ears, and the punishments of the day, it is only fair to say that Prynne was not punished as an assailant of Laud, but as a simple criminal. His abuse of the Royal Majesty and the King's ministers was a simple crime then, just as stealing was, and he was punished for it.

The Puritans had an unrivalled command of vituperative phraseology and fertility in calling names, which found a full vent in this channel. Libels sprang up out of the ground, as thick as snakes in Oriental herbage. They found their way to Laud's closet, study, dining-room, bedroom. His very office of Press-censorship brought them under his eyes, and the writers had the satisfaction of knowing, that if even their production was stopped, Laud had seen it, and had had his own suspended effigy brought to his own windows. And, indeed, these portraiture were no pleasing objects even of closet-inspection. Laud's library-table concentrated under his eye, in camera-obscura reflection, the bitterness and hostilities of a whole excited world without. The titles of Prynne's 'Quench-Coal,' and 'News from Ipswich,' Bastwick's 'Flagellum Episcoporum Latialium,' 'The Hystrio-Mastix,' and one or two others, have just survived out of a vast ephemeral ocean of pamphlets. A grotesque irony, and an unmeasured hyperbole, alternate; fierce grins and dreadful foulness; 'Arch-piety, Arch-charity, 'Arch-wolf,' Arch agent for the devil, Beelzebub himself become Archbishop, the devil's most triumphant arch to adorn 'his victories,'—is a specimen of the more witty and polished style of vituperation. These pamphlets stuck at nothing, raked up stories, abused him for his birth, or ridiculed his size; or called him dirt, or filth, or poison; were simple nonsense and trash, except for the animus of dreadful enmity which all this grotesqueness expressed. Odd people and monomaniacs became the strays and waifs of the popular feeling, and took a fancy for attacking Laud. 'One Boyer, a felon just 'broke out of prison, grossly abused him to his face, accusing 'him of high treason.'—'One Greene, a poor decayed printer ' (for whom Laud had got a pension of five pounds a year from 'the Company of Stationers), adventured into the Court of St. James's with a great sword by his side, desperately swearing 'that if the King would not do him justice with the Archbishop, 'he would take another course with him.' One Lady Davies 'scatters a prophecy against him.' This lady 'had the reputa-

'tion of a "cunning woman" among the common people, and
 'she prophesies of the Archbishop, that he should live but
 'two days after the fifth of November. She is brought before
 'the High Commission. The woman had grown so mad, that
 'she fancied the spirit of the prophet Daniel had been infused
 'into her body. And this she grounded on an anagram which
 'she made on her name, viz.—*Eleanor Davies*,—*Reveal, O Daniel*.
 'Much pains was taken by the Court to dispossess her of this
 'spirit, but all would not do, till Lamb, the Dean of Arches,
 'shot her through and through with an arrow borrowed from
 'her own quiver. For while the bishops and divines were
 'reasoning the point with her out of holy Scripture, he took a
 'pen in his hand, and hit upon this excellent anagram, viz.
 'Dame Eleanor Davies,—*Never so mad a ladie*. "Madam,"
 'said he, "I see you build much on anagrams, and I have found
 'out one which I hope will fit you." He read it aloud, which
 'brought the grave Court to such laughter, and the woman
 'to such confusion, that she grew either wiser, or was less re-
 'garded afterwards.' A wild, furious world of enemies, had
 much more formidable ones above them; and violence and
 vulgarity had their main sting in the black looks of great men
 enjoying the scene. After all, it is not pleasant to be really
 hated by any man; it is not pleasant to be abused. A vulgar
 fellow abuses you in the streets; he may be as vulgar as the
 dirt; still there is the fact—you are abused; and the words
 physically touch you, as it were, and there is defilement.

Laud's was a peculiarly sensitive mind, acutely realizing this
 metaphysical dirt and foulness, and feeling that it swallowed
 something nasty in the process of abuse. No quantity of ex-
 perience familiarized him to it. A crowd of faces, and eyes
 staring, mouths railing at him, as if he were some monster, are
 pictured in his mind. He has a dislike to be stared at. He
 'stays at Lambeth till the evening, to avoid the gazing of the
 'people.' The sensation of 'being gazed at,' as if a gaze was a
 sort of tangible nuisance inflicted, and a low intrusion, comes out
 unconsciously often; reminding one almost of the feeling of chil-
 dren against being looked at. And 'being railed at,'—'jeered'
 (he dreams of courtiers jeering him), was a sort of reality in the
 same way; a material plastering, as it were, of so much offensive
 substance upon him. He 'endures' a mob's railing, by the
 pure power of mental prayer at the time, as if it were a regular
 sustained passive contact with literal external evil. We mean,
 that he could not bear these demonstrations of hatred: *i. e.* could
 bear it, but never without deeply feeling them.

Laud had that particular framework of mind which domici-
 liates and harbours all hostile phenomena without. A curious

mixture of innocence and self-complacency makes some persons never see when they are treated ill. The fact glances off from them without making any impression, and does not gain an entrance into their imperturbable easy good-nature. Another class of mind is a magazine of hostile matter, a military depôt. A shadowy archetype of war resides within them, and readily admits the phenomena from without—a word, a look, a sign, a gesture of another; and they are the theatre of a perpetual invisible strife; and metaphysical forces and strategies, ambuscades, surprises, retreats, the arrow from a corner, and a *terra incognita* of foes, compose the dark background of the interior mental scene. The mind carries on a perpetual unconscious reference to some protean enemy, here or there, or everywhere: it talks to itself of enemies, prays against them; longs for deliverance from its enemies. There is a religious form of this habit of mind. The Psalms are full of the mention of the enemy. ‘The ungodly bend the bow, and make ready their arrows within the quiver, that they may privily shoot at him who is true of heart.’ The ‘soul is among lions’: ‘the enemy persecutes her, lays snares for her, speaks evil of her: she goeth heavily, and would flee as a bird unto the hill, while the enemy oppresseth her.’

Laud’s devotions are peculiarly indicative of this state of mind. Their characteristic tone almost makes them unfit for ordinary use; the individual so pervades them. He is labouring under a pressure, engaged in a hard unpromising struggle, surrounded by enemies and persons who wish him evil, with the snare and the pit open for him, and he prays against them. All sides think themselves in the right, and yet there is a quietness and depth in the Church’s confidence in the rightness of her side, which her opponents want. The most perfect tranquil assurance that he is fighting against the enemies of God, appears in Laud’s devotions; and a career of simple religious sincerity, doing what it thinks its mere duty and work, is their substratum. He expresses his weariness and his longings in the prayer of St. Augustine: ‘Long time, O Lord, have I struggled against heresies, and am almost wearied. Come, Lord Jesus, mightiest Warrior, Prince of the host of the Lord, Conqueror of the devil and the world: take arms and shield, and rise up and help me.’—‘*Tempore adverso*’—‘*Auxilium*’—‘Deliverance’—appear at the margin of the prayers. ‘Deal with me, O God, according to Thy name, for sweet is Thy mercy. O deliver me, for I am helpless and poor, and my heart is wounded within me.’—‘Mine eyes are ever looking unto Thee, O Lord; O pluck my feet out of the net.’—‘I deal with the thing that is lawful and right, O give me not over unto mine oppressors:’—‘let the

'proud do me no wrong,'—'I have heard the blasphemy of the multitude, and fear is on every side.'—'Thou hast fed me with the bread of tears, and given me plenteousness of tears to drink.' 'I am become a very strife unto my neighbours, and mine enemies laugh me to scorn.'—'Gracious Father, the life of man is a warfare upon earth—be present with me in the services of my calling. That which I cannot foresee, I beseech Thee prevent; that which I cannot withstand, I beseech Thee master: that which I do not fear, I beseech Thee unmask and frustrate.—Especially, O Lord, bless and preserve me at this time from M. N. that I may glorify Thee for this deliverance also.' A religious pleasure which a mind has, that feels itself to be genuine and transparent, in the appeal to the heart within—the communion with the *φίλη ψυχῇ*, and turning to her for society, love, and repose; the confidence and clear air within, appear in Laud.

We must go back again to Laud as a Statesman. Side by side with the ecclesiastical administration, a host of other duties devolved upon him in the State department.

The University of Oxford lay half-way between the two. He was no nominal Chancellor there; it got a real head to look after it, when it chose him. An interval of twenty years found Laud in a rather curiously different position there, to what he started with; and the once hit at and preached at fellow of St. John's, was ruling the University with a high hand, from his library at Lambeth. 'I pray,' is his first letter to the Vice-Chancellor after his appointment, 'call the Heads of Colleges and Halls together, together with the Proctors, and with my love remembered to them all, let them know I am welcomed unto my Chancellorship with many complaints from very great men.' The 'outward and visible form of the University,' he hears, 'is utterly decayed, so that strangers that come, have hardly any mark by which they know it is a University.' He proceeds immediately to the revival of proper academical 'Formalities,' in the 'Schools, Convocation, Congregation houses, Latin sermons.'—'Put the tables of statute observance on St. Mary's doors,' he concludes, 'and proceed to the execution of them.' Letter after letter gave his directions about the discipline of the place, down to the minutest details. 'And I pray you,' he writes, 'see that none of the youth be suffered to go in boots and spurs, or to wear their hair indecently long, or with a lock in the present fashion, or with slashed doublets, or in any light or garish colours. And if noblemen will have their sons court it too soon, the fault shall be theirs, not mine.' He will allow no 'riding school, or suffer the scholars to fall into the old humour of going up and down in boots and spurs, and

‘then having this excuse ready, that they are going to the riding-house.’—‘And for Mr. Crofts, and his great horses, he may carry them back, if he pleases, as he brought them.’—‘I pray give Mr. Crofts thanks fairly for his good intentions, but he must not stay.’ ‘And farther, I would have you speak with the Principal of Brasenose, that he would command their cellar to be better looked to—(he is writing about having more orderly disputations)—that no strong and unruly argument be drawn from that topic place.’ Academical Disputations, times of Morning and Evening College prayer, the revival of the Holy Communion at the beginning of term, instructions as to Church-reverence, succeed one another. The Procuratorial cycle was his remedy for the disorders then attending the public election of the Proctors; and the Laudian statute book, together with alterations, laboriously abridged and arranged, bears witness to the chaotic mass to which a period of neglect had reduced the University statutes.

The commission of the Treasury, in 1635, brought a wholly new and complicated department of state-business upon him. An interval of some time had released him in some measure from political business, and allowed him to devote himself more exclusively to the Church; but the discovery of frauds in the Treasury, again brought him into the thick of it. He determined to see that department put to rights. He, Coventry, Cottington, and the great state officers, constituted the commission. His brother statesmen were not at all obliged to him for his public spirit and threatened reforms, and thwarted him with considerable malice. ‘His old friend Windebank forsook him in the matter,’ says the Diary, ‘and joined with the Lord Cottington; which put him to the exercise of a great deal of patience.’—‘For your Spaniard, [to Strafford] and the gravity which he learnt there, while he went to buy pigeons, hath tempted my old friend the Secretary from me, and is become his man. So I have need to look to myself.’ Cottington (the Spaniard) was no friend of Laud’s at any time; and Clarendon gives a story of his taking in Laud on one occasion, by a story of the king, a great lover of the sport, going to turn some royal farms into a hunting chase. It was a lie of Cottington’s, and Laud gave the King a warm lecture upon his extravagance for nothing, except that his majesty was amused at the mistake. Cottington seems to have intended something more serious. Laud had a whole set of half-enemies about him at court, and his and Strafford’s alliance was an object of fear and jealousy to the myrmidons of that sphere.

Laud, at sixty-two, set to work thoroughly to get up treasury business. An anecdote illustrates his official sway. The great battle in the financial department then was between the public

service and private men, the interests of a class of farmers and monopolists, and the interests of the royal exchequer; and the mercantile world suffered grievously by these jobs.

‘There was a merchant of the greatest reputation (Daniel Harvey), who having a country house within the distance of a few miles from Croydon, and understanding the whole business of trade more exactly than most men, was always very welcome to the Archbishop, who used to ask him many questions about such matters. Upon an accidental discourse between them, what encouragement merchants ought to receive, who brought a great trade into the kingdom, Mr. Harvey mentioned the discouragements they had received in the late times by the rigour of the Earl of Portland, in matters that related nothing to the king’s service, but to the profit of private men.’—A long story follows:—‘Lord Portland, the treasurer, compelled the merchants to land their fine goods, silks and linens, at Customhouse Quay; whereas they had always been free to ship or unship such goods at what wharf they would chuse for their convenience.’ But the Customhouse Quay belonged to private wharfingers, who had secured Lord Portland’s interest; and the great constraint and loss of time to the trade of the country gave way to a job. The Archbishop heard the story ‘with great indignation.’ A general petition of the trade, and the assistance of ‘Mr. Hyde,’ afterwards Lord Clarendon, rectified the abuse.

‘The Archbishop,’ says Clarendon, ‘laid down one principle for himself, which he believed would much advance the King’s service—that the King’s duties being provided for, and cheerfully paid, the merchants should receive all the countenance and protection from the King that they could expect. He was careful that what accrued of burden to the subject should redound to the benefit of the Crown, and not enrich projectors at the charge of the people. This vigilance and inclination in the Archbishop opened the door to the admission of any merchants or others to him, who gave him information of this kind; and who being ready to pay any thing to the King, desired only protection from private oppressors.’

Laud carried on the commission of the treasury for a year, and got acquainted with all the holes and corners of the office; ‘the mysteries and secrets of it, the honest advantages which the Lord Treasurers had for enriching themselves (to the value of seven thousand pounds a year, and upwards), as I’ (we quote Heylyn), ‘have heard from his own mouth, without defrauding the King or abusing the subject.’ ‘He had observed that divers treasurers, of late years, had raised themselves from very mean and private fortunes, to the titles and estates

'of earls;' and he determined to have a treasurer who would 'not play such a game—a man 'who had no family to raise, 'no wife and children to provide for.' Bishop Juxon did not disappoint his patron; and the honourable testimony of an enemy, Lord Falkland, declared in parliament, 'that in an 'unexpected place and power he expressed an equal moderation 'and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, 'either of the crozier or the staff.' He conducted the business of the treasurership with great ability, and gave universal satisfaction.

The appointment of Strafford to Ireland brought a whole flood of public business upon him from that quarter. Strafford's scheming prolific mind made him its medium and advocate at head quarters, and he had to get up the whole multitudinous arrangements of the Irish administration, in order to put them in shape and favourable aspect before Charles and the government at home. In the midst of enemies, Irish and English, court treacheries and coolnesses, Strafford depended solely upon Laud, and no one other support. If Laud had failed him, he must have gone. They were mutually necessary for each others' plans; and while Strafford worked hard for Laud in Ireland, Laud worked hard for Strafford at home; and with the financial department in England upon him, threw himself into the whole sea of Irish finance as well, and entered into all Strafford's new plans of revenue, customs, colonizations, fisheries, abolitions of farms, jobs, monopolies, linen-manufactories, articles for taxation, patents and patentees, coinage, money-circulation, subsidies, parliamentary management, military security, viceroy ceremonial and etiquette, and the world of questions which issued out of Strafford's creative administration. A curious mixture of Church and State, with all their respective ramifications, deaneries, bishoprics, stalls, tithes, commendams, pluralities, alienations, frauds, restoration of church spoils, legal prosecution of the spoilers, buying in impropriations, convocation, articles, canons, Calvinism, University education, the Provost and the Primate, and their disputes, Bramhall, Lesly, Bedel, Usher—with tobacco and tallow, and Cottington and Court, &c. &c. meets our eye. 'I am a-weary,' he says, at the beginning of a letter; and 'I am 'a-weary,' he says, at the end of a letter. 'I am heartily 'a-weary,'—'and I was never so busy as I am at this present.' And 'now I have done with your long letters;' and 'let me not 'have your long letters again just now.'

Sympathy, cheerfulness, and affection, however, appear in every letter; quiet advice occasionally, as from an older, though not so brilliant a head; numerous hits and nicknames; sly railery sometimes upon his correspondent himself. Strafford's high

spirit, sensitiveness, enthusiastic aspirings, internal disgusts, he quite enters into, and tries to calm. 'All able, and all hearty, and all running one way, and none caring for any ends so that the king be served.'—Strafford: 'By your lordship's leave, a branch of Plato's commonwealth, which flourishes at this day nowhere but in Utopia.'—Laud. A side hit at Strafford's oratorical propensities, and dashing way of doing things.—'Every body liked your carriage and discourse to the council, but thought it too long, and that too much strength was put into it. *But you see what it is to be an able speaker.*' A hint given about Strafford's prosecutions, that they were doing him harm. 'Some persons whisper against your proceedings in Ireland as being overfull of personal prosecutions, and instance Lord Wilmot, Lord St. Alban's, &c. I know that you have a great deal more resolution in you than to decline any service for the barking of discontented persons; and yet, my lord, if you could find a way to do all these services and decline these storms, it would be excellent well thought on. I pray your lordship to pardon me this freedom, which I brought with me into your friendship.' Soothings of his court disappointments and sense of Charles's neglect come in. 'You know the workings of a court,' and 'these things cannot be helped,' and 'a king is prevented by circumstances from appreciating his good servants as he ought,' and 'to reward aright is not in every governor's skill and good fortune.'

Entire weariness of business has a burst occasionally, and a good hearty laugh in the middle of a letter—the subject, Strafford's gout, on which he strings a good-natured hit at his friend's imperious tendencies. 'I see you conceal your infirmities, for your brother tells me you have the gout, but there's not a word of it in your letter. This 'tis to write with your fingers, and not with your toes: had you been to write with these, I should have heard some complaints, or discovered it by your manner of writing. I promise you, you can make haste that can get the gout so soon; I thought you had been contented to stay till you had been nearer three-score first; 'tis no such lovely companion, and I know you would be glad to be rid of it. Well now, there's work for Dr. Williams; and I know if he had not been so near you, you would have sent to me for my counsel, who have more skill in these things than you are aware of. And though he be there, I'll venture to prescribe for you. Take heed of applying any medicine to it that may beat it back, but draw it out into public as much as you can; and while you have so good an advantage, follow it; use your power in both houses, make an act of parliament against it; that if ever it comes to lay hold of you again,

‘ especially when you are busy in the king’s service, it shall
‘ incur your high displeasure, and be expelled the castle, so soon
‘ as ever you are rid of it, and not return again, under pain of
‘ being endured there against your will. Indeed, I much marvel
‘ how it durst venture upon you in parliament time, and verily
‘ think, it would hardly have been so bold, had it not had the
‘ suffrages of some mutineers in the house.’

In going through Laud’s whole career, we are struck not with its vigour after all, as with its magnitude and comprehensiveness. Some characters strike immediately : others progressively. *Crescit eundo* applies remarkably to some men : the circle widens, the space unfolds within them. A narrow opening conducts into the interior, and a want of room is felt at first ; a moving boundary of dusk and twilight walls you in, and seems to threaten a standstill every minute. The scene enlarges with exploring, avenues thicken, and paths diverge ; a forest tract insensibly appears. The cathedral area and dimensions disappoint the eye at first, but the ground expands with stepping, and the idea of size and vastness comes gradually as an impression produced upon the internal sense, and intellectual shadow upon the mind. Physical force acts either by quick blow, or slow pressure. Power, greatness, talent, either concentrate themselves in particular strokes, or cover the ground by steady advance, and uniform expansion. Laud’s was a large mind. We mean that largeness, capacity, dimension, was its particular characteristic, as distinguished from other kinds of greatness. Scripture talks about ‘ largeness of heart, even as the sand which is on the sea shore.’ His accessibleness, affability, openness, and all those features of the genuine public character, and presence of mind, attention always ready, ear alive and willing to be engaged by any new comer, and absorbing quietly the visitor and his information, the man and his facts together ; his powers of *ab extra* sympathy, his comprehensive friendships and alliances ; varied tastes, love of learning, wide liberal patronage, and the whole fertile and diversified industry of his mind, brought to bear on the one object of the Church—all this ground grows upon one. Church and Court, and all their ramifications—Scotch Church, Irish Church, discipline, doctrine, Strafford, the Universities, the Treasurership, grow upon one. An idea of extent comes upon one—an idea which we are afraid has suggested itself to our readers already,—and one mind’s arch seems to cover a good space. The variety of the scene mingles indeed with a sort of haze and gloom below, with underground toil and pressure, and the secret chamber, and the private meeting, and mysterious cells and corners. Shades come over the scene, and the air waves with dreamy hues, and the purple and the gold, the court splendour

and episcopal throne, gleam through rolling vapour and subtle intersection; and we are in an intricate complex interior, a labyrinth and subterranean domain of mind.

Homer has devoted one of his poems to a description of the union of the political character with feeling and nature. Accomplished statesmanship, art, and penetration; subtlety, fertility, experience, mark pre-eminently the hero of the *Odyssey*. He knows human nature, human ways, and is conversant with courts and cities;—Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἶδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω· men and minds are his sphere; he is acquainted with man; has traversed the human world, and come into genuine contact with the race. He shows its results in a temper of courtesy, moderation, endurance; he has suffered much, and is ready to suffer more. Simplest heart and affectionateness unite with political talent; and the sweetness of home and kindred follows the subtle practical mind over the earth, overpowering it with purest longings and devotion. The image of flourishing, peaceful Ithaca is always before his mind, and crowns the journey's end; he feeds on past reminiscences, and lives on the hope of seeing the past once more present. The *Odyssean* type is peculiarly illustrative of Laud's mind;—human life, the world, mankind its sphere;—men and minds, minds and men, man *en masse*, and man the individual; his formidable numbers, and his still more formidable units; the subject-matter of his labour, endurance, management, experience, skill. Solid experience, ethical skill,—whoever really possesses it,—most sobering intoning moulding to the mind; fruit of self-discipline, height of mental accomplishment and art, which is all but virtue! His long journey through courts and cities, pursued a bright image of the Church,—a visionary Ithaca, which fled further and further from him as he seemed to approach it, till a black cloud stood at last in its place, and disclosed a scaffold.

Laud was a genuine priest—the priest in the political atmosphere. That love of his order—that partiality for priestly celibacy show the priest. Some over free speeches of his on the point of celibacy got him into a scrape, and people were getting alarmed, when he suddenly displayed himself in a very marked way, at the marriage of one of his chaplains, and quieted suspicion. We see a corner of that priestly mixture of subtlety and humility in him; that mode of managing which is popularly accused of being imperious and underhand at the same time. We describe it by what the superficial popular accuser calls it, for the sake of convenience, without pausing to say what it really is—which would take us too much time.

There is an observable tendency in him perpetually to disclaim his own influence, and throw the originating character

upon others. He acts under a shield, and has an influence in motion about him, which he set moving in the first instance, but just does not do the thing itself. And a peculiar subtlety of mind, enables to say in the case of things that he certainly exceedingly wished to be done, and certainly had a great deal to do with, that somehow or other, he did not do them. The Regale, and the High Court of Commission, are his great Ajacian shield in the first instance, and although it was perfectly well known that he did everything that was done there, he keeps up the form of an amusing ostentatious humility throughout, in a jealous reference of everything to the Board; of whose perfect independence, and mere voluntary motion, he tolerates no suspicion. He is even exceedingly concerned at some of their acts, on particular occasions—especially so, in the case of his great opponent the Lord Keeper Williams. Five several times does he go down on his knees to the king, to beg for leniency to the Lord Keeper; but his majesty is resolute, inexorable to entreaty: the Lord Keeper goes to the wall. It is a singular fact, that a certain shade of intricacy and subtlety does hover around a particular class of characters; and that most unquestionably high and disinterested men exhibit themselves in a colour, which to the mass must inevitably have the look of simple deceit. We hit against the corners of a casuistical world, and catch a puzzling glimpse of a very shadowy intersected interior. An internal distinction enables Laud to be first the rigorous prosecutor and then the compassionate intercessor; and separates what his evidence does, from what he himself does against Williams. The evidence is indeed too strong for the intercession; but he cannot help certain facts telling. He lets the trial and the case have their own full swing; but he stands outside of it, and has his own attitude for himself. A man with a good substratum of power finds that other persons do things for him, and sees his own wishes carried out in advance, and operates as a kind of invisible spring to a circle of action around him. The High Commission Court was in the unconscious habit of obedience to Laud, while Laud was modestly declining even the exercise of his own vote at times, whenever he might be considered a personally interested party. Laud had nothing to do with the Scotch Liturgy; and he had nothing to do with theological books that came out. The Scotch Bishops did one thing; his chaplains did another; the High Commission another; the king another. He only does nothing at all; and sees all the world in motion, he himself unaccountably quiescent. His examination at his trial is a perfect specimen of this species of casuistry: it proceeds on the theory, that he has a right to say what the opposite side cannot legally prove against him; that he

has a right to the advantages of a position, to say—that is true as far as you are concerned, you have no right to question me further than the bare outside goes: I give you the outside; and take it, and make what you can out of it.

What mixes oddly, however, with this cautious, subtle habit of mind, is the impatience and irritableness which is charged to him. We do not believe all that is said of him here, but he does seem never to have got over a natural defect he had in the shape of an excessive and morbid sensitiveness. He could often calm it, and often not; and perpetually struggled with it. A hard experience never endowed him with absolute political temper and coolness, and a bad voice, and some defect of manner, did him injustice on this head. Nature does not allow some people to express themselves truly, but refracts what they do through some angular or rough medium. We are referring here principally to Clarendon's account of Laud.

A word about Clarendon. We can trust Clarendon's description of one of the regular class of statesmen and men of the world; he draws it exactly; but he does not appreciate higher characters, and makes mistakes. He sets down Laud as a precipitate, headstrong person, when the truth simply is, that he does not enter into ends and objects he was contending for, and thinks that unimportant which Laud thought important. The charge of precipitancy over and over again, indeed, is simply a criticism on ends, and not on means, and only expresses a difference as to first principles between the critic and the person he judges. Strafford, in the same way, he obviously does not in the least understand, and is as unfair to him as possible, simply from not understanding him. With all deference to Clarendon's greatness in his own department of mind, he has much narrowness and pedantry.

Clarendon patronizes Laud rather amusingly. He admires the 'splendour of his piety,' and feels grateful for his patronage and the business he got him as a lawyer in early life. We hear how Mr. Hyde 'first came to be known to the Archbishop, who ever afterwards used him very kindly, and spoke well of him on all occasions, and took particular notice of him when he came as counsel in any causes depending at the council-board, insomuch that Mr. Hyde (who well knew how to cultivate these advantages) was used with more countenance by all the judges in Westminster-Hall, and the eminent practisers, than was usually given to men of his years; so that he grew every day in practice, of which he had as much as he desired.' The young lawyer, in return for the Archbishop's patronage, gives him the benefit of his good advice, and a lecture. 'The greatest want the Archbishop had was of a true friend, who would seasonably

‘tell him of his infirmities.’ Mr. Hyde supplies that deficiency.

Mr. Hyde’s free expostulation with the Archbishop.—‘He found the Archbishop early walking in the garden, who received him, according to his custom, very graciously, and continuing his walk, asked him, “What good news from the country?” To which he answered, there was none good; the people were universally discontented; and (which troubled him most) that many people spoke extreme ill of his Grace, as the cause of all that was amiss. He replied that he was sorry for it; he knew he did not deserve it; and that he must not give over serving the king and the Church to please the people. Mr. Hyde told him he thought he need not lessen his zeal for either, and that it grieved him to find persons of the best conditions, and who loved both king and Church, exceedingly ind devoted to him; complaining of his manner of treating them when they had occasion to resort to him: and then named two persons of the most interest and credit in Wiltshire, who had that summer attended the council-board; that all the lords present used them with great courtesy, and that he alone spake sharply to them; and one of them, supposing that somebody had done him ill offices, went the next morning to Lambeth, to present service to him, and to discover, if he could, what misrepresentation had been made of him; that after he had attended very long, he was admitted to speak with his Grace, who scarce hearing him, sharply answered him, that “he had no time for compliments,” which put the other much out of countenance. And that this kind of behaviour was the discourse of all companies of persons of quality.

‘He (Laud) heard the relation very patiently and attentively, and discoursed over every particular with all imaginable condescension; and said, with evident show of trouble, that “he was very unfortunate to be so ill understood; that he meant very well; that by an imperfection of nature, which he said often troubled him, he might deliver the resolution of the council in such a tone and with a sharpness of voice, that made men believe he was angry, when there was no such thing.—That he did well remember that one of them, (who was a person of honour) came afterwards to him, at a time when he was shut up about an affair of importance which required his full thoughts, but that as soon as he heard of the others being without, he sent for him, himself going into the next room, and received him very kindly as he thought; and supposing that he came about business, asked what his business was, and the other answering that he had no business, but continuing his address with some ceremony, he had indeed said, that he had no time for com

‘pliments, but he did not think he went out of the room in that manner.’

‘He was well contented to hear Mr. Hyde reply very freely on the subject,’ who said, ‘He observed that the gentlemen had too much reason for the report they made; and he did not wonder they had been much troubled with his carriage toward them; that he did exceedingly wish, that he would more reserve his passion; and that he would treat persons of honour and quality and interest in their country with more courtesy and condescension. He said, smiling, that he could only undertake for his heart; that he had very good meaning; for his tongue, he could not undertake that he should not sometimes speak more hastily and sharply than he should do (which oftentimes he was sorry and reprehended himself for), and in a tone which might be liable to misinterpretation, with them who were not well acquainted with him.—After this free discourse, Mr. Hyde ever found himself more graciously received by him, and treated with more familiarity: upon which he always concluded that, if the Archbishop had had any true friend, who could in proper seasons have dealt frankly with him, he would not only have received it very well, but have profited by it.’

Mr. Hyde is obviously a very sagacious adviser, and Mr. Hyde is very well satisfied with the impression which his lecture makes on the Archbishop,—an impression, however, we will venture to say, which would not have been produced quite to the extent to which it was, if the Archbishop had not fixed his eye on Mr. Hyde as a person who might be made considerable use of some day, and felt that one avenue to Mr. Hyde’s affections, was, to listen patiently to an edifying prose from him. The young barrister judiciously lecturing the Archbishop, and the Archbishop’s acquiescence in the censure; the mixture of genuine humility and eye cast downwards, with the side glance of the statesman, is a characteristic scene.

Large, subtle, knotty mind; that from your deep corner wielded a court, and caught its great men, one after another, and made them know and feel you individually, through an outward unkind mould of nature, and turned them to your purpose! The man of the world with the sensitiveness of a child; the courtly animus struggling through physical defects of manner; caution, fire; acuteness, simplicity; Laud’s character is a whole, though a complex one.

We are approaching the end of Laud’s career. The rejection of the Liturgy in Scotland, and the whole scene accompanying it,—a raging crowd, a Bishop assaulted in the very church, and obliged to escape for his life; a conspiracy of nobles, and the Solemn League and Covenant erected by scheming heads upon

the passions of the mob, had a fatal appearance. The watchword raised, the nucleus formed, hundreds flocked in. A resentful nobility, whose pride Laud had offended, joined them in England, and secret communications were established between the two countries. Nobles, gentry, and great men of all kinds; the Democrats and the Conservatives of the day, both of them—all who disliked the Church, and Church power, chimed in openly and secretly, either with their opposition or their half support; preachers assumed fresh impetus; pulpits were rostrums, congregations mobs; and a whole world was in motion against Laud, Strafford, and the Church-Cabinet.

There is something remarkable in the way in which Laud's animation seems to grow, as he gets older. A reverse process to the usual one tamed his spirit in the first part of his life, and raised it in the latter: and we are surprised, when we come to the Strafford correspondence, and see the fire that there is in him. 'Haughty and fiery,' according to Whitlock; nice sweet lady's man, according to good Mrs. Maxwell, in whose husband's house he lodged before his trial; a striking mixture of both features compose the old man. The year 1640, which ushered in the Scotch rebellion, and concluded with his own imprisonment in the Tower, found him as active and as ubiquitous as in any year of his life. As one of the *triumviri* with Strafford and Hamilton, which had the Scotch war committed to them, he had business and anxiety enough in that quarter. Not one fragment of his other business gives way, not one sign of remissness or flagging, not a faltering step, or a failing look appear. He is all alive, and acts with the full vigour and spirit of his whole career, till his career itself stops; till he comes to a dead wall, and is locked up in the house of the Black Rod. From the cabinet of Scotch business, proceed letters to the University of Oxford, about putting down the Westminster Supper, and a scolding letter to the Vice-Chancellor, for not 'suppressing 'taverns and ale-houses.' Mr. Bagshawe, of the Middle Temple, who gives authority to the courts in Westminster over the 'Courts Christian,' has a summary stop given to his lectures, and 'away goes Bagshawe out of town, accompanied with forty 'or fifty horse, who seemed to be of the same faction and affections.' Convocation meets in the very thick of the storm, and continues its meeting after the dissolution of Parliament; and the isolated ecclesiastical body daring to show its ecclesiastical unparliamentary existence, draws the whole jealousy of the nation upon it; and the House sits with the Middlesex trainbands to guard it from the fury of the mob. Canons pass, and a series of discussions go on. Bishop Hall's Episcopacy, written for the Scotch emergency, comes under his review, and he sug-

gests the line and ground to take. All his departments and activities go on.

Laud was not deficient in the prophetic instinct. He had known long ago which way things were going; and the cloud which he saw gathering over the English Church at Bishop Montague's trial, had never left his eye. A singular presentiment of his own fate appears even years before, in one of those strange and vague movements of his mind in the Diary; where it occurs to him that he is always coming into contact with St. John Baptist's day. 'Of no ill omen, I hope. While I was 'intent at prayer, I know not how, it came strongly into my 'mind.' The close of his course comes now ushered in with dreams, and he dreams that he sees his father, and asks his father how long he should stay; and that his father made this answer, that he should stay till he had him along with him. He comes into his study, and sees his picture 'fallen on the floor, 'and lying flat on its face.' Melancholy, and activity under it; the power of ever acting before a blank and ambiguity, of throwing himself into the process as such, and filling space, are characteristic of Laud. A man's career is an existence in itself, a solid portion cut out of the world of human mind and will: it lives apart from what results of it, and has a realm of its own, which no fate can interfere with, in all the space between its beginning and its end.

Parliament met on the 3d of November, 1640. 'A letter 'was wrote to the Archbishop, advertising that the Parliament 'of Henry VIII., which destroyed the privileges of the clergy, 'and dissolved the abbeys and religious houses, was begun on the '3d of November, and therefore that, for good luck's sake, he 'would move the king to respite the first sitting of it for a day 'or two longer.' However, it met on the unlucky day. On the 18th of December, Hollis, after a vehement debate on the Canons of the late Convocation, which were declared to be 'against 'the King's prerogative, and the fundamental laws of the realm,' impeached him in the name of the Commons of England of treason. He was committed to the charge of Maxwell, the Usher of the Black Rod, and remained ten weeks in his house; Mrs. Maxwell charmed with him, and 'talking of him to her 'gossips.' From Maxwell's he was removed to the Tower, amidst a 'railing rabble,' who accompanied him to the very gates.

Mobs had been rife lately, and springing up at a moment's warning; they had attacked Lambeth, had torn up the seats of the High Commission Court at St. Paul's. Laud was now under the special surveillance of a mixed mob of Brownists, Anabaptists, and 'London apprentices,' who invariably accompanied him

to and from the Tower, saw him enter Westminster Hall for his day's trial, and saw him safe in the Tower gates again; and an impertinent, staring, multitudinous eye seemed always upon him: a specimen of an unwelcome, incongenial companionship, which almost reminds one of some of the poet's punishments in the infernal regions—those curious inflictions which are made expressly to fit the individuals themselves. The Danaidæ had their buckets, and Sisyphus his large stone, and Laud his mob.

Libels and ballads against him were sung up and down the streets, with pictures of him in a cage, and 'fastened to a post by a chain.' They enlivened taverns and alehouses; and the 'drunkards made songs upon me,' he says; 'God of His mercy forgive the misguided people.'

The Tower had its own internal persecutors; and preachers in the chapel soothed his misfortunes with the special application of the text to him, '*Curse ye Meroz, saith the angel of the Lord.*' One Mr. Joslyn preached, 'with a vehemence becoming Bedlam: 'the women' and the boys stood up in the church to see how I 'would bear it. I humbly thank God for my patience.' Puritan ministers came to call on him and ask him 'whether he had 'repented;' Mr. Wells, a New England minister, boisterously demanding of him whether he had not repented of once upon a time suspending him (Mr. Wells) in particular. 'I knew him not till 'he told me he was suspended by me, when I was Bishop of 'London, and he then a minister in Essex. I told him if he 'were suspended it was doubtless according to law. Then upon 'a little further speech, I recalled the man to my remembrance, 'and what care I took at London then to recall him from some 'of his turbulent ways, but all in vain; and now he inferred, out 'of the good words I then gave him, that I suspended him 'against my conscience.'

The death of Strafford deprived him of his greatest friend—the only person who had fully sympathized and acted with him. Laud felt the blow, and knew he stood entirely alone in the world, when he was gone. Hopelessness and separation, and certainty of never coming together again, are a different thing from a friend's death, after all. Laud was perfectly unmanned by Strafford's death. They were not allowed to see one another in the Tower; but Strafford sent to the Lieutenant, the night before his execution, to ask for leave that once. It was refused. 'Then ask the Archbishop,' he said, 'to lend me his prayers 'this night, and give me his blessing when I go abroad to-morrow, and be at his window, that by my last farewell I may 'give him thanks for this, and all other his former favours. Laud replied, that he could promise the first, but could not

answer for the second; 'he feared his weakness and passion ' would not lend him eyes to behold his last departure.' He made the attempt, however, and did come up to his window the next morning, where Strafford stood waiting for him on his way to execution; but could not do more than just lift up his hands in the attitude of blessing, and fainted. The heroic character of Strafford, with all the cautions, and softeners, and bits of humour with which Laud attacks him on it in his letters, was deeply loved; and his fondness for it shows itself in his very hits and laughs at it. He gave up all hope for himself from this time, and expected his end as a matter of time, 'adding, ' that he hoped, by God's assistance, and his own innocency, that ' when he came to his own execution, which he daily longed for, ' the world would perceive that he had been more sensible of ' Lord Strafford's loss than he was of his own.' A characteristic sensitiveness makes him half find fault with himself for his emotions, and for the appearance ' of effeminacy and unbecoming ' weakness ' there was in ' sinking down in that manner.'

The Great Rebellion was now set in; both sides were in arms; and Laud heard, from his confinement in the midst of the enemy's camp, the distant news of engagements in the North. Under the new sway of Parliament, he saw one rapid ending of all he had done. Parliament was in possession of headquarters in the metropolis, and was changing things fast. He saw, one by one, every piece of ecclesiastical reform displaced again, Calvinism and Presbyterianism triumphant, and the work of a life apparently come to nothing. He could only sit patiently in his prison, and hear of one act of subversion after another. The House of Commons managed the Church: Williams, in full sunshine again, went about with a train of Bishops, flattered and flattering, and the oracle of Parliament: and a committee of twelve met in his lodgings, and planned alterations in the Liturgy. Mobs shouting 'No Bishops! No Bishops!' paraded the streets. Parliament echoed the cry, and passed a bill, depriving the Bishops of their votes in the House of Lords. 'That struck proud Canterbury to the heart,' somebody said. The churches and cathedrals suffered miserable profanation from the Puritan troops. Westminster Abbey was assaulted by a London crowd, and had to be stoutly defended by the 'scholars;' and the hatred of the Church, which his administration had for years with difficulty kept under, broke loose everywhere, and made up for its past confinement.

In 1643 a motley mixture of lords, commons, and ministers, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Independent, sat under the name of the Westminster Assembly; and from within the Abbey walls, where they held their sitting, issued the Directory. A

bargain was struck with the Scotch Covenanters (whose assistance to stem the Royal successes in the North became necessary), through the medium of Gillespie, Henderson, and other leading ministers. The Covenanting interest got, in return for its aid, a representation in the Assembly, with a prospect of a share of the bishoprics and Church spoil; and a confederacy of Scotch and English, and a compact for the religious uniformity of both countries, were cemented with the pledge that Laud should be brought to trial.

A long, tedious, and exhausting ordeal was now to be undergone, before he could be allowed to die. He entered on it with a vigour and spirit equal to that of any period of his administration; and the mind accustomed to energy was literally unable to do anything feebly. His acuteness simulates the full power of hope: and an inherent habit of self-supporting action, and independence of expectation, bears him along. A theory of what he should do for the sake of the look to the world at large, and a sensitive fear of seeming to give way, and discredit his cause, comes in; the feeling which enters into the expression we just quoted of his after Strafford's death, which enters much into his prayers:—the nervousness of a religious mind, as if it were wrong to be weak before the enemy, and allow him a too easy triumph and exaltation,—‘lest he be too proud.’

The trial began in November, 1643, and went on to the October of the next year; and it brought the whole of a long public life, and an administration in Church and State, under review, from the proceedings in High Commission and Star-chamber, down to the most casual words which dropped from him.

The tribunal assumed a theological character, and questioned him about his language respecting the altar, the priesthood, the consecrated elements; about his alterations in churches, church ceremonies, pictures, images, crucifixes, painted windows; the books he had on his table; the pictures he had on his walls; his private conversations; expressions let fall about the Church; his hopes and fears; his theological friends; his disposal of patronage, and names whom he had given bishoprics, and deaneries, and king-chaplainships to.

One article is remarkable, which charges him with designs upon the power of the Crown, and wishing to deprive the Crown of its great prerogative of Church control. The court shows its *animus*: it has no objection to Crown prerogative, if it will only ally itself with them; the Church is what it dislikes, and what it fears. For the powers of the Crown, as of State against Church, they are ready to stand up: they will retain, with scrupulous jealousy, every prerogative of it that goes in that direction: they are loyal men then, and can talk of desire

to support the Crown, and established power, and dislike of innovation. 'He hath traitorously assumed to himself,' says Article VI., 'a papal and tyrannical power, both in ecclesiastical and temporal matters, over his Majesty's subjects in the realm of England, to the disinherison of the Crown, dishonour of his Majesty, and derogation of supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters. And the said Archbishop claims the King's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as incident to his Episcopal and Archiepiscopal office in this kingdom, and doth deny the same to be derived from the Crown of England; which he hath accordingly exercised to the high contempt of his royal Majesty, and to the destruction of divers of the King's liege people in their persons and estates.' The innovation of Bishops sending out their citations in their own names, and not in the King's, is pitched upon in this view. A jealousy for Crown, as a theoretical State power, and a hatred of the practical line it had taken, put them into the hypocritical position of actually elevating Charles's royal prerogative above what he wanted it to be himself. You *shall* have power against the Church, they say: we shall not let you give it up. It is not your own, but the national power delegated to you for that very object. Use it as the nation wants you, throw yourself into the national secular animus, and you may be as great as you please. We do not object to your royalty as such; but if it is made an engine for bringing the Church down upon us, we turn republicans.

The examination then went into the very smallest matters of mere business that Laud had transacted in his public offices. A man in office is certain to do a number of things every day that displease some person or other: to please one, is to displease another: and if at any given time the doors were thrown open for all the grumblers, and the call given for all who had memories to rub them up, and recollect what grievances they had ever suffered from, or thought they owed to, him, the chance is there would be a largish muster. Goldsmiths come and complain of having been removed from their scattered residences to Lombard-street and Cheapside. Soap-boilers think they were hardly used on one or two occasions in the case of King's proclamations. The 'Tonnage and Poundage' business comes up. Ship money, 'coat and conduct money,' come up again; the monarchy was in a strait in these days to get money. You pulled my house down, says one man; you refused me compensation, says another; you made me pay taxes, and you made me pay tithes, are urged from two other quarters; you called me Sirrah, once, says a gentleman. Laud explains. The house belonged to St. Paul's Chapter, and was pulled down in the improvements there. The compensation was an absurd claim.

The tithes were the lawful property of the Church; the taxes of the king. With respect to the 'Sirrah,' he really cannot remember either that he did or did not call Mr. Vassal, 'Sirrah;' he only knows that his constant habit is to call gentlemen of Mr. Vassal's dignity, 'Sir.'

It is marvellous into what pettiness of detail the trial goes. Everything is fished up from the bottom, and collected from every corner; and everything is treason; and Laud was put into the humiliating position of having to stand up, and forensically guard every little thing he had ever done—to say, this is not judicial evidence, as a legal court you cannot listen to such stories as these; only bring them to the test of legal evidence, and they disappear. He did this with wonderful acuteness. The minute particles vanished one after another as they encountered the touchstone, and left a legally clear air. 'And what if they are true?' went side-by-side with this process. 'What do they come to? What an I charged with? Be it so, that I was very angry with one Samuel Sherman, of Dedham, in Essex: that I should say Dedham was a maritime town; and that when the sum demanded of him was named, I should say, "a proper sum." Here is no proof but Sherman, and he in his own cause, and his censure was laid upon him by the Council table, and not by me. But let it be ever so true,—here is no treason, but against Dedham, or Sherman, that I can discover.'

The examination went deeper still. Every corner of Lambeth was searched for papers—his library seized and examined; and Prynne, with a parliamentary warrant in his hand, prowled about the archiepiscopal rooms. Laud was alone all the while, and in the position of a man undergoing a painful operation: a diary is part of a man's self: his was in Prynne's hands, undergoing keen inspections, with marginal comments and interpretations, and interpolations in the text, at will, with the view of a good forensic exhibition. He did not know what unpleasant disclosure of his most private thoughts might be every moment made. It was just the very species of pain—that feeling of 'shame,' which he was so singularly alive to. Prynne pursued him to the Tower, to his prison, to his bedroom. Prynne, with a lighted candle in his hand, appeared in the dead of the night in his bedroom, when he was in bed; and Laud awoke, and saw him picking his pockets of papers. He carried off his book of devotions away with him: Laud in vain telling him that there was nothing for Parliament to see there, but only the addresses of his soul to God. He was laid bare, and all brought into the full vulgar light of a civil court. 'My being in this place,' is his final address to the Court, 'recalls to my memory that which

' I long since read in Seneca—to have to defend oneself in a court, even if one is acquitted, is a torment,—it is not a grief only, it is no less than a torment:—My Lords, it is no less than a torment for me to appear in this place.'

' Wit and eloquence,'—we are quoting Prynne's admission,—' the good orator, the subtle disputant,'—a ' full, gallant, and pithy defence, which spake as much as it was possible for the wit of man to invent,' showed Laud's resources under this mental pain. Bit by bit the whole mass of evidence against him crumbled away, and left the Court powerless in point of law. Strafford's precedent had been nullified by a special insulating act, confining it to the sole and single case of Strafford himself. A second single precedent, and one positively for the last time, had now to be instituted: and a new special bill of attainder was passed for Laud.

' On the 6th of January,* six Peers, and it was strange to find so many in the English peerage, to wit, Philip Earl of Pembroke, Henry Earl of Kent, William Earl of Salisbury, Oliver Earl of Bolingbroke, Dudley Lord North, and William Lord Gray of Wark, all of them Presbyterians, condemned the Archbishop to be *hung* on the 10th of January next. On the same day with this unrighteous sentence, Parliament abolished the Book of Common Prayer.

' The manner of his death troubled the good Archbishop not a little; and with a deeply Christian magnanimity and largeness of heart, whatever some poor, unworthy minds have thought or said about it, he was not above petitioning his enemies, that, considering he was a bishop in the Church, he might die by beheading rather than by the gibbet. Which request the Commons at first violently refused, but did afterwards assent unto.

' The passing of the ordinance being signified to him by the then lieutenant of the Tower, he heard it with so even and so smooth a temper, as shewed he neither was ashamed to live, nor afraid to die. The time between the sentence and execution he spent in prayers and applications to the Lord his God; having obtained, though not without some difficulty, his chaplain Dr. Sterne, who afterwards sat in the chair of York, to attend upon him. His chaplains, Drs. Heywood and Martin, he much wished might be with him. But it seems it was too much for him to ask. So instead, two violent Presbyterians, Marshall and Palmer, were ordered by Parliament to give him religious consolations: which consolations his grace quietly declined. Indeed, little preparation was needed to receive that blow, which could not but be welcome, because long expected.

* We quote the account at the end of the Autobiography.

‘ For so well was he studied in the art of dying, especially in the
‘ last and strictest part of his imprisonment, that by continual
‘ fastings, watchings, prayers, and such like acts of Christian
‘ humiliation, his flesh was rarefied into spirit, and the whole
‘ man fitted for eternal glories.

‘ On the evening of the 9th, Sheriff Chambers, of London,
‘ brought the warrant for his execution. In preparation to
‘ so sad a work, he betook himself to his own, and desired also
‘ the prayers of others, and particularly of Dr. Holdsworth,
‘ fellow-prisoner in that place for a year and a half; though
‘ all that time there had not been the least converse betwixt
‘ them. This evening before his passover, the night before the
‘ dismal combat betwixt him and death, after he had refreshed
‘ his spirits with a moderate supper, he betook himself unto his
‘ rest, and slept very soundly till the time came, in which his
‘ servants were appointed to attend his rising. A most assured
‘ sign of a soul prepared.

‘ The 10th of January came, on which the Archbishop completed his life of seventy-one years, thirteen weeks, and four days. His death was the more remarkable, in falling on St. William’s day, as if it did design him to an equal place in the English calendar, with that which William, Archbishop of Bourges, had obtained in the French: who (being as great a zealot in his time against the spreading and increase of the Albigenses, as Laud was thought to be against those of the Puritan faction, and the Scottish Covenanters), hath ever since been honoured as a Saint and Confessor in the Gallican Church.

‘ In the morning he was early at his prayers; at which he continued till Pennington, Lieutenant of the Tower, and other public officers, came to conduct him to the scaffold; which he ascended with so brave a courage, such a cheerful countenance, as if he had mounted rather to behold a triumph, than be made a sacrifice; and came not there to die, but to be translated. And though some rude and uncivil people reviled him, as he passed along, with opprobrious language, as loth to let him go to the grave in peace, yet it never discomposed his thoughts, nor disturbed his patience. For he had profited so well in the school of Christ, that, “when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed his cause to Him that judgeth righteously.”

‘ And, as he did not fear the frowns, so neither did he covet the applause of the people; and therefore rather chose to read what he had to speak, than to affect the ostentation either of memory or wit in that dreadful agony: whether with greater magnanimity than prudence can hardly be said. And here it followeth from the copy, presented very solemnly by

‘ Dr. Sterne to his sorrowing master, the good King Charles, at
‘ Oxford.

‘ *The Archbishop’s Speech upon the Scaffold.*

‘ Good People,

‘ This is an uncomfortable time to preach; yet I shall begin
‘ with a text of Scripture, Hebrews xii. 2. “Let us run with
‘ patience the race which is set before us: looking unto Jesus,
‘ the Author and Finisher of our faith, Who, for the joy that
‘ was set before Him, endured the Cross, despising the shame,
‘ and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.”

‘ I have been long in my race; and how I have looked unto
‘ Jesus, the Author and Finisher of my faith, He best knows.
‘ I am now come to the end of my race, and here I find the
‘ Cross, a death of shame. But the shame must be despised,
‘ or no coming to the right hand of God. Jesus despised the
‘ shame for me, and God forbid that I should not despise the
‘ shame for Him.

‘ I am going apace, as you see, towards the Red sea, and my
‘ feet are upon the very brink of it: an argument, I hope, that
‘ God is bringing me into the Land of Promise; for that was
‘ the way through which He led His people.

‘ But before they came to it, He instituted a passover for
‘ them. A lamb it was, but it must be eaten with sour herbs.
‘ I shall obey, and labour to digest the sour herbs, as well as the
‘ lamb. And I shall remember it is the Lord’s passover. I
‘ shall not think of the herbs, nor be angry with the hands that
‘ gathered them; but look up only to Him who instituted that,
‘ and governs these: for men can have no more power over me
‘ than what is given them from above.

‘ I am not in love with this passage through the Red sea, for
‘ I have the weakness and infirmity of flesh and blood plentifully
‘ in me. And I have prayed with my Saviour, *Ut transiret*
‘ *calix iste*, that this cup of red wine might pass from me. But
‘ if not, God’s will, not mine, be done. And I shall most
‘ willingly drink of this cup as deep as He pleases, and enter
‘ into this sea, yea, and pass through it, in the way that He
‘ shall lead me.

‘ And as for this people, they are at this day miserably mis-
‘ led: God of His mercy open their eyes, that they may see the
‘ right way. For at this day the blind lead the blind; and if
‘ they go on, both will certainly fall into the ditch.

‘ And though I am not only the first Archbishop, but the
‘ first man, that ever died by an Ordinance in Parliament, yet
‘ some of my predecessors have gone this way, though not by
‘ this means: for Elphegus was hurried away and lost his head

by the Danes: Simon Sudbury in the fury of Wat Tyler and his fellows. Before these, St. John Baptist and his head danced off by a Jew's woman: and St. Cyprian, Archbishop of Carthage, submitted his head to a persecuting sword. Many examples great and good: and they teach me patience. For I hope my cause in heaven will look of another dye, than the colour that is put upon it here.

And some comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of these great men in their several generations: but also that my charge, as foul as it is made, looks like that of the Jews against St. Paul: for he was accused for the law and the temple, i. e. religion: and like that of St. Stephen, for breaking the ordinances which Moses gave, i. e. law and religion, the holy place and the law.

But you will say, Do I then compare myself with the integrity of St. Paul and St. Stephen? No: far be that from me. I only raise a comfort to myself, that these great saints and servants of God were laid at in their times, as I am now.

And after disclaiming ever having had an intention of introducing arbitrary power into the constitution, or the Papacy into the Church, and declaring that he had belonged, in heart and soul, always to the Church of England, and never looked beyond her, and simply aimed at her improvement and restoration, 'I do therefore,' he ends, 'here, in the presence of God and His holy angels, take it upon my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion either of law or religion. And I desire you all to remember this protest of mine for my innocency in this, and from all treasons whatsoever.'

'But I have done, I forgive all the world, all and every of those bitter enemies which have persecuted me; and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man. And so I heartily desire you to join in prayer with me.'

'O eternal God and merciful Father, look down upon me in mercy, in the riches and fulness of all thy mercies. Look upon me, but not till Thou hast nailed my sins to the Cross of Christ, not till Thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ, not till I have hid myself in the wounds of Christ; that so the punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since Thou art pleased to try me to the uttermost, I most humbly beseech Thee, give me now in this great instant, full patience, proportionable comfort, and a heart ready to die for Thine honour, the King's happiness, and this Church's preservation. And my zeal to these (far from arrogancy be it spoken) is all the sin (human frailty excepted, and all incidents thereto) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I come now to suffer; I say, in this particular of treason. But other-

‘wise, my sins are many and great; Lord, pardon them all, and those especially (whatever they are) which have drawn down this present judgment upon me. And when Thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in Thine own eyes. Amen.’

After saying the Lord’s prayer, he ‘rose, and gave his papers to Dr. Stern, his chaplain, who went with him to his Martyrdom, saying, “Doctor, I give you this, that you may shew it to your fellow-chaplains, that they may see how I went out of the world; and God’s blessing and mercy be upon you and them.” Then turning to a person named Hinde, whom he perceived busy writing the words of his address, he said, “Friend, I beseech you hear me. I cannot say I have spoken every word as it is in my paper, but I have gone very near it, to help my memory as well as I could, but I beseech you, let me have no wrong done me:” intimating that he ought not to publish an imperfect copy. “Sir,” replied Hinde, “you shall not. If I do so, let it fall upon my own head. I pray God have mercy upon your soul.” “I thank you,” he answered; “I did not speak with any jealousy as if you would do so, but only, as a poor man going out of the world, it is not possible for me to keep to the words of my paper, and a phrase might do me wrong.”

An intense, indescribable weariness of life, appears in all Laud’s last days, and deepens as the end approaches. He is absorbed in it. A long-sustained period of hopeless mental exertion, left him fixed and riveted on the one idea of an end, as if he were under some dominant constraining emotion.

‘He now applied himself to the fatal block, as to the haven of his rest. But finding the way full of people, who had placed themselves upon the theatre to behold the tragedy, he said, “I thought there would have been an empty scaffold, that I might have had room to die. I beseech you, let me have an end of this misery, for I have endured it long.” Hereupon room was made for him to die. While he was preparing himself for the axe, he said, “I will put off my doublet, and God’s will be done. I am willing to go out of the world; no man can be more willing to send me out, than I am willing to be gone.”

‘But there were broad chinks between the boards of the scaffold: and he saw that some people were got under the very place where the block was seated. So he desired either that the people might be removed, or dust brought to fill up the crevices, lest, said he, “my innocent blood should fall upon the heads of the people.”

‘The holy Martyr was now ready for death, and very calmly waiting for his crown. It was like a scene out of primitive

' times. His face was fresh and ruddy, and of a cheerful countenance. But there stood, to look on and rail, one Sir John Clotworthy, an Irishman, and follower of the Earl of Warwick. He was a violent and wrong-headed man, an enthusiast, and very furious as a demagogue. Being irritated that the revilings of the people moved not the strong quiet of the holy Martyr, or sharpened him into any show of passion, "he would needs put in and try what he could do with his sponge and vinegar." So he propounded questions to him, not as if to learn, but rudely and out of ill-nature, and to expose him to his associates. "What," asked he, "is the comfortablest saying, which a dying man would have in his mouth?" To which the holy Martyr with very much meekness answered, "*Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.*" "That is a good desire," said the other, "but there must be a foundation for that divine assurance." "No man can express it," replied the Martyr, "it is to be found within." The busy man still pursued him, and said, "It is founded upon a word, nevertheless, and that word should be known." "That word," said the Martyr, "is the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and that alone." But he saw that this was but an indecent interruption, and that there would be no end to the trouble, and so he turned away from him to the executioner, as the gentler and discreeter person: and, putting some money into his hand, without the least distemper or change of countenance, he said, "Here, honest friend, God forgive thee, and do thine office upon me in mercy." Then did he go upon his knees; and the executioner said that he should give a sign for the blow to come; to which he answered, "I will, but first let me fit myself."

He then knelt down for his last open prayer—short, but so expressive of his state of mind. A world of enemies had been long wishing him away; self-defence had been hitherto a duty; but now that they had fairly their own way, and got their ends, he was satisfied, ready to relieve them of his presence. He did not want to stay. Life is weariness; death is rest.

"Lord, I am coming as fast as I can. I know I must pass through the shadow of death, before I can come to see Thee. But it is but *umbra mortis*, a mere shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature; but Thou by Thy merits and passion hast broken through the jaws of death. So, Lord, receive my soul, and have mercy upon me; and bless this kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them for Jesus Christ His sake, if it be Thy will."

' Then he bowed his head upon the block, "down, as upon a bed," and prayed silently awhile. No man heard what it was

‘he prayed in that last prayer. After that he said out loud, “Lord, receive my soul;” which was the sign to the executioner; and at one blow he was beheaded.’

Laud’s is an instance of a great career founded upon a dream; a great practical, powerful, political mind, that pursued a visionary object. The high feudal idea of Church greatness, which led him through his course, was an impracticable, unreal one, in the great revolution of society which had taken place. When the Church has once lost her hold upon the mass, and fallen from her power, she must be restored from below and not from above. She has to begin from the bottom again, and must be raised by the slow advance and gradual inoculation of the mass. She must rise again by a popular movement, and by influences and efforts upon the open area and level. Laud’s movement was not a popular one; and we know not whether it could have been made so. The age was set one way, and he took perhaps the only engine that there was for him. But to erect a high mediæval prelacy and priestly power upon such a puritanized basis as the Church then presented, was, in strict *ordo nature*, beginning at the wrong end. We are criticising the movement, and not the man. The man is dependent on his age, and must take what weapon comes to hand. It was better doing something than nothing; using an awkward and inaccurate instrument than none at all. Great men upon their historical stage—it is not, we hope, a morbid sentiment to utter—are objects of compassion. The worldly machinery and the state of things that they are in, force them upon incongruities, and allow them only some one crooked weapon, some one angular posture, some one effective elbow thrust. Their own minds even become appropriated and naturalized by the sphere they work in, and see that one mode of acting only and no other. It remains for some clearer day to determine what minds really are in themselves, and what is the genuine intrinsic man apart from hodiernal influences and moulding. Such a question would only take us wandering now into the shadowy region of moral metaphysics.

Let us not be misunderstood, however. Laud’s career was not unpractical, because its aim was visionary; not ineffective, because it did not hit its own favourite mark. It had most important practical effects upon the English Church. The mediæval philosophy made real physical discoveries in its dreams, and the searcher after the philosopher’s stone was a real scientific man and chemist through that ideal medium. Laud’s immediate acts and aims were most practical; and a great practical rise in the English Church was the effect of his career. He stopped her just in time, as she was rapidly going down hill,

and he saved all the Catholicism which the reign of Genevan influence had left her. There is no mistaking the tendencies of that period. That we have our Prayer-book, our altar, even our Episcopacy itself, we may, humanly speaking, thank Laud. The holy table in all our churches, altarwise at the east end, is a visible memorial of Laud which none can escape. It was not so before his time: it is not necessarily so by the actual rubric of our Church at this moment. That our Articles have not a Genevan sense tied to them, and are not an intolerable burden to the Church, is owing to Laud. He rescued them from the fast tightening Calvinistic grasp, and left them, by his prefixed 'Declaration,' open. Laud saved the English Church. That any one of Catholic predilections can belong to the English Church, is owing, so far as we can see, to Laud. He saw the good element that was in her, elicited, fostered, and nurtured it; brought the incipient Church school to size and shape, and left it spreading over the Church, and setting the standard. Let us be historically just. Let the dead have their due. Let us acknowledge facts; and allow their true stamp and authorship to remain upon them. The English Church, in her Catholic aspect, is a memorial of Laud.

There is a reproach, however, in the shape of praise, from which we are anxious to rescue him—the praise of a class who know next to nothing about him, and simply regard him as the patron of Church opulence and comfort, of easy posts of dignity, and the Establishment system. It is too obvious a thing to say, that this class would very soon have found him a disagreeable master. A small experience of the actual man would have modified their commendation. The dead cannot help themselves here: and persons who have not one single sympathy with Laud's self-devotion, deep priestly feeling, love of Church doctrine or discipline, and who, if they had lived in that day, would not have stirred a finger to save the Church from sinking into a presbyterian establishment, can now safely eulogize him and smoothly thank him for the official powers which they enjoy from him, and which they employ against that very Catholic spirit in the Church which they were originally instituted to defend. However, we observe this sort of praise dying away, as parties get to understand themselves and each other better; and should anything which we have said tend at all to hasten its departure, we shall feel it no subject of regret.

NOTICES.

The Chimes. A Goblin Story of some Bells that rang an Old Year out and a New Year in. By CHARLES DICKENS. London: Chapman & Hall. 1845.

In a sense it seems superfluous to criticize what everybody reads, because all readers claim to themselves, by virtue of their profession, to be adequate critics of what they read. Still, although from what we have to say of Mr. Dickens's Christmas story, few, perhaps, will read, or none, it may be, neglect it, we feel bound to give an opinion, simply because of this writer's unexampled popularity. What so many read, must have its office of good or of evil. It is a strange privilege, or trial, be it only for a single hour, to have any—still more awful to have much—influence on men's souls. To religious minds, therefore, the popular literature of the day is a very grave subject: its claims we are bound to recognise.

With the avowed object of the present story we cannot but sympathize: viz. the claims of the poor on the merciful sympathies of their fellows. To have always held this moral purpose is one, perhaps the great secret, of this writer's success. In "The Chimes," we find the inborn claims of the poor man; his beautiful side; his surprising cheerfulness under sorrows, and, what shows Dickens's keen observation of nature, the real cause of his apparent sulkiness and unimpressibility, well sketched off. It is a true lesson, that often the poor man most wants, and most desires, to be let alone. We think "Boz" decidedly unfair to some with whom we own affinities, if he imagines that *their* earnestness for the poor is confined to the cricket-playing; but bating this, we scorn the growing picturesque view of the poor: we are beginning to treat them as we do torn thatch, ruined groves, and blasted trees, as "nice bits" in a landscape, as telling contrasts, as subjects for sickly sentimentalities. How far district-visiting in carriages (we have seen it ourselves), maypole-dancing during a lull in the opera season, and soup-kitchens when the frost stops the hunting, may have given *some* occasion to Mr. Dickens's most bitter sarcasms, we are not called upon to say: we all know that there is something in it. Anyhow, nothing is more improper than the constant pestering and badgering of the poor, which is getting into vogue—the constant "See what a poor wretch you are, and see what a good, kind gentleman, or lady, I am." For showing up this *sham* (by-the-by, Boz has taken to Carlyle, though he does not own it), we thank "The Chimes." And when we can get any book with a

circulation of twenty thousand, which will, as the present does, cut clean through the detestable school of economists, Malthus, and the "coarser kind of food" gentry, the preventive-check heathen, and the "natural effluxes" people, we will welcome it as heartily as we do the present. We hardly know whether it was worth Dickens's purpose to show up an individual, the most contemptible of his most contemptible class, such as Sir Peter Laurie, the worthy who "puts down" everything—Puseyism and poverty, because they touch his pocket,—suicide and sorrows, because they disturb the city's propriety and peace. But let this pass: the work is done, and never mind who does it. Alderman Cute is settled, once and for ever.

And with all this, shall we say that we find a great blank somewhere? It is not that "The Chimes" is not a religious story; we shall be, perhaps, not altogether misunderstood, if we say we should have been sorry if it had been: but it is because it is,—and the remark holds with the whole *Pickwick* school,—a *moral* story, ostensibly, avowedly, ambitiously *moral*, and nothing more. Not a scrap or spark of religion in it: nothing more than morals: the realm of fact, not of grace; the kingdom of the individual will, not of the Spirit and strength of God. For religious stories we have the most sovereign contempt; but such loathing is, we trust, quite compatible with affection, sole affection, for that spirit in fiction which veils the only realities of the soul. And here is the chief defect of Dickens: he seems to be always on the very point of getting hold of the truth—of the right thing—and yet as invariably he misses it, and clutches the shadow,—a very good counterfeit always, but still only the semblance of that which constantly eludes him. He wants, because he knows that the soul wants, unseen influences and mysterious powers, and he embodies a mixed mockery of German diablerie, and fairies, and Socinianism, because, even while he was not called upon to picture it, he has never realized the Catholic doctrine of the angels; and it is quite wonderful, though significant, how this machinery—to speak according to the card—would have helped him. He pictures, and most touchingly, a sweet woman in deep poverty, struggling against every temptation and misery; and she is strong in the strength of *duty*, but, as it seems, without a thought of the cross of Christ. He draws a good, cheerful, plodding, warm-hearted son of privation, whose best and highest hope of consolation does not range higher than a credulity in, and a half-crazed affection for—certain chimes. And this is the great failure of the present book: it is just this, that such people could not, as a fact, apart from right, have been what Dickens draws them, without some better and truer ground-work.

As a *literary* work we cannot speak highly of "The Chimes;" the clumsy and threadbare trick of a dream is managed with more than its ordinary *maladroitness*. The pathetic passages are among the most turgid, (witness p. 92,) and absurd which this very clever writer has perpetrated; and remembering his many and various grotesque attempts at fine writing, this is saying not a little. But, above all this, there is scarcely a striking feature which we have not fallen in with before:—the influence of the chimes, and the leading idea of the story, is taken from Schiller's Song of the Bell; the mysterious affection and attraction between the Bells and Toby Veck may be traced to Quasimodo, in Victor Hugo's "Notre Dame de Paris;" a good deal of the diction is a palpable borrowing from Carlyle, and, which it most resembles, the higher portions of Punch; the false, yet catching, attempt to combine personal degradation and sin with high moral refinement,—we allude to the fate of Lilian,—from the wicked "Mysteries of Paris;" the goblin spirits of the greater bells from Reztseh; and the multitudinous, swarming, trooping mass of sprites from sources, Irish, German, and others, which will be at once apparent. Boz repeats himself in Will Fern: we have seen it somewhere, but we cannot recall where, in his own works.

Neither can we speak highly of the illustrations; such a monstrous *mélange* of kicking, sprawling, nudities, we never witnessed as Maclise's frontispiece. This artist can paint, but he cannot draw. It caricatures depth, and mysticism, and allusion, whereas it is simply meaningless; indeed it could not well, as an illustration of the tale, be otherwise. Dickens, in the Bell Spirits, seems to have got hold of a thought which proved too high and spiritual for him; he has broken down under it. The world of spirits is with Mr. Dickens—we ask his pardon—very much indeed of the cast which we used to witness in the last scene of a pantomime: the tin-foil, wires, and tinsel, are too palpable a vast deal; and to talk nonsense is not the language of the spiritual world.

The best part of the book is its lighter portion, and especially the character of Toby Veck; quite a projection, and a single, well-defined image this, though Pickwick and Mrs. Gamp are infinitely better. And Mr. Filer, Alderman Cute, and Sir Joseph Bowley, we recommend heartily. Here is a portrait which the shallowest newspaper reader must recognise:—

"Everybody knew Alderman Cute was a justice.

"'You are going to be married, you say,' pursued the Alderman. 'Very unbecoming and indelicate in one of your sex. But now mind, that after you are married, you'll quarrel with your husband, and come to be a distressed wife. You may think not: but you will, because I tell you so. Now I give you fair warning, that I have made up my mind to put distressed wives down. So don't be brought before me. You'll have children—

boys. These boys will grow up bad, of course, and run wild in the streets without shoes or stockings. Mind, my young friend ! I'll convict 'em summarily, every one, for I am determined to put boys without shoes and stockings down. Perhaps your husband will die young (most likely) and leave you with a baby. Then you'll be turned out of doors, and wander up and down the streets. Now don't wander near me, my dear, for I am resolved to put all wandering mothers down. All young mothers, of all sorts and kinds, it's my determination to put down. Don't think to plead illness with me ; or babies, as an excuse with me : for all sick persons and young children (I hope you know the Church service, but I'm afraid not) I am determined to put down. And if you attempt, desperately and ungratefully and impiously and fraudulently attempt to drown yourself or hang yourself, I'll have no pity on you, for I have made up my mind to put all suicide down. If there is one thing,' said the Alderman, with his self-satisfied smile, 'on which I can be said to have made up my mind more than on another, it is to put suicide down. So don't try it on. That's the phrase, isn't it ? Ha ! ha ! now we understand each other.'"—Pp. 43, 44.

We inquire—and it is quite in the *Rigby* spirit which missed the Coroner's Inquest on *Ellen Middleton*—how it was that the young couple who, on New Year's Eve, agreed to be married, and were married, on New Year's Day, contrived to dispense with the three weeks' publication of banns ?

Dialogus de Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ et de regimine ecclesiastico.
Auctore C. F. WEBER. Nerolingæ: Sumptibus C. H. BECK.
1843.

As an illustration of the way in which the proposed Evangelical Pruss-Anglican Episcopate is viewed in Germany, the amusing pamphlet which we have named will not be out of place. We notice it in this place because it seems hardly to unite with the gravity of a previous article on this subject; and yet as popular ballads have not been without their influence on the fortunes of empires, so these small squibs are other than unimportant signs of the tempers even of religious bodies.

Mr. Weber, of Nordlingen, casts his wit, which is of the ponderous post-waggon order, into the form of a dialogue, after the pattern of Erasmus, or our neglected friend Cordery. The interlocutors are "Germanicus" and "Britannicus." The Teuton courteously salutes his friend as "Collegam meum Britannicum, ecclesiæ Frondensis vicarium." The Clergy List gives no hint of this leafy vicarage, so we are left to conjecture the sylvan bowers of our travelling brother: his habitat cannot be more shady than his arguments. Sundry witticisms are bandied in a rollicking style: the "Frondensis vicarius" is fresh from London,—London

"famosissimus, ne dicam et fumosissimus:" facetious allusions are made to Green's balloon, rail-roads, steam-boats, the Chinese war, a mission to the Æthiopians, Mars, Vulcan, and Minerva; and we are bound to confess that the exordium has a pleasant mixture of the Times newspaper and the *Propria quæ maribus*.

The ecclesiastical news-bag is then opened: "Prick up your ears," says Britannicus:—

"Arrige aures: Londinum mox erit arx et metropolis totius corporis nostri Evangelici!"—P. 5.

And then he announces the Jerusalem Bishopric. Germanicus receives this with the characteristic national phlegm, while he wickedly chronicles the *rescova* and *rescovini*:—

"Equidem Alexandrum *quendam*, ex Judæorum secta proselytum, cum uxore ac liberis Hierosolyma missum, ibique *conatum* esse, Jacobi sedem apostolicam restituere,—fama percepi."—*Ibid*.

The "conditions" of union Germanicus obstinately deems not—

"Societas, sed deditio novæ ecclesiæ est nominanda."—P. 6.

After a tedious discussion on unity, visible and mystical, Germanicus smells a rat:—

"Heus, amice optime, num te quoque Britannica ista Puseyistarum factio levitatis suæ viro infecit et in casses suos pellexit," &c.—P. 7.

Britannicus pours out a volley in the shape of a maxim:—

"Equidem ecclesiam sine libertate præfero libertati sine ecclesiâ," which gives occasion to a sly hit at Chevalier Bunsen:—

"G. Sententiam conciliarii *cujusdam*, qui regi nostro est ex intimis, secutus esse videris."—P. 8.

The pair of friends then get on the royal supremacy—we beg to disclaim the "Puseyism" of our dramatic representative—and in this discussion the German has decidedly the best of it:—

"G. Gratias agamus Deo, quod tale beneficium a nobis avertit."—P. 10.

"Mittamus hæc et transcamus," to the question whether the German Protestant Churches shall not unite with the Anglican. G. "How does the Church of England look?" B. "Oh beautiful."

"G. Sunt, qui dicant, eam Papismum aliquantulum olere.

"B. Parum refert; res ipsa spectanda est. Mihi ex quadringentis octoginta tribus ædibus sacris Londini paucas tantum cathedrales, Sancti Pauli et occidentalem, quam vocant Westminster, intueri licebat; at quantum ibi splendoris, quanta majestas! Quas si spectaveris tapetibus pretiosis stratas, picturis et monumentis pulcherrimis ornatâs, hieme

suaviter calefactas, in *auditorum* commoditatem mollibus sellis instructas, ingentibus candelabris lumine artificioso, quod vocant *gas-light* illuminatas!"—P. 13.

We say nothing of the romance about tapestry and pictures; but even Sir Cloudesley Shovel, stoves, cushions, and Bude-lights, fail to impress the imperturbable Prussian, who replies, with a grim pleasantry which is too good to be lost,—

"Utinam ne luce suâ artificiosâ lumen æternum præcludant, teretibusque illis sedibus *auditores* obdormiant!"—*Ibid.*

After sundry hints about formalism, written sermons, "*crambe recocta*," thin congregations, &c., Britannicus waxes eloquent and dignified on episcopal authority, in a passage which we pledge our editorial reputation to have extracted literally:—

"*B.* Utinam ejusmodi obsequium et necessitas protestantibus Germanicis injungi posset! Sed ad hæc efficienda clerus noster (?) omni caret potestate et jurisdictione, qua fruuntur clerici episcopales; hi *laterum instar* murum inseparabilem adversus perniciem irrupentem formant, et sibi ipsi acclamant: *Britons, be bricks*; i.e. *Britanni, lateres estote*!"—P. 16.

This beats the celebrated undergraduate translation of the Ethics, *τετράγωνος ἀνευ ψύγῳ*, "a regular brick and no mistake," by a long chalk. The riches of the Anglican Church are illustrated by the following inconvenient anecdote:—

"*B.* Paucis abhinc annis tres mortui sunt episcopi, qui DCC millia librarum hæredibus suis reliquerunt et nuperrime (?) decessit episcopus Walliensis, inter egenos et pauperes habitus, qui C millia librarum *ovibus suis emunxerat*."—P. 17.

Apart, however, from this fun, there is some important matter for thought in what follows:—

"*B.* Cum autem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ xxxix articuli confessioni nostræ Augustanæ *omnino sint conformes*, nullum equidem unionis impedimentum video.

"*G.* Cave, carissime, ne vento loquaris, nebulamque pro Junone amplectaris; prius enim mula pepererit, quam ecclesiæ protestantes unius fidei vinculo inter se coarcentur. Publica illa fidei confessio, quæ ad componenda religionis dissidia jubente Carolo V. imperatore festinanter conscripta et ab ducibus Germanæ protestantibus exhibita est, *nunquam et neutiquam reconciliationem partium inter se ipsas maxime dissidentium efficiet*."—P. 19.

After a dropping fire on the blessings of unity, Germanicus replies:—

"Sane, si societas atque fœdus non conjunctum est cum *christianæ libertatis et veritatis jacturâ*: cum autem ex relatione tuâ appareat, neque rituum, neque disciplinæ, neque doctrinæ ratione quidquam

melioris notæ ex Anglicanâ ecclesiâ in Germanicas confœderatione illâ introduci, SOLITARIAM NOSTRAM CONDITIONEM RETINENDAM esse censeo."—
P. 21.

A conclusion to which we sorrowfully, yet profitably, assent.

[*Note.*—Perhaps this is a place not altogether unsuitable to say something of our relations towards the King of Prussia. In a former article much has been said in vindication of his right-mindedness in the affair of the Jerusalem Bishopric; but we would add a word, to prevent a possible misconception which has been suggested. Every step which the King has taken has been in confidence of the good faith of the English Church; a confidence which has been grievously misplaced. To obtain the Episcopate was no unworthy object for a Christian king; our ecclesiastical and canonical relations he could only understand upon our own interpretation of them; but when he had devoted his money to one purpose, and we have applied it to another, who has most reason to complain? The King of Prussia applied to the Church of England, through two of its principal representatives; his share of the Bishopric endowment has been handed over to the Bethnal-green Society; and, if the King of Prussia is thus committed to the acts of a body, whose faith is as unsound as its responsibility is questionable—who is most to blame? One of Mr. Palmer's (of Magdalene) dedications will explain our feeling: "To His Majesty King Frederick William, &c. who has done us no wrong, but, on the contrary, deserves the respect and esteem of all members of our Church, for the zeal which he has shown, according to his knowledge, for the spread of Christianity, and for the healing of those divisions which are a disgrace to the Christian name, &c."]

Mr. Turner's "Class Singing Book" (Parker, Strand), a second part of which has now appeared, we intended to have noticed in our last number. This gentleman, as some of our readers may be aware, had been pursuing a steady course of usefulness in the musical department of education long before the Hullah meteor crossed his path; and were we prophets, we should predict—but we shall content ourselves for the present with a hearty recommendation of his publications as by no means superseded or thrown in the shade by any others which have appeared.

We are glad to see a volume of Sermons from Mr. Bowdler (Sharp), for Advent, Christmas, and Epiphany.

"An Apology for the Greek Church," by Edward Masson, (edited by J. S. Howson, M.A.) (Hatchard), takes a more liberal tone to the Greek Church than most Protestant writers do: it does not think, *e. g.* that bowing before pictures is *ipso facto* idolatry. It sees the doctrine of justification by faith in the Greek creed. It objects to proselytizing from it.

"Incidents of the Apostolic Age in Britain." (Pickering.) The writer does not master that twilight of retiring heathenism, and dawning Christianity, and the entrance of new ideas into the savage mind, which characterises such an age as he takes up. The story wants interest, and has an antiquarian tone about it.

"Lays concerning the Early Church," by John Fuller Russell, B.C.L. (Burns.) A new field for sacred poetry. Mr. Russell's are decidedly pleasing verses. Has not the title, "Lays," rather a fabulous association about it, which Mr. Russell would be the last to wish to convey?

Mr. Gleig's "Sermons for the Seasons of Advent, Christmas, and the Epiphany" (Nickisson), are written with his accustomed ease and flow.

"An Exhortation addressed to the Church of St. George's, Ramsgate, in behalf of the National Schools," by an English Priest; is to be recommended.

"Morning and Evening Exercises for Beginners" (Burns) supplies, in a practical shape at least, one step towards advancement in the religious life; actual forms for self-examination, and a sketch of the several acts of devotion. If recent events have had none other effect, the turn which they have given to the cultivation of the inner walk will be an unspeakable good.

"Shepperton Manor," a Tale of the Times of Bishop Andrewes, by the Rev. J. M. Neale, B.A. (Cleaver.) "Shepperton Manor" contains a good deal of information upon the theology of the English Church. The story, we need not say, is only a web on which he hangs it. We rather question the plan, simply as a matter of effect, of making all the *dramatis personæ*, young ladies included, talk in the style of our old law and divinity books. Mr. Neale aims too uniformly at the conversational style of two centuries back. The reader would readily have pardoned a chronological anticipation, for the greater naturalness and flow which our modern style would, of course, have to him. Scott varies his conversational style according to his characters; and when he wants to produce either a grotesque or picturesque effect, uses the antiquated one; in other cases he makes his characters talk as we do. Mr. Neale hits off Bishop Andrewes's style very cleverly; but the imitation hardly adds to the dignity of the representation. Nor do we think it follows at all, that, because Bishop Andrewes preached in a particular style, that therefore he talked in the same style. He should hardly have been made to quote the Vulgate so much to all persons— young ladies included. Young ladies in those days certainly knew Latin more than they do now; but the effect on the modern ear is grotesque. Mr. Neale will excuse these minor criticisms, which touch only the surface

of his book. We need not say that there is much talent in this and every book of Mr. Neale's. We are always glad to see his name, and feel sure that his tone and spirit must do good.

Mr. Pindar's "Sermons on the Book of Common Prayer" (Duncan) will be read with interest.

"Poems by the Rev. Richard Tomlins, M.A.," have not much to recommend them, except their harmless and unobjectionable tone.

Mr. (Charles) Wordsworth's "Catechetical Questions," (Rivingtons,) are a very accurate and full preparation for Confirmation. There is the spirit of old divinity and ecclesiastical devotion in their exactness and detail.

We rank in parallel columns, though addressed to different classes, the complete volumes of the "Churchman's Companion," by Mr. Arnold, (Rivingtons), and the "Magazine for the Young," (Burns). Both are equally to be recommended.

A new edition of "Middleton's Free Enquiry," (Boone), with a frontispiece, the Oxford "Martyrs' Memorial," is certainly a sign of the times. This edition, of course, intended as an answer to the "Lives of the Saints," aims at extensive circulation, and puts on its title-page "price 1s. or 9s. per dozen!" With respect to Middleton himself, it is not necessary to say more than that he was a simple advocate of unbelief. We were hardly prepared to see so open an alliance with him as we do here; to have it proclaimed that the theology of Conyers Middleton was the theology of the Reformation. There is a painful satisfaction, however, in seeing parties developing; the way is made clearer, and we know where we are. We catch a glimpse now of the ultimate destination of that school which calls itself *par excellence* the School of the Reformation.

It is unfortunate for Mr. Jeremy Taylor that such is his name; for to possess it must provoke comparisons which, to the very highest among us, cannot be other than invidious. With such an abatement, this gentleman's "Anglican Church Vindicated," (Ollivier), is, on the whole, a satisfactory reply to d'Aubigné's "Geneva and Oxford." Satisfactory, that is, rather in the object than in the execution; for we seem to find Mr. Taylor's views on justification not a little clouded. The work seems to have been written for a review, and the style is anything but clear.

"An Address to the Members of St. Jude's Congregation, Glasgow, by the Rev. C. P. Miles, Presbyterian of the Church of England," (Glasgow, Bryce), is only another, and, if possible, debased, repetition of the Drummond and Dunbar Schism. In its results this matter is deserving, as it has elicited, a tolerably energetic Pastoral, addressed to the same congregation, from Bishop Russell, (Glasgow, Maclehoose), in an Appendix to which will be found a valuable disavowal of the Scotch schismatics by the Bishop of London. We are glad to find that Mr. Robert Montgomery has taken the right side on this question.

"The Wars of Jehovah in Heaven, Earth, and Hell, in Nine Books" (Baisler), by Thomas Hawkins, Esq. Here we see language in her power. She was weak in Shakspeare, Spenser, Milton. "Half her strength she put not forth" till Mr. Hawkins elicited it. In nomenclature, especially, the mixture of the terrible and sublime is portentous:—

"As Delos Neptune, when he smote it with
His trident hard consolidating; forth
Innumerable hippogryphons rushed,
Gorgons, chimæras with begilded horns,
And harpy birds or beasts—Philoctetes
Ne'er saw in his lone island half the like.
Creatures with scraggy skulls and jaunty jambs,
Speechless to see, envenomed giant gins
Scabbed Scolopendriums—semivitals big
Alligatorians.
Enchased were some with lineaments misturned,
Ten-tusked and hydra-headed: winged vults,
Blue, black, or red-winged, vult-like gryphons worked
The air with mania gladness: starting eyes
And lolling tongues had some: the incubi,
Like mounts of flesh, whilst some came serpentine
With never-ending involutions, wide
Of nostril, and blood-red their shaggy jaws,
Ravening and bloated, virulent and wrathful."

Mr. Hawkins gives an index of the "images and proper names used in this Epic Poem," at the end. Under A, we have Acarynthimos, Adrastus, Admetus, Abysm, Abhorrence, Ahithophel, Agayuthimos, Agaphine, Aphnotine, Aphasac, Atropis, Atoncryntal.—A slip out of B runs, Beelzebub, Berenice, Bithymin, Birman, Biscayan, Blanc-Mont, Black-Sea, Blasphemy, Blank, Blackness, Blast. The poem is 14,000 lines long, and never flags an instant.

Dr. Jelf's Bampton Lectures, for 1844, "On the Means of Grace" (Oxford, Parker), have appeared. This writer's theology is so well known, that we did not look for more than a technical exposition of the ordinary *Via Media* doctrines. Our expectations have not been disappointed; though the reading displayed in the composition seems somewhat meagre. It is not to be wondered at, that in a scheme necessarily confined by a strict reference to our actual state, public censure and personal discipline, as means towards regaining lost gifts, or expanding privileges in the baptized, occupy a position so distant and ill-defined in the present inquiry. Such we feel convinced that Dr. Jelf will admit was not the case in the early Church; to say nothing of other ages.

Mr. Murray, Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, has published a well-meant little book of verses, called "An Alphabet of Emblems," (Rivingtons).

Charges by the Primate, the Bishops of Chester, and Gloucester and Bristol, (Rivingtons) have appeared. These documents will become useful illustrations of present phenomena.

Of a temper inconceivably opposite to that almost "denominational" as well as national one displayed in Dr. Jelf's volume is that of his brother canon. Dr. Pusey's collection of devotional works, of which we have to acknowledge a most subduing volume in Avrillon's "Guide to Advent," (Burns), will not allow us to despair of our Church,—of which the respected editor has taken occasion to speak so dutifully,—when such are of us, and such works meet with so much success. That they should meet with criticism,—and such criticism!—is not so much disheartening as significant.

With the later numbers of the "Lives of the English Saints" (Toovey) we are by no means satisfied. A variety of harassing subjects are introduced, often gratuitously, and generally in a way which seems to us hard, and, we are compelled to say it, offensive. As legends, which some only claim to be, we are not insensible of their use; and their historical value is generally curious and instructive. But had the series continued under the projected editorship with which it commenced, we feel convinced that both the tone and incidents would have been profitably modified. When we allude, more particularly, to the life of St. Wilfrid, we can afford, without misapprehension, to think that even the obvious purpose is defeated by such a mode of treating it.

Mr. Merle d'Aubigné has fired another shot, which has been translated under the misleading title, "Luther and Calvin, or the True Spirit of the Reformed Church," (Blackie, Glasgow); a singularly misappropriate one, as its whole gist is to show that there is no "Reformed Church." The original is sufficiently significant, "*La Luthéranisme et La Réforme, ou leur diversité essentielle à leur unité.*" And, since the Swiss preacher has adopted the convenient fallacy of personification, we have a right to inquire what the Auto-Lutheranism is? If Luther's Lutheranism, then what becomes of the old Lutheran anathema, "Rather a Papist than a Calvinist, rather a Mahomedan than a Reformed?" If Lutheranism such as it is, it were useless to spend much time in talking about the diversity between it and *la Réforme*. Anyhow, the notion of contradictory opposition being essential to unity shows that words are not the signs of ideas in Geneva. By unity, Mr. d'Aubigné means the negation of unity, at least in faith. We hope that this writer is not right in making us symbolize with what he calls "Reform," by reason of the Thirty-nine Articles.

The very heaviest book we ever were oppressed with,—and that is saying not a little,—is Southey's "Life of Dr. Bell," (Murray). Even the late Laureate's elastic spirit was bowed down by it, and we do not think that his son, to whom we owe the completion of the work, can claim to have inherited more than the hereditary portion of his father's literary powers. To be tedious, prolix, and ill-arranged are faults with which we are not disposed to quarrel, when we find that the abridged narrations drawn up by Dr. Bell's amanuensis for Southey's use, would, if printed, amount to fourteen large octavo volumes; and that this amanuensis has been incessantly employed since Dr. Bell's death in arranging this "vast and most formidable mass of materials" even into the abridged form of which the present compressed work, of three huge octavos, is the

result. For the production of this ponderous lump of biographical nothings, Dr. Bell, it is understood, left considerable pecuniary supplies. And what is the result? Dr. Bell has thought proper to enshrine, in the immortality of type, a reputation as contemptible as we ever met with. This man began life with nothing; he quitted it possessed of nearly 150,000*l.*, which he screwed out of various ecclesiastical preferments: 120,000*l.* he left to the foundation of an institution in Scotland, for the furtherance of the educational system known under his name, and the rest to various ostentatious purposes. With these noble means, he bequeathed an annuity of 100*l.* a-year to an unhappy sister, while, throughout his life, he doled out to his nearest relations the princely sums of 5*l.* and 10*l.* per annum apiece. He was married to a respectable wife, and separated from her; he was presented to noble Church preferments, and all but prosecuted for misappropriation of the revenues of Sherburn Hospital; and his sole claim to distinction was the invention of the monitorial or Madras system, of which it is questionable whether, morally, it has not done more to ruin true Christian education than any popular delusion of the day. Mean, selfish, covetous, quarrelsome, and vain, without natural affection and without charity,—this is the temper which Dr. Bell was so desirous that the world should be acquainted with. It is a sad picture of the past generation, when such a man as this was one of the Church's popular idols. The only quotable things are two or three wonderfully good letters in the second volume, from Mr. Sikes, of Guilsborough, caused by some ignorant nonsense which Dr. Bell had uttered about the Church in Scotland.

Two, and each successful, volumes of the "*Juvenile Englishman's Library*," (Rugeley, Walters), Mr. Paget's capital series, have appeared. "*Tales of the Village Children*, Second Part," by the editor, in which "*Merry Andrew*" is a most affecting tale, and Mr. J. M. Neale's "*Triumphs of the Cross*," one, we think, of his best attempts.

The "*Canticles in the Prayer Book, with the Gregorian Tones*," (Oxford, Parker), is a cheap and useful little manual,—the best, indeed, of the kind we have seen. It establishes the right method of Gregorian chanting; while, as far as it goes, it gives the tones in their correct form. We doubt not that ere long the old, simple mode of chanting the Psalter will become common in our churches. While we have such mistaken publications as those of Mr. Hullah's Psalter widely disseminated among us, it is high time that we had something better to fall back upon; and we are glad, therefore, to hear that the editors of the present little work are about to supply the desideratum.

Among the holiday books suitable for presents at this season, Mr. Burns takes the lead by his various illustrated publications. Beginning at the beginning, the "*Nursery Rhymes*" are first in dignity and place: the engravings are chiefly by one of our best artists, whose powers we have more than once respectfully acknowledged. It is quite a lordly book. Some future "*Appeal*" by an antiquarian purist is probably in store: but since the traditional legends have not been enshrined in a received text, the present alterations may be venial while they are conceived in a proper

spirit. Mr. Bellenden Ker and Mr. Halliwell must preserve the ancient forms: but the present edition is the real "blessing to mothers." Some inaccuracies which have been pointed out show that the Rhapsodist, like his Scian master, has been occasionally nodding. In the song of the "Five Fingers," the juvenile authorities assure us, and our own experience confirms their experimental criticism, that it is the "ringman" who "can't dance alone." We detect another grievous innovation: on the authority of the *Arundines Cami* we pronounce that the bush into which the wondrous man of Thessaly jumped was not "a quickset hedge," as the present editor, No. 140, with temerity more than Bentleian, corrects the passage, but a "gooseberry-bush." The original is, of course, the noble Aristophanic ἀκανθοχρυσόκοκκοβατον. Acutissimi et reverendissimi viri, Samuelis Butler, τοῦ μακαρίτου, cujus tot præclaræ exstant lectiones, textum recepimus, quo nihil certius nobis videtur. Perperam Burnsius, infeliciter et audacter necnon imperite et mendose, "quickset hedge:" nuperi editoris emendatio sibilis excipi digna est, et longe insulsissimam eam judicamus. Quis vir emunctæ naris est, cui non arridet, Thessaliensem istum sapientissimum gulæ causâ in grossulariam se avidum conjecisse? [E schedis Brunckianis.]

Intended for another class of readers is a republication of Massinger's noble play, "The Virgin Martyr." (Burns.) Mr. Pickersgill's drawings have been so admirably cut on wood, that not a few experienced persons have mistaken the material of the engraving. They are certainly the very best which we have seen. Great praise must be awarded to the artist, who has displayed wonderful freedom of pencil; though, considering the subject, the outline is rather too delicate, soft, and flowing. A little more abruptness and severity—straight lines, and heavier masses, would have suited the solemnity of the tale of martyrdom: at least, so we think. In such a case we seek an austere rather than a romantic feeling. The standing figure of Dorothea is certainly deficient in dignity, because in height.

Mr. Owen Jones's edition of the "Sermon on the Mount" (Longman), as a Christmas book, we cannot better characterise than rubrication and illumination gone mad. Never was such a display of ambitious ignorance in the way of ornamental illustration. This process of colour-painting on stone promises to become a nuisance: being cheap, ambitious, and incorrect. The same may be said for "Prayers for Children," (Smith).

"The Mother's Primer" (Longman), by Mrs. Felix Summerly—is this unnecessary pseudonym to go on for ever?—is much better. The coloured inks are odd rather than correct; but the frontispiece is very pretty.

The article from our last number on the "Poor in Scotland" has been reprinted, with additions, under the sanction of its author's name.

"The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery;" a Fifth of November Sermon by Mr. Close. (Hatchard.) A flagrant falsehood in the way of title; and since, in the execution of his subject, Mr. Close (p. 11) so appositely cites Scripture, "I speak as a fool," we care not to disturb his self-convicted judgment. Were not the whole thing too contemptible for criticism

we would ask the more respectable of Mr. Close's party what they think of the decency of reading, commenting upon, and abusing, whole pages of—the Ecclesiologist!—in the house of God, even though the occasion were the squib and cracker celebration of Guy Fawkes? What if any of us were to fire off sermons against the Parker Society, or the "Record," by name? Nothing can more forcibly illustrate Mr. Close's theory of Churches, than the use he puts them to. This is truly the "lunatic asylum" view at work. On this great Protestant festival of St. William of Orange, we wonder why Roman-candles and Catharine-wheels are not prohibited; both have a Popish twang, and the latter, being both Popish and architectural, must, we should say, be especially distasteful to the incumbent of Cheltenham.

While the Cambridge Camden Society is before us, we may mention Mr. Paley's "Church Restorers," (Van Voorst.) We have so often, and so strongly, deprecated the religious tale in all its forms, that we can only say that the present work does not call upon us to reverse our judgment. It has all the faults of its class; some of them even exaggerated, such as the introduction of miracles. And practically it will convey a very unreal impression by representing church restoration as an easy task, which none who have tried it find. The unrighteous opposition to the Camden Society itself, in the matter of St. Sepulchre's, might have taught Mr. Paley to have been less profuse in his rose-colour. It is not with the subject, so much as with the form, that we quarrel. The information is very valuable.

From the same publisher and author is announced "A Manual of Gothic Mouldings," and here Mr. Paley's technical lore is quite at home. In this volume we understand that Mr. Paley has produced a standard work, which will meet with all the success it deserves. It is to be recommended without hesitation.

"A Christian Kalendar," by a lay member of the Cambridge Camden Society, with brief notes (Walters), is, we presume, the publication to which a recent letter, on the part of the president, repudiating its connexion with the society, alludes. We think the president right. It is quite true that in fact the announcement of such membership means nothing; but it seeks to convey an impression, and often one with which neither member nor society would be satisfied.

"Eothen," (Ollivier), a smart-looking volume on Eastern travel, is the most offensive book which we have met with for some time. It is lively, just as a monkey is—and pictorial after the teaboard fashion. It is a compound of Voltaire, Smollett, Mrs. Trollope, and a Byronized cynicism, which defies classification. There are some semi-erotic passages about the Blessed Virgin Mary which are worse than disgusting. Travel in the Holy Land is an awful probation: the present author has sunk under it, and we regret to find that he has had the benefit of Eton and other Christian training.

Very different in tone and purpose is "The Holy Land," (Seeley,) a compilation historical and topographical, which we should have recom-

mended unconditionally, were it not for certain flippancies of the "lively Stephens" (p.173), and the "enlightened Robinson" with regard to the sacred sites of Jerusalem, which are as distressing as they are silly. The references should have been made.

Mr. Robert Montgomery probably neither expects nor wishes us to review "The Three Parties," &c., being an extract from the "Gospel before the Age." (Mitchell.) This trisection of the theological angle is no wonderful discovery; seeing that in most moral questions there are those who say that black is black—those who say that black is white—and those who say, "Can't we split the difference?"—i. e. the whitey-brown school.

We should like to call especial attention to what ought to have more than a local reputation, Mr. Formby's "Extracts from a Sermon, preached at Ruardeane, relative to a proposed dismemberment of the Parish." (Hough, Coleford.) It is surprising how little notice has been attracted by these forced divisions of parishes, contrary to the will of incumbents and people. We owe Mr. Formby some thanks for making a stout protest against a ruling and popular error; indeed, this is not his first appeal for forgotten, but ancient, principles. Mr. Formby's present distress is attributable not a little to the silence which, in worse days, accompanied the Church Commission's most miserable line-and-compass work with our ancient and Catholic dioceses. The sermon dwells strongly on the divine sanction of *institution* to a cure: and seems to hint that if aliens from our communion, while they admit our orders, deny our mission or jurisdiction, we surrender their whole argument, if we permit an interfering priest to seize upon a portion of our flocks, without, or against, our consent. Surely it becomes all the Clergy to be as strenuous in defence of their divine overseership as of their unbroken succession; but somehow we have come to think that the former can be interfered with by the gentlemen in Great George-street just as Acts of Parliament please. Even the favourite scheme of dividing parishes may have its latent errors, as witness some at least of those who take it up. Church Reform is a pretty thing in the abstract: but a little Canon Law, and deference to ancient ecclesiastical *principles*, would not hurt those who in Church Reform only find a means for the creation of new benefices. Has any one reckoned how many pieces of preferment the recent Church Extension Act has given to the government of Sir Robert Peel?

In some degree connected with this subject, may be recommended, Mr. Turnbull's "Parochial Disorganization," (J.W.Parker), which, with reference to a particular parish, records a state of things sufficiently perplexing.

That excellent collection, "The Churches in Yorkshire" (Leeds, Green), has finished one volume, and commenced another under the superintendence of Mr. Poole. Patrington seems a beautiful church. The lithographs are rather too pictorial for studies in the way of example—measured outlines are the only thing to rely upon.

The "Life of Isaac Milner" (Seeley) is only an abridgement—and few biographies so much required compression—of a larger work, which has been freely and fully noticed in a former number.

"Tractarianism not of God," by Charles B. Tayler, M.A., Rector of St. Peter's, Chester. (Longman.) Mr. Tayler says, "I know of no one whose natural heart was more inclined than my own to approve the doctrines of the Tractarian party, or whose natural taste was more disposed to be captivated by the seducing appeals to the imagination which they put forth." He adds, "I do not say that all is error in Tractarianism, but error is so intermingled with truth, that an utter confusion is produced as to all clear and scriptural doctrine. The system is like the web of a fabric in which the worthless materials have been so commonly interwoven with pure gold," &c. &c.—"*Tractarianism not of God.* I write these words with deep sorrow of heart, for I think of the many gentle and amiable spirits who are to be found in the ranks of the Tractarian."—Mr. Tayler must allow us to return the compliment. There is a real pleasure in having such an amiable opponent as Mr. Tayler: as Shakspeare expresses it,—*"I pray chide a year together."*

Without committing ourselves to every word of Mrs. Toogood's "Religious Lessons for Children," (Rivingtons), we can safely say that it is among the very best of a good class. We recommend it without hesitation.

A new (the sixth) volume of "Plain Sermons," by the authors of the "Tracts for the Times," has appeared. It requires no recommendation.

Besides the sermons already noticed, we desire to mention with great satisfaction, one by Mr. Macmullen, preached at the Exeter School Meeting. (Hannaford.) "The New Birth," by Mr. Henry Robinson, of Dudcote, is sound, but not remarkable (Parker and Rivingtons). Various discourses by Mr. Garbett (Hatchard), preached at all sorts of places, and for all sorts of purposes, are very much the contrary, *i. e.* remarkable and unsound. Other valuable volumes have just arrived. Dr. Moberley's "School Sermons," (Rivingtons); Dr. Wordsworth's "Discourses on Public Education," (Rivingtons), delivered at Harrow,—it must have required some courage to preach about Aristophanes in church,—which, for obvious reasons, we class together, since the good work of reforming public schools goes on most hopefully. Mr. R. W. Evans's "Parochial Sermons." (Rivingtons.) Among single sermons, we have received Dr. Hook's "Take heed what ye hear;" Mr. Samuel Wilberforce's "Consecration Sermon," preached at Farnham, and elsewhere, (Burns); and of importance equal to any, Mr. Cheyne's "Holiness the true Reforming Power of the Church," (Aberdeen, Brown), which has, and most deservedly, reached its second edition.

[A pressure of important matter has obliged us,—though our number extends several sheets beyond the average quantity,—to omit a variety of notices which are in type.]

THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

APRIL, 1845.

- ART. I.—1. *Smythé's Historic Fancies.* London: Colburn. 1844.
2. *Smythé's Lectures on History.* 5 vols. London: Pickering. 1842-43.
3. *Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons.* London: Longman.
4. *Maitland's Dark Ages.* London: Rivingtons. 1844.
5. *Arnold's History of Rome.* London: Fellowes.

THAT a great change has recently taken place, not only in the methods whereby Historical Investigation is pursued, but in the amount of interest generally felt in such investigation, seems abundantly certain. And there are few signs of the times which to us look more hopeful than this reviving taste for History, even as few intellectual conditions could have been worse than that out of which our men of thought seem emerging,—a disquisitive habit that is content to exercise itself on the topics of the day, and neither looks backwards nor forwards, ignorant of the past, and reckless of the future. The intellectual processes of those who are under this habit are of little more intrinsic gravity, and pursued with scarcely more earnestness, than a game at chess; they bestow their powers in spinning afresh the webs which, unknown to them, have been put together, and then cast aside as worthless, time after time, since men began to think; the formation of opinion is too obviously a mere gymnastic exercise of their own minds, for the opinion arrived at to be the object of firm faith; when the hour of trial arrives it will not abide the test; the manufacture of nothing more than dialectical skill will be found of too flimsy a texture to abide the collision of rude Fact—rough hard pressing Reality—and distinct wants, wishes, hopes, and fears. And in some foresight of this, your unhistorical man of discussion and logic is very sarcastic when he encounters earnest convictions, far looking faith, and genial enthusiasm. The use of one's

faculties is, in his eyes, but a game, and why should a man throw himself, soul and body, into a game? Some of us have happily played at this game till we have got thoroughly tired of it; tired of *play* altogether, and anxious to use what faculties we may have to some purpose. We have begun to feel, that as the life is more than meat and the body than raiment, so faith is of more consequence than good arguments; that facts concern us more than propositions; and that each of two realities is infinitely more precious than the very subtlest distinction that ever was laid down between them.*

While Literature was in this condition,—in respect of Poetry, a mere matter of *taste*, and in respect of Prose containing only such barren disquisition as we have been referring to,—men with an eye and a craving for facts betook themselves to the material sciences, where at least they came in contact with some sort of reality. But there are many people of intellectual stirrings and capacities, who cannot go heart and soul into those sciences, who cannot be energetically affected except by living interests, and who demand *the Human* as an indispensable element in all their pursuits. And never could Chemistry, Geology, and the like, really suit the female mind, though ladies some years ago tried hard to make them do so; never, for want of that element to which we have just referred, could such pursuits be a link between ourselves and our children, or between the different classes of society; nor, bounded and specific as with all its value each of them must be admitted to be, could they cast any strong light on ourselves, our relationships, and our duties; or mingle generally with the course of our lives or the main current of our feelings.

Now a change from all this in the direction of History, seems to us a change in the right direction. History is the only secular knowledge which has universal claims upon the attention of the upper classes. Take the ordinary intercourse of society: the chemist or the geologist neither can count nor has the least right to insist on finding chance companions able or willing to exchange thoughts with him on his especial topic, to which indeed only certain infrequent movements of conversation can conduct them. But how complete a bar to all but the most ordinary talk, is the company's ignorance of the great outline and salient

* We trust that we shall not be understood as sneering at logic, a science of which we strongly feel the importance: but pursuing it as a *science* is one thing, and continually practising it as an art is another; and it is quite natural that the very persons who have most done the latter, who have spent their whole intellectual leisure and strength in mere exercise of dialectical skill, should have a very inadequate appreciation, as in fact they generally have had, of the dignity and value of the study as a science. Still less wonderful, perhaps, is it that their logic should have been anything but severe or accurate.

points of history! What subject of human interest can we hope to illustrate in such case? Whether we are talking of political movements and their probable consequences,—or the condition of the people,—or the merits and demerits of laws,—or of poetry, or the fine arts, or of religion, we are incessantly constrained to bring out our meaning concerning that which is, by references to that which has been. In all these subjects there is no comfort in conversation, no free movement of thought, with people to whom the Past is a blank, and in whose presence one cannot make that passing reference to a generally known historical event, which presumes the hearer's acquaintance with it, and which can be serviceable as an illustration only when thus familiarly glanced at.

History, therefore, even in reference only to secular considerations, ought, in its grand outline, to be the universal knowledge,—the common property of educated people,—the *circulating medium* of thought. As a *liberal* education used to be held incomplete without Travelling, so should it be without History; the one affording enlargement to the mind in respect of Space, the other in respect of Time. And as Time and Space in all things play into each other's hands, so Travelling, among its other advantages, greatly awakens a taste for History; and, on the other hand, such a taste previously acquired much enhances the relish, and increases the benefit, of travel.* In the sequel we shall occasionally look at these two as akin, illustrate the one by means of the other, and find, if we mistake not, that they are attended by corresponding difficulties, which require to be encountered by corresponding methods. We need scarcely, however, say that History is of far greater necessity than Travel; the mind's enlargement in respect of Space, which is procured by the latter, being procurable to some extent in other ways; while there is no substitute for History which can furnish the corresponding enlargement, in respect of Time.

Let us now look at the case in a prudential and moral point of view. To act wisely we must look to the Past, because, as Lord Bacon observes, the experience of no life is enough for the guidance of that life. Further; events, trials, and duties do not exist as independent wholes; they have relation to other events, trials, and duties which have gone before them, and help to interpret them, to which therefore we must refer, if we wish to understand them. If a man's position be only private and domestic, which can scarcely be said of any Englishman's, then

* And hence we suspect that Dr. Arnold was but an illustration of a general rule, in uniting a passion for History with a passion for Geography. Whether our phrenological friends generally find the organs of Eventuality and Locality in the same scull, we know not.

family traditions and recollections will be needful for him in order that his Present may be made living and clear; and that by discerning their relations, he may interpret the facts amid which he is placed. If he have any measure of public duty (and all educated men in England have some measure) he must have recourse to History in the ordinary sense of the term for the corresponding purpose.

Lastly, let us take Religion. The Bible is a history; the great history of the human race in its highest relation. Without therefore an historical habit of mind, it becomes in no small measure a dead letter. It is true, indeed, that the Bible is the great storehouse of Ideas, whereas History is the record of Facts which are only phenomena; but it is also true that without phenomena we should never in our present condition apprehend *noumena*, or reach Ideas except by the way of Facts. To suppose that because God's manifestations in the world of Fact are but relative to us, what of old was styled *æconomical*, we can therefore dispense with that world, is one of the lying utterances of the Gnostic spirit. That the Fact revealed to us under the conditions of Time and Space is no adequate representation of the Truth free from those conditions, and as seen by the Supreme Reason "in the depths of real being," is the plain dictate of Philosophy; but no less plain is it that our best apprehension of the Fact is our nearest approximation to the Truth; and that if we choose to dispense with an Historical Revelation, because it enables us to know but in part, we must content ourselves with not really knowing at all.

In order to use God's Revelation, then, we must take it as we have it, and the form wherein we have it is, that of History. The Bible is the grand universal History, the History of the world, of mankind. Many of what we call its Doctrines are historical events; as, for example, we speak of the doctrine of the Atonement, but we can realize it only as the Fact that Christ died on the Cross for our sins. And even those *Truths* of the proper *θεολογία*, which in themselves are above and beyond the region of History and Phenomenon, have been manifested and evolved in the march of occurrences, and are brought out in connexion with the facts of a History. And this being so, it is obvious that an unhistorical temper and habit must be ill adapted to the scope and drift of the Bible, and that he in whom we find them will scarcely read the sacred Scriptures so as to feel their power and catch their life. How incomprehensible is the Gospel, except as the transfiguring and glorifying fulfilment of the Jewish Polity! How can the genius of that polity be understood by him who has not carefully traced its history; and how is that to be done by the man who has no eye for political or

biographical facts; no power of arresting and scrutinizing recorded events; no habit of seeing the meaning of a nation's impulses and its fortunes; no Imagination cultivated in the direction of the Past, of by-gone men, by-gone fashions and feelings, by-gone actions and conditions of Thought and Desire?

We pass over for the present the importance of Church History.

While we thus would encourage the Historical temper, we are as far as possible from recommending any dreamy confusion between Past and Present; any fastidious turning away from the rough opaque reality, the stern homely round of life set before us in the latter; any of what is termed *living in the Past*. We feel very sure that the man over whom present wants, present duties, and present facts have no vigorous influence, is the very worst qualified man for truly apprehending by-gone wants, duties, and facts. Such an one wants that hearty Truthfulness which is the first and chief condition, no less of profitable reading, than of successful investigation, of History. To him a Fact can never stand out in its own form and colours, but looms fallaciously through the haze of his prejudices, whims, and passions.

Such, then, being the importance of History, it becomes a grave question, how the study is to be successfully pursued. And here be it understood, that we are not speaking of the writer, but the ordinary reader, of history. That to the former is assigned a task of no ordinary difficulty is obvious enough; that, in the last age, such difficulty was very inadequately apprehended, and the historical writers very far from really acquainted with the facts of which they professed to treat, is almost equally obvious; that great improvements have been made in our time, and a considerable approximation to a higher and better method of historical investigation arrived at, is an opinion which may perhaps be safely embraced; while, at the same time, we shall hardly err in saying that we have not yet got beyond such an approximation, if we are to take the following as a standard, to which the future historian can possibly attain.

'History is another study which is assuming considerable importance at the present time; and that under two distinct aspects. The first may be called critical, and is both absolutely necessary, and I suppose principally important, as preparing the way for the other. I allude to the study which concerns itself with discovering the real circumstances of past ages, detecting the meaning of small things, and dragging to light the forgotten elements of a gone-by state of society, from scattered evidences which the writers themselves who have recorded them did not understand; distinguishing truth from fable, plain fact from allegorical "myth" and the like; and thus preparing the materials by which the philosophical mind may test and verify

theoretical deductions. High and rare powers of mind have been, beyond doubt, devoted to these inquiries. Niebuhr, judging from what is said of him by competent persons, is the great model and example of an historian of the kind; though he seems considered to have occasionally taken a higher range also. These writers are brought into direct contact with the Old Testament, and have started many difficulties on the right mode of understanding its historical narratives. But an ideal Church would have interpreters ready at hand, both to solve their difficulties, and to avail themselves of the science itself, as might advantageously be done, for the purpose of illustrating and clearing up many parts of our earlier sacred books. A much higher science of history, however, is in gradual progress of formation, which has a far nearer connexion both with poetry and with philosophy. It aims at "realizing a true and living picture of times past, clothed in their circumstances and peculiarities,"—at probing to the bottom, in regard to those times, not the intellectual life of intellectual men, not the social life of the people, but their internal life; their thoughts and feelings in regard to themselves and their destinations; the habitual temper of their mind; the causes of their highest joys and sorrows, hopes and fears. Nay, more than this: it regards, the whole of the events which have befallen the human race, and the states through which it has passed, as a series of phenomena, produced by causes, and susceptible of explanation. All history is conceived as a progressive chain of causes and effects; or (by an apter metaphor) as a gradually unfolding web, in which every fresh part that comes to view is a prolongation of the part previously unrolled, whether we can trace the separate threads from the one to the other, or not." It makes its chief aim "to find on what principles, derived from the nature of man and the system of the universe, each state of society and of the human mind produced that which came after it;" and to discover how far any order of production can be traced sufficiently definite, to show what future states of society may be expected to emanate from the circumstances which exist at present. To regard, indeed, the successive changes of society as connected, in some degree at least, by an ascertainable order of advance, appears at first sight contradictory to the deep and sure knowledge which all Christians possess, of God's particular providence towards individuals, and generally of His ceaseless intervention, for His moral purposes, in the affairs of the world; and the same apparent inconsistency exists in the case of physical science, as at present studied. That there is no real inconsistency, I fully believe; and in an ideal Church, there would exist a recognised theory, explaining fully the principles on which, and the degree in which, the Christian can apply himself to the processes of experimental philosophy, with the hope of a true result.'—*Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church*, pp. 38, 39.

But this, as we have said, is not our present concern; our less ambitious aim is to point out a few of the difficulties which beset the ordinary reader, and the methods by which they are to

be overcome: in a word, we wish to give a few hints to the teacher conducting an average education, and anxious to communicate to his pupil such historical knowledge as should be in the possession of every man and woman in the upper classes.

His aim must be twofold: first, to impress the learner with by-gone *facts*, as far as may be, in their real character; and, next, to give him such a theory of those facts—such a principle of unity to uphold and bind them as may be fairly arrived at.

I. The first, we need scarcely say, is attended with difficulties which our ordinary teacher and learner must encounter in common with the authors of whom they avail themselves; with, however, this comparative disadvantage, that, instead of, like many things, becoming fainter at second hand, they are greatly strengthened by arriving at that stage. Whatever mist may dim the investigator's view of the past, and whatever fallacies may distort it, are, of course, equally interposed between the reader and the fact; but the reader's mind throws its own clouds, too, across the prospect, and engenders meteors of its own; so that the lie becomes doubled. How difficult it must be really to master a by-gone, even when not very distant, fact, will be apparent on the slightest consideration of the difficulty involved in getting real hold of a contemporaneous and present one. How differently that is viewed and reported by different persons; nay, how differently—as, for example, in the case of censuring or excusing the action of another—it is viewed by ourselves at different times! The artistic and plastic power of the imagination, moreover, will blend facts into a picture of its own composing, and coloured with its own associations; and this is done first by the writer and then by the reader. Add to this, that a fact, however distinct and real, must always have far more of a relative than an intrinsic character; it is not to be understood except it be viewed in particular connexions. Johnson's contempt for the average intelligence of the mass of the Athenian population, on the ground that not nine men out of ten among them could read, is but one instance, out of thousands, of misinterpreting an undoubted fact, from disregarding the relation in which it stands. As has been well observed, this non-ability to read is an humiliating fact, or otherwise, according to circumstances. It does argue a nearly total want of cultivation when we find it in an English agricultural district; it did not argue it among the people of Athens, who gazed habitually, and with delight, on the sculpture of a Phidias, and listened to the oratory of a Demosthenes and the poetry of a Sophocles.* Similarly, the

* Edinburgh Review of Croker's 'Boswell.' We do not remember whether the unmistakable author has republished the paper.

non-translation of the Scriptures and the Liturgy, from the dead languages, was, as we shall by-and-by have occasion to see, a very different fact in the Middle Ages from what it is in the countries wherein we find it at present. Another impediment in the way of really understanding facts, is the fallacy of classification; yet of this writer and reader are sure to provide an abundance. The very divisions of volumes and chapters, indispensable as they are, constitute an artificial arrangement creative of some associations, and obstructive of others, which we cannot get rid of for the rest of our lives. Each *reign*, for example, headed by the name of a separate sovereign, with its especial chapter, or chapters, devoted to it, and introducing us to a perfectly new set of favourites and personages, seems to us a separate whole. We forget that the grown-up agents in its events must have been trained and moulded in the by-gone period which we have quitted, and had their associations formed by its discarded persons and proceedings. Thus we think of Laud simply as living and dying in the reign of Charles I., because Hume never mentions him till then, and because the most important part of his public life was passed in that period; and we are startled when it is first brought home to us that he had reached manhood before the death of Elizabeth, and must have had his early impressions made, and the peculiar bias of his mind directed, by the days and the doings of Hooker, Cartwright, Whitgift and Bancroft; and that he had matured his Anglican theory before the Hampton Court conference. So, too, we habitually surround Milton with the persons and the proceedings of the Protectorate and the Restoration; and quite forget that his choice early years were spent in the reign of James I.,—in the gay time of the dramatists, and amid the first full flow of the English tongue. But not thus do we become acquainted with—*get to know*—a contemporary. We do not bound our view of him by the present position in which we find him; we do not think of Sir R. Peel only as the premier of 1845, but we go back to him as the promising boy at Harrow, the first-classman at Oxford, the rising young statesman of 1813, the Home-Secretary of 1822, the brilliant opposition leader of 1831. And without thus reverting to his previous course, we should feel that we had no real apprehension of him at all. And, not only in the case of the public man, who is after all to be conceived by the private man only by means of the imagination, do we act thus; but we never consider ourselves really to *know* any one in our own circle about whose past life we are wholly in the dark. No one, however frankly conversing with him, calls himself *acquainted with* his fellow passenger or railway companion. Manifestly, then, a fallacy such as that to which we

have referred must altogether hinder our attaining any real apprehension of the characters which we encounter in History.

These are but one or two illustrations of the refracting medium through which the light of the Past ordinarily comes to us; and when we add to them that each of our popular Historians has his own bias, his own cause to plead, his own case to make out, and that the two most read by people of education have certain very mischievous aims of which they never lose sight, the chance of an ordinary unscholastic person getting at historical truth seems discouraging enough. And there is a further difficulty from the nature, structure, and scope of what we call a *History*. Its plan almost necessarily excludes Memoir. It is all public and dignified. It confines itself to important people and great events; and yet these are but accidental, and even subordinate *symptoms* of the great whole to which they belonged, to be interpreted by, but very powerless to interpret, that whole. And History being further, when successful, a *work of art*, the obscuration of plain Fact, if not the actual distortion of Truth, which must ensue, requires not to be shown.

So sensible seems a distinguished writer of the present day* of the difficulties whereof we have been speaking, that he is doubtful of the advantage accruing to an ordinary man from the study of History at all, and by way of a substitute for the enlargement of mind which it is supposed to minister, recommends mastering the memoirs, details, ways, and peculiarities of some one age. But to say nothing of the fact that such a task cannot be performed by ordinary persons, we deny that it would accomplish the end in view. For though a man who should know a good deal about one other time than his own, would be better off in respect of enlargement than a man who knew only his own, his mental prospect would be still very restricted; he would be like a prisoner allowed two apartments instead of only one, and remaining a prisoner still. What we think would be valuable, where practicable, would be such minute study of one period joined to a general historical range. The effect of the former might be to give the reader an eye for facts throughout the latter, and a power of interpreting them, which he would not otherwise possess. Having found the Reality of one time, and been enabled to compare it with the disguise thrown over it by the dignified Historian, he may guess at the Reality lurking behind the folds of a similar disguise elsewhere.

Still, be it remembered, we are professedly dealing with ordinary cases. Let us try then to imagine how a teacher, alive to the difficulties we have described, might deal with an in-

* Mr. Henry Taylor in his *Statesman*.

telligent boy between twelve and fifteen, to whom he wished to impart a real living acquaintance with by-gone fact. We shall suppose that the History of England is to be commenced. And here we would recommend the master to content himself with Hume as a text-book. The fact that his is the universally read History of England is sufficient reason for this, to say nothing of its being incomparably the most delightful. Let him then read it along with his pupil, accompanying the work with oral illustration and oral warning. Let him show how, with all his ability, Hume fails to give real facts. When the Saxon division has been read through, let Sir F. Palgrave's admirable little volume be consulted, and similarly let the same author's 'Merchant and Friar' be perused at another stage. The learner will thus have the advantage of knowing what is commonly believed, because it is *said to be the History* of those periods, and of seeing the difference between this and what really happened and really characterizes them.

Again, at the outset, and repeatedly throughout, while reading Hume on the mediæval period, the phrase, 'dark ages,' may be commented upon. It may be shown to the learner how the designation came into use; how natural it was to be so delighted with certain discoveries and improved methods of investigation as to fancy that men had lived in vain till they were known, or so enchanted with the once again revealed charms of the classical civilization, as to have no eye for one in which the features of that were obscured and scarcely known; yet how fallacious both estimates are. 'Anyhow,' the teacher may say, 'if we are reading about those ages, we may as well have some conception of their true character.' He should therefore proceed to point out the peculiarity of mediæval civilization; that it was a process of formations out of the shattered mass of the Roman empire; that it had the unspeakable blessing of being carried on under Christian influences; that, under those influences, certain arts, such as architecture and music, and certain pursuits, such as theology, jurisprudence, and metaphysics, flourished in circumstances wherein Europe has never been known to exist before or since, the civilized and formed languages having ceased to be spoken in ordinary life, and become what we call *dead*, and their successors not having yet taken shape, so as to be available for any but the most familiar uses; and that the Teutonic races are in some measure an exception to this remark, though not wholly, and though too much bound up with the rest of Christendom not to come under its intellectual condition. This consideration, which is absolutely indispensable to our understanding a single fact connected with the mind of the middle ages, is not brought forward, so far as

we remember, by Hume, nor, we suspect, by any commonly-used writer. How much superfluous censure would have been spared had people but kept it in mind !

To take an instance to which we have already referred, a point, indeed, where Hume has no warmth of censure to bestow, but whereon most of us have abundantly made up for his apathy—the retention of the Scriptures and the Liturgy in the dead languages. That such practice, where it exists, has not much to say for itself in the present day, may perhaps be safely conceded ; and its continuance, where continued still, must be allowed to have *at least the air* of hierarchical jealousy. But how different does the same practice seem in its original circumstances, and as sketched by the no less truthful than charitable pen of Sir F. Palgrave.

‘ Throughout great part of Europe, there was a strong prejudice against the employment of the vernacular tongues as written languages. The “*Romance*”* dialects of Gaul and Spain and Italy were broken Latin, or the dialects into which it had been corrupted, first by the provincials, and afterwards by the barbarian conquerors of the Roman empire. Spanish has been described with some drollery and truth, as such Latin as might have been heard from the mouth of a sulky Roman slave. And the ground-work of all these *Romance* languages,—French, Spanish, Portuguese, Provençal, Italian,—is in fact only the Latin, mangled, and deprived of its grammatical forms and grammatical construction, and then copiously interspersed with words derived from barbarian sources :—Teutonic, Celtic, Vascon, and even Slavonic, all having contributed to the compound. By cultivation, these irregular dialects have acquired beauty and elegance ; but, to the learned, who, though they may have been deficient in critical nicety, were quite familiar with the correct forms of the Latin language, these *patois* must have sounded as ludicrous as the *talkee talkee* of our negroes in the colonies, to which they bear the closest analogy. Such a language might be, and was applied to the oral instruction of the common people, from the necessity of the case ; and discourses were delivered from the pulpit in what was termed “the rustic tongue.” But the employment of this jargon in a literary composition, would have seemed as derogatory to the writer. Still less could they venture to employ it in translations of the Holy Scriptures ; for they feared that the dignity of the sacred writings would be profaned by the association of ideas arising from a plebeian idiom, bearing the stamp of ignorance and vulgarity.

‘ There are few transgressions more seductive to us all, than that disrespectful treatment of the word of God which is, to all intents and

* ‘ This term was constantly applied to the languages formed as noticed in the text ; and *Romance*, in Spanish, is still employed as synonymous to Castilian, or the vulgar tongue.’

purposes, a breach of the third commandment; and we are therefore bound to guard ourselves against the error with the most watchful care. It is of the greatest importance that we should resist the temptation, frequently so strong, of annexing a familiar, facetious, or irreverent idea to a scriptural usage, a scriptural expression, a scripture text, or a scripture name. Nor should we hold ourselves guiltless, though we may have been misled by mere negligence or want of reflection. Every person of good taste will avoid reading a parody or a *travestie* of a beautiful poem, because the recollection of the degraded likeness will always obtrude itself upon our memories, when we wish to derive pleasure from the contemplation of the elegance of the original. But how much more urgent is the duty, by which we are bound to keep the pages of the Bible clear of any impression tending to diminish the blessing of habitual respect and reverence towards our Maker's law!

'We must therefore admit that the general principle, which induced the clergy of Gaul and Spain and Italy to avoid clothing the Scriptures in what they considered a degrading garb, was right and sound; but the particular application of that principle was evidently incorrect.'—*Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 163—165.

We have said that the Teutonic nations are a partial exception to this remark, as having independent languages, however inadequate; and in reference to this the teacher will call careful attention to the interesting fact of our Saxon forefathers having possessed and used large portions of Holy Writ in their own tongue.

In the different periods of English History after the Conquest, the teacher will do well to give interest and liveliness to their records from various sources; pointing out where the means are afforded, the characteristic architecture of each, and showing in what present forms and institutions any great movement of each has been embodied. When engaged with the reigns of Edward III., and Richard II., parts of Chaucer should be read; the historical plays of Shakspeare, where they are appropriate; and Shakspeare, Spenser, parts of Bacon, &c., when the learner has come to the reign of Elizabeth. Whatever distinct domestic or private facts, such as both Sir F. Palgrave and Mr. Maitland shine in discovering, can be made to apply, ought also to be told, and fallacies of classification, such as we spoke of some way back, guarded against by pointing out the facts and dates which disturb them.

Now, it is easy to see that this method, which of course admits of far more varied illustration than we have space to bring forward, applied through a very small part of any one history, will do much, both to excite inquiry and fix the love of Fact and Reality in the mind of an intelligent lad of the age supposed; that such will be probably led to further questions

and penetrating thought; will look for further Reality than is presented by ordinary histories; will suspect commonplace accounts of the ambition of prelates, and the luxury of monks; will learn to feel how impossible it is but that there should be other elements in the grave questions that have divided men, in times past, than are recognised by the Robertsons, Humes, and Gibbons of modern literature.

II. The teacher's next *desideratum* will be to present historical facts in their reciprocal connexion, and in their unity of scope. And here, if he trust to mere literature, his difficulties will be even greater than in the former case; while, if he take a higher and better guide, he will find the labour considerably less. Did we know of no Divine element, no theocratic principle in History, we might well content ourselves with a search after some of its facts; and, after arriving at a fair proportion of these, decline the task of connecting or classifying them. Every one must feel the risk that there is of a *philosophical* history,—one that professes to connect events with their causes, and trace recorded actions, triumphs, and changes to their principles,—being more fanciful than solid. But the Christian teacher can, if he like, do something of this sort, with no such danger. He sees a main stem of the world's history, whereof all particular histories are but branches. The Christian Church, the Heavenly Kingdom supplies him with a central point of view, whence he can take in the whole panorama: and on this principle, and on no other, will he teach History. The mighty and terrible Image before which the Babylonian sovereign quailed, the fourfold Vision of the captive Prophet will afford him his clue. He will lead his pupil to gaze inquiringly on the sight of an Universal Empire—will try to show him what cravings of the ruled and conquered, no less than the ruler and conqueror, render such a thing possible; to what great Truth those cravings point; and how God made those empires, dark and portentous substitutes for such Truth as in themselves they were, the means of its development. He will carefully trace the progress of the Heavenly and Divine Kingdom amid those empires; nor will he quit the history of Israel, as is too commonly done, just where, for wise reasons, it is quitted by Canonical Scripture; but guiding his pupil through a part of history by far too much neglected by ordinary people, that of the Macedonian empire after Alexander, he will show him how wonderfully God's Providence arranged that, when the fulness of time was drawing near and the Universal Society about to be instituted, the land of sacred history and the regions around were made European by becoming Greek; how the Divine Kingdom seemed on the point of being engulfed in the Greek Polytheism; how it arose unhurt from the struggle

and developed itself afresh; and how, as the Greek mind was now spread through the East, the Jewish mind was spread throughout it too, so that from their interpenetration might ensue a diffused preparation for the Catholic faith, while the rising empire of Rome, which was embracing all this part of the Earth, was also pushing its conquests Westward, and about to bring the shores of the Atlantic and our own distant isle into the pale of *World History*.

So much for the teacher's methods. We will now say a few words on some collateral points. Besides such mere intellectual fallacies as we have been pointing out, there are others partly moral against which it will be necessary for him to guard the learner.

In the first place, he will warn him against the common practice of *judging* historical personages, determining absolutely whether such and such people were good or bad men. How common this is, let the frequent subjects of conversation bear witness. From Julius Cæsar down to Charles I. there is a succession of people about whom we argue as warmly as if anything depended on the suffrages we could win for them, and who are exalted to the skies and trodden under foot by their partisans and their opponents respectively. Intellectual children do the same, but often, as is the case with children in so many things, in a far wiser form. 'Do not you *like* such an one?' they say; 'Do not you *dislike* another?' a much more modest way of putting the question. What? When we dare not judge our neighbour whom we see every day, when we are bound to abstain from determining his precise position in the moral and spiritual world, when we feel it our part to see and be thankful for the evidences of Divine Grace which he presents, and to own that we have no means of measuring the difficulties with which he is beset, and therefore have no right to be severe on his imperfections, how can we pronounce on departed men, of whom it is antecedently probable that they presented the same tissue of characteristics, good mixed with deplorable inconsistency and weakness, as is done by the people about us; with this only difference, that in the one case we have, and in the other we have not, a thousand interpretive phenomena? And here again History and Travelling correspond. The hasty traveller forgets that he is even more bound to be lenient in his judgments abroad than at home, as having less access to the interpreting and often extenuating circumstances. The man of another country and the man of another age are necessarily somewhat perplexing to us; and in both cases we must remember that the imperfections and faults which we theoretically admit to be found in a

good man are often connected with the unquestioned maxims and customs around, instead of being the choice of the will, and that as those maxims and customs vary, so will the form taken by human imperfection.

A judicious teacher, therefore, will guard his pupil against determining in reference to by-gone people, that which is only to be authoritatively determined of any one at the Great Day of Judgment. On the other hand he will cheerfully point out to him the power and the reality of Holiness, he will direct his attention to the satisfactory symptom of a mixed character like that of King Charles, rising with time and trial; and he will rejoice with him in those which illuminate every age of Christian history, and in which hardly any disturbing or disfiguring element mars our satisfaction. And as he warns him against judging the persons, so will the teacher restrain him from too peremptory decisions on the actions, of bygone men. Crime must indeed remain ever the same, and must be avoided equally by the men of all ages; and "the primal duties shine aloft like stars," and must, therefore, be in some measure obeyed alike in all times by all men on whom we are to bestow any amount of approbation. But the line of conduct adopted by the historical character in less obvious cases—the mode of action which must be wise and good, or evil and foolish, according to circumstances—is a matter on which, as regards the agent, our judgments have no such undoubted jurisdiction. True, *we* can see that the leaders of two opposite sides were each contending for half truths; that each missed the harmonizing whole truth by refusing to listen to the other; that each fought under a great disadvantage in consequence; and that the absolute success of either would have been a calamity instead of a good. It is easy for *us* to judge that Laud's attempted triumph of a Church detached from the great Catholic mass, and in a state of internal distraction and disease, to be achieved by means of monarchical ascendancy, would have been an ill-omened victory, which would have recoiled sooner or later upon the Church and country. But how was Laud, unless endowed either with a mind of miraculous comprehension, or with Prophetic Vision, to see the same? It is clear to us, not because we are more moderate, more judicious, more practical than he, but because we know two hundred years of history which he did not and could not know. Men cannot be expected to see what will be the final issues of the things going on around them. While on earth, they must miss the harmony into which the conflicting principles amid the strife of which they have to play their parts, may perchance be developed. Meanwhile, they must act, and act according to what they are enabled

to see. For that to be exactly what the calm student, who surveys the whole march of the events and its final results, is enabled to see, would be a manifest impossibility. In a present war, no man can conduct himself on principles of eclecticism. But, nevertheless, there is revealed to him each day and each hour a right and a wrong, between which he is to choose; and let it be enough for us if we have reason to believe that it was his habit to choose the right. This is all that the great heroic spirits can hope to do,—to see a cause of God and of man; to see wherein they are called to serve it, and to fight for it; to throw themselves unreservedly upon it, and, perchance, in an earthly point of view, to be overwhelmed by it. But such live not, nor strive in vain; their aspirations and their endeavours come to their true, though not exactly the wished for, issue. And, therefore, the teacher will guard his pupil against the common measurements of success in regard to historical persons; will lead him, for example, to question how far Laud has not been on the whole a victorious man, instead of the defeated one he is commonly represented; how far, as was lately said in these pages, our existing Church of England level may not have been reached mainly through his instrumentality,—how far, therefore, he does not stand forth as an encouragement to animate us in seeking to climb to a higher range of thought and striving, instead of a beacon to warn us against the attempt.

Should the pupil be romantic and visionary, it will be requisite to guard him against another fallacy which is nearly sure to assail him,—that of sighing after a period characterized by many great men. There are several such times in the world's history,—starry and magnificent as seen through the night of ages, and at the thought of our removal from which we are fain to fret and bemoan ourselves,—the age of Apostles and early Martyrs—the age of great Fathers and heroic Churchmen, of an Athanasius, a Chrysostom, and an Ambrose—the ages of noble Chivalry and cloistered Saintliness; or, again, the age of England's bright development under her maiden Queen, to which, as to a period in which magnificent strength was combined with a fresh, youthful gush of all emotion,—a time of rare sunshine and diffused joyousness,—our minds are apt to turn with a fond wish that our lot had been appointed in it, and that we had been the contemporaries of Shakspeare, Raleigh, Spenser, Hooker, and Bacon. The fallacy of such estimates of the Past has been often exposed, but men's minds will go on forming them notwithstanding. Mr. Digby completed his voluminous "*Mores Catholici*" in spite of all demonstrations of the deception which he was practising on himself and others,—demonstrations which he must frequently have encountered; and equally in spite of them will

gentle and visionary minds continue to delight in the book. Now, though there be little immediate harm in a dream of this sort, it is right that the teacher should expose its fallacy, both for the sake of truth in general, and also to show the true character and conditions of greatness. The existence in it of great men, as we once heard well remarked, so far from being an argument for, is one of the strongest that can be alleged against, an age; for such are not formed by the sympathy of the things and persons around them, but by the very reverse. It is through resistance to the evil around them that men are made heroes. And therefore, let the truth be continually urged which a great writer has thus expressed: "If we ask that the age in which St. Paul preached may come again, we ask that Nero may come again; if we ask that we may be transported back to the glorious period of Athanasius, we ask to live under the tyrant Constantius,—to have the world almost wholly Pagan, the Church almost wholly Arian. If we long to sit at the feet of Chrysostom, we long for the infamous corruptions of Antioch and Constantinople—for the government of Eutropius—for the horrible villanies of the eunuchs of the Palace. If we reckon that it would have been a blessing to live under the teaching of Augustine, we must be content to see Rome sacked by one set of barbarians, and the Church in Africa threatened by another; we must get our learning from a race of effete rhetoricians; we must dwell amidst all the seductions and abominations of Manicheism." Though our teacher will delightedly put such a book as the *Mores Catholici* into the hands of a promising pupil, he will not fail to point out the monstrous contradiction, unconsciously perhaps, involved in its second title, *Ages of Faith*; showing him how the *seculum* must at any period have been the direst antagonist of faith.

But it will be right also to fight with another delusion which is pretty sure to possess the mind either of a romantic and visionary or a cold and utilitarian reader,—the delusion that any great degree of Civilization is something very modern and peculiar to ourselves. Now, if there be one thing which the records of the Past teach us more distinctly than another, it is the extreme antiquity and universality of Civilization in all its essentials. Many people may have heard of the text, 'There was fine linen in Egypt,' and the conclusions respecting the extent of knowledge, and the variety of arts among the Egyptians, which necessarily follow from it. But it is not merely solving such a problem as the number of things requisite to produce fine linen that will suffice to disabuse us of our habitual notion that we, in these latter ages, have covered the earth with wonders, which reduce all previous adornments thereof to insignificance, and accomplished

feats such as make all previous aggressions of the 'audax Iapeti genus' upon the resisting and hostile elements around them no better than child's play.

Now, on this subject, let us, as before, compare History with Travelling. In this case, too, we start under precisely the same fallacy. Englishmen are at first apt to fancy that Civilization is confined to their own four seas: then France and Northern Germany are, through the sheer force of familiarity, included within the favoured pale. The Englishman learns to forget such trifles as door-handles that will not move readily, and doors that will not perfectly shut,—in the sense of cities, enclosures, banks, credits, laws,—as essentially civilization. Let him try the wilder parts of Italy, such as Calabria, or travel in Sicily or Spain, and the same result takes place. The perfections of modern English manufacture begin to occupy very subordinate room in his mind, now occupied with the at once far more universal and far greater wonder, which has shaped the intractable *ύλη* of the planet Tellus into the forms of social life—has reduced her wild and weedy surface into an orderly and successive production of things suited to man's wants and ways—has studded her with cities—has subjected her teeming populations to law and government, and forced all their individual and varying wills into reciprocal relations and a dominant order. This he will find all over Christendom, and indeed wherever he is in the world of kingdoms and laws; everywhere except in savage life, which exhibits, as it is now happily a common phrase to say, not man in his natural, but in a strangely diseased, condition.

And what Travelling does for us in this respect over Space, the like will History do over Time. Just as we at first fancy every country savage that has not attained our own perfection of mechanical art, so do we of nearly every age that had not reached all the discoveries wherewith we are familiar, or thrown off every prejudice from which we may have emancipated ourselves. And yet here History, rightly digested, will disabuse us: it will teach us to regard ourselves as having only gained a small step in the accidents, without any proportionate progress in that substance, of Civilization which has been the heritage of all but the savage from the very earliest times. Cities are, after all, greater wonders than clubs or joint-stock companies—ploughs than the latest drilling machines that may have won the admiration of the Royal Agricultural Association—sailing-vessels of any kind than steamboats—regular intercourse between distant places than railroads—the weaving of linen than all the looms of Manchester—and a calendar by which times and seasons could be reckoned than the Newtonian system. We forbear to mention *Language*, because that alone, even in the savage, has

its separate mystery and awe. But we think the teacher will not have guided his pupil through History aright unless he in some way or other impress upon him the lesson which we have been urging; unless, whether engaged with Herodotus, narrating the dawn of ancient Pagan, or the modern historian doing the same by the new Christian, Europe, or the Bible, with larger scope than either, acquainting us with the beginnings of religious society altogether, he take pains to show the learner how small and subordinate a step are our boasted achievements compared with that essential difference between the civilized man and the brute, as well as the savage, which has been stamped on the denizens of History from the very first. And then will arise the great and necessary question, Who stamped it? Then will it be right to urge the pupil to inquire, whether merely Man's independent energies, or the Giver of all Good and Perfect Things, should receive the praise thereof.

Finally, should the teacher avail himself of the recently introduced distinction between *organic* and *critical* periods? We call this distinction recently introduced, because it is said to owe its formal origin to the St. Simonians, but it has surely been long practically recognised, belonging to the class of 'what oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed.' An *organic* period, we need scarcely say, is one wherein some great Idea prevails in society, shaping its institutions, directing its thoughts, and presiding over all its sentiments; it is the period of unquestioned Faith, of habitual reverence, of dominant hierarchies, of habitual unity. In such a period first principles are assumed, and men live, without questioning and without murmuring, under the tie of the relationships in which they are placed. Sovereigns meet with cheerful loyalty from their subjects, parents receive their due honour from children and descendants, priests minister to cheerfully submissive flocks. A *critical* period is the reverse of all this: it is the age wherein people ask questions, wherein institutions are scrutinized and sifted, wherein men investigate and divide upon first principles. Our own age would at once be viewed as a critical, the thirteenth century would as readily be voted an organic, period.

We have already hinted at our persuasion of this distinction being by no means so new as the terms whereby it is now expressed. It is one which habitually haunts the lovers of the Past, consequently it is one which will very probably take some practical possession of our supposed learner's mind, and upon which therefore the teacher ought to make up his.

Now, viewed simply as a method, we think it one without which History can neither be written nor read to any good purpose. Without it, we cannot appreciate either characters

or actions. It seems to us real as applied to different states of affairs, though we think it a gross delusion to apply it without qualification to different periods. Every age of an European and living country is both organic and critical—organic as regards some things, critical as regards others—though woe to the age which is not more organic than critical! We trust that it may turn out of our own, the most critical, as we are apt to believe, which the world has yet beheld, that formative and unific have a larger sway over it than dissociative and individualizing tendencies. But this we think will be carefully pointed out by a judicious teacher, that both the organic and the critical tendency are designed for society, that the presence of both is a necessary condition of its life, and that both, therefore, though of course in reference to different matters, ought to be in operation together. It will be shown, too, that the critical principle never can operate safely except in strict subordination to the organic. The teacher, moreover, will carefully point out, that the periods which look to us the most organic often do so merely from having been so in reference to the searchings and their own contests on first principles. He will point to the municipal revolutions in the fourteenth century as illustrating this in politics, to S. Dominic and the Albigenses a century earlier, to the rise of the mendicant orders, or to the Realists and Nominalists as illustrating it in morals and religion. By these means he may at once save his pupil from that retroverted Socialism which looks idolatrously on an earthly Past, and that morbid sensibility which shrinks from all that is characteristic of the Present, which would shut its eyes to all that Present's real wants and cravings, which would prescribe ignoring them as the true treatment of its questionings, and stifling them as the only satisfaction of its anxieties.

Before concluding this article, which pretends only to be one of hints, we will mention one or two features of History, of which right views should be presented to every learner.

1st. The destiny and calling of the *Abrahamidae*, the children of Isaac, Ishmael, Esau, &c. If Mr. Forster be right in his estimate of Saracen ascendancy, its bearing on the History of the world, and the Theocratic scheme, must needs be important enough to make it requisite for all to understand something of it,

2dly. The third universal Empire to which we have already referred. It is to be feared that comparatively few ordinary readers of History have, in any living way, filled up the space in Hebrew annals, between the return from Captivity and the coming of the Lord. Yet how important this is,—how needful

in order that we may discern what is meant by 'the Fulness of Time,' what we have said in a former part of our paper may, perhaps, serve to indicate.

3dly. The long duration and gradual decease of *Imperial* ideas in Western Europe. There can be no greater fallacy than that which regards the Western Empire as having perished under Augustulus, and which looks upon Charlemagne as a mere parodist of its character and features. This is, however, too large a subject to be entered on at present, even did we feel competent to the task. It requires no reasoning, however, to show that if Savigny and his followers be right in their views of the matter, it is a point the misapprehension of which must necessarily render European History incomprehensible. We have already alluded to its bearing on the character of Mediæval Civilization.

4thly. The Reformation as a movement *participated in* by the Latin Church.

Our whole article, as we have said, has been one of hints. If our hints have been at all just, they must suggest many others, the following out of which would render historical lessons real and living to an extent whereto in ordinary education we have perhaps been sadly strangers, at least for a century and a half.

- ART. II. — 1. *An Epistle to the Terrible Priests of the Convocation House.* By MARTIN MARPRELATE, Gentleman. Reprinted from the Black Letter Edition, with an Introduction and Notes. London: Petheram. 1843. 8vo. Pp. 76.
2. *An Epitome of the First Book of Dr. John Bridges' Defence of the Government of the Church of England in Ecclesiastical Matters.* By MARTIN MARPRELATE, Gentleman. Reprinted, &c. London: Petheram. 1843. 8vo. Pp. 64.
3. *Pap with a Hatchet; being a Reply to Martin Marprelate.* Reprinted, &c. London: Petheram. 1844. 8vo. Pp. 52.
4. *Hay any Worke for Cooper.* Reprinted, &c. London: Petheram. 1845. 8vo. Pp. 84.

To what are we to attribute the mass of 'reprints' with which we are in the present day overwhelmed? Let a man examine any of the more favourite channels employed in the advertisement of new publications, and we will venture to say, that he will find nine-tenths of such advertisements to be either pamphlets of mere local and passing interest, or new editions, as some would call them, 'reprints' more properly, of older works. Now is this owing to a want of industry, or talent, or self-reliance in modern writers, not to say, authors? or rather to an apparently unappeasable desire in the reading part of the people of England to know the opinions and conclusions of their forefathers, and so learn to guide their own practice, not so much despising as distrusting contemporary judgment? We certainly are always ready to welcome new editions, carefully done and with impartiality, of scarce books of high ecclesiastical or national importance, and of standard authors; but we are really sickened by the late profusion of mere 'reprints,' the originals of which have been selected as if at random, and might well have been allowed to remain, not in obscurity perhaps, but in their comparative infrequency of occurrence. We would not lose this opportunity of naming one book which we are anxious to see another and a good edition of, viz. Wilkins' 'Concilia.' Any man well learned and of laborious habits who would undertake it (and much of both he must have), would confer, we do not hesitate to say, a national benefit upon us; independently of making a very dear and scarce book more accessible, *many important documents* have, during the last hundred years, been brought to light, and much valuable information gained, the addition of which would greatly increase the usefulness of the old 'Concilia,' and make it very far indeed from

being a reprint.' Neither would we omit holding up as an example of what any thing that pretends to be an edition should *not* be, the late republication, with notes, of Collier's '*Ecclesiastical History*,' by Francis Barham, Esq. This was a scarce work also, and in deservedly great demand; but we cannot sufficiently express our regret, that it was entrusted to an editor who had neither discretion nor learning at all competent to the task, and who has done his utmost by silly remarks to injure the reputation of the great author of the *History* itself.*

And societies also are springing up, every year a new one, eager to supply the demand for 'reprints.' The members of these, however, and this is not to be lamented, are never pleased, but always complaining; at one time of the selection made; at another, of the delay in publishing; at another, of the incompetency of editors; and very seldom without good reason. There are many evils generally accompanying all this, one or two of which we are bound to notice; such as, that careless readers are easily satisfied without being at any trouble to form a judgment themselves upon what they read, taking for granted that no book but a good book would be reprinted, and one which had successfully stood the test of public opinion; hence they adopt, as a matter of course almost (certainly are not so cautious as about new works), doctrines and conclusions advocated in these republications; and, not the least, idle men, with little learning and less wit, find in it, or suppose they find in it, a '*royal road*' to distinction, an easy way by which they may gain the repute of being '*literary*' themselves. These take an

* We presume that this Mr. Francis Barham has had the benefit of such an education as he was capable of, and we have said that his remarks upon Collier are *silly*, rather than use a stronger term about them, which we are really unwilling to do. Silly people are generally vain: if Mr. Barham's vanity had allowed him to be content in that line of business for which his talents probably are sufficient, viz. for a simple correcting of the press, we should have had a valuable book supplied to us, for we should have had Collier himself. We know no greater misery than to be forced to read a good author, and to be interrupted at every three or four pages by some impertinent, ignorant note. We are glad, however, since an annotated edition was to be, that Mr. B.'s arrangement with his publisher did not oblige him to more than at the rate of about one note per sheet. This is carried out with most stubborn honesty, according to a sort of settled routine. First a witty (!) note; then an indignant; then argumentative; then pathetic; then one very nearly approaching the blasphemous; as for example, 'If Christians had contended a little more for Christ's spirit, and a little less for his body, it might have been better.' Then begins the witty again; and the indignant; and so on, through the stipulated changes. It is indeed fortunate that we still have the old *folios* to fall back upon; we speak in all earnestness upon this matter. Bishop Collier's '*Ecclesiastical History*' is not a book which should have been subjected to such treatment; and we are anxious to add whatever weight may be attached to our opinion, though expressed in so brief a way, to the contempt with which this edition by Mr. Barham ought to be received, and which it most amply deserves.

author, go through the usual form of what is called 'editorship,' a service to which most people who can read are competent, and then make themselves happy, and suppose themselves to be conspicuous, this man as 'the editor of —;,' that man, 'the editor of —.'

We are led to make these observations as a sort of brief exposure of a great abuse, by the appearance of the four tracts which stand at the head of this article. We hope and believe that nothing except the *rabies* of reprinting could have induced one to have undertaken the expense and trouble (for some little trouble even these unquestionably demand,) of republishing any volumes of the Martin Marprelate controversy. We understand that the publisher of them, Mr. Petheram, of Chancery-lane, is also the editor; and we are in justice ready to say, that so far as regards a general correctness of the text, and neatness of typography, we have nothing to complain of. There are a few temperately written notes added, chiefly explaining the historical allusions. At the end of the reprinted 'Epistle' is a prospectus of twenty-six 'Tracts relating to the controversy between the 'Puritans and the Church of England, during the reign of 'Elizabeth, on Discipline,' &c., which are 'suggested for publication.' All these, with the exception of three or four short pieces in answer to Martin Marprelate, are upon the Puritan side only; and, to show the extent of the '&c.' include the '*Brief Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford,*' and a selection from the '*Parte of a Register.*'

Now even supposing, which seems to us absurd, that the proposals of this Prospectus should be carried out, yet we believe that as on the one hand there is little or no demand for books of the sort, so upon the other the spreading of them abroad at any time must be accompanied with very serious evils, must tend to excite doubts about things long ago argued and decided upon, and produce no little pain in minds accustomed to regard with reverence subjects which the Elizabethan Puritans spoke of in mockery and scorn, and with blasphemous jesting. A friend has told us (upon the authority we believe of the publisher) that almost all the copies which are sold go to America: we cannot say that we are surprised at this; but it greatly increases our regret. If the people of America ask bread of us, should we give them stones? There, where thousands are eagerly looking out for information it may be, but more probably simply for amusement; where there are not even the checks which still exist among ourselves; where the Catholic Church barely claims to be the city upon a hill, but is oppressed from within and from without; where there is no attempt at discipline, and scarcely certainty even upon the most important

doctrines; *there*, let us ask, shall we suffer these pamphlets to be sent without uttering, though it be perhaps in vain, our indignant protest? When, however, (to return from this digression,) we said that there is little demand for such books, we did not forget that whenever they do occur, few produce higher prices; and several of the shorter ones, of five or six pages, would sell for as many guineas: but the reason of this is, first, their extraordinary rarity, which is the result of the severe penalties which the mere possessors of them at the time lay under, and the strictness with which they were suppressed; secondly, and here we would notice an objection which might be made to our previous remarks, they are, without doubt, of great historical importance, as it is in a measure from them, and from the replies to them, that we learn the religious history of the Elizabethan age. For the first of these reasons bibliomaniacs, who care nothing for intrinsic value, will always be eager purchasers; and for the second, many will anxiously seek after them who wish to inquire into the then state of public opinion, or who may be engaged upon a work which relates to that period. Now, to neither of these will such a series of 'reprints' as that proposed by Mr. Petheram be of value; it is evident at a glance, that the collector of curious books, as such, would care nothing about them; and an accurate writer ought not to content himself with a reprint of a book of this class, if the original is to be referred to. All these considerations seem to us of infinitely greater weight when we observe further, that Mr. Petheram's Prospectus does not aim at a complete 'reprint' of any one controversy, even upon one side only. Mr. Petheram, in his brief introduction to Martin Marprelate's Epistle, (the first of the series,) expressly says, 'I must disclaim any personal or politico-religious feelings in bringing once more before the world these curious productions of by-gone times.' Hence his Prospectus has the appearance of, and in fact is, a list of books selected for republication without a particular object, or hope of completeness, or on any other account than because they are 'curious.' For among them is, 'The Admonition to the Parliament,' a very famous tract without doubt; but the beginning only of a controversy which included Whitgift's 'Answer to the Admonition,' and Cartwright's 'Reply to the Answer,' and Whitgift's 'Defence of the Answer,' and Cartwright's 'Second Reply,' and 'The rest of the Second Reply.' Where are all these? who would venture to republish them? The 'Defence of the Answer' is a folio of more than eight hundred pages, very closely printed in a small type. We shall state, in a word or two, another objection. Although all the books in Mr. Petheram's list are at least uncommon, yet,

except the '*Admonition*' and Martin Marprelate's '*Protestation*,' they are by no means of that high degree of rarity which attaches to many of the class or series; and, therefore, in exactly the same proportion, there is the less reason for their having been selected for republication.

The usual English ecclesiastical histories give us but very little information about the Martin Marprelate controversy. Strype, Collier, Soames, Neal, and others, notice it, as having been of great importance; but repeat, from one to another, almost the same story; which, in short, merely proves that, Strype perhaps excepted, they were not able to refer to the volumes themselves. We propose now to give some further account of Martin Marprelate and his answerers, which shall be chiefly collected from their own books.

The full titles of the first two tracts which Mr. Petheram has reprinted are, of the '*Epistle*,' 'Oh read ouer D. John Bridges, for it is a worthy worke: or an Epitome of the fyrste Booke of that right worshipfull volume, written against the Puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, John Bridges, Presbyter, Priest or elder, doctor of Diuinitie, and Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wisely prevented, that when they come to answer M. Doctor, they must needes say something that hath bene spoken. Compiled for the behoofe and overthrow of the Parsons, Fyckers, and Currats, that have lernt their Catechismes, and are past grace: By the reverend and worthie Martin Marprelate, gentleman, and dedicated to the Confocation-house. The Epitome is not yet published, but it shall be when the Bishops are at conuenient leysure to view the same. In the meane time, let them be content with this learned Epistle. Printed oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bounsing Priest, at the cost and charges of M. Marprelate, gentleman.' This tract collates A to G, in fours, 4to, pp. 54. Entirely in black letter. The title of the second is the same exactly as far as 'hath bene spoken;' after which follows, 'Compiled for the behoofe and overthrow of the vnpreaching Parsons, Fyckers, and Currats, &c. (as above), 'dedicated by a second Epistle to the Terrible Priests. In this Epitome the foresaide Fickers, &c. are very insufficiently furnished, with notable inabilityie of most vincible reasons, to answer the Cauill of the puritanes. And lest M. Doctor should thinke that no man can write without sence but his selfe, the senceles titles of the seuerall pages, and the handling of the matter throughout the Epitome, shewe plainly that beetleheaded ignoraunce must not liue and die with him alone. Printed on the other hand of some of the Priests.' Collates F in fours, 4to, and has no pagination. Also in black letter.

The originals of these two pamphlets are now lying before us, as well as copies of the following, which enter into what may be strictly called the Martin Marprelate series; for it is not enough that a book should condemn a distinction of ecclesiastical habits and discipline, and church government, or rail against priestly orders and episcopacy, to be classed as in that series, which would seem to be the notion of Mr. Petheram on the subject; or else we might also include with him the '*Admonition*,' or the '*Parte of a Register*,' or the '*Demonstration of Discipline*;' but we would limit its beginning, even if we are unsure of its end, with the '*Epistle*' of Martin Marprelate. Copies then, also, of the following books are now before us, and, though somewhat wearisome, we think it best to give first the full titles of them, and their collation, as of the two others: we need afterwards merely refer to them by their shorter titles.

3. 'An Admonition to the People of England: wherein are answered, not onely the slaunderous vntrouthes, reprochfully vttered by Martin the Libeller, but also many other Crimes by some of his broode, objected generally against all Bishops, and the Chiefe of the Cleargie, purposely to deface and discredite the present state of the Church.—Detractor & libens auditor, vterque Diabolum portat in lingua.—Scene and allowed by authoritie.—Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. 1589.' 4to. K k ij. in fours. Pp. 245. In Roman letter.

4. 'Hay any Worke for Cooper: or a brieft Pistle directed by Waye of an hublication to the reverende Byshopps, counselling them, if they will needs be barrellled vp, for feare of smelling in the Nostrels of her Maiestie and the State, that they would vse the aduise of reuerend Martin, for the prouiding of their Cooper. Because the Reuerend T. C., by which misticall letters is vnderstood eyther the Bousing Parson of Eastmeane, or Tom Coakes his Chaplaine, to bee an vnskilfull and a beceytfull tubtrimmer.—Wherein worthy Martin quits himselfe like a man I warrant you, in the modest Defence of his Selfe and his learned Pistles, and makes the Coopers hoopes to flye off, and the Bishops Tubbs to leake out of all crye. Penned and compiled by Martin the Metropolitane. Printed in Europe, not farre from some of the Bousing Priestres.' 4to. H i, in fours. Pp. 48. Black letter.

5. 'Th'Appellation of John Penri, vnto the Highe Court of Parliament, from the bad and injurious dealing of th'Archb. of Canterb. and other his colleagues of the high commission: wherin the complainant, humbly submitting himselfe and his cause vnto the determination of this honorable assembly: craueth nothing els, but either release from trouble and per-

‘secution, or just tryall.’—(Then follow two quotations; the one from ‘Psalm xxxv. 19, 20, &c.’; the other, ‘Jerem. xx. 21.’—‘Anno Dom. 1589.’ 12mo. G 3, in fours. Pp. 52. Small Roman letter.

6. ‘A Dialogue. Wherein is plainly laide open the tyrannicall dealing of L. Bishoppes against Gods children; with certaine points of Doctrine, wherein they approoue themselves (according to D. Bridges his judgement) to be truly the Bishops of the Diuell. Mallach ii. 7, 8, 9: “The Priests lippes—partiall in the lawe.”’ 12mo. D, in fours; no pagination. Small Roman letter.

7. ‘M. Some laid open in his coulours: wherein the indifferent Reader may easily see, howe wretchedly and loosely he hath handeled the cause against M. Penri. Done by an Oxford man, to his friend in Cambridge. Prov. xxx. 32: “If thou hast bene foolishe in lifting vp thy selfe, and hast thought maliciously, laye now thy hande vpon thy mouth. For proud, haughty, and scornfull is his name, that worketh wrath in his arrogancie.” Prov. xxi. 24.’ 12mo. Q, in fours. Pp. 124: in small Roman letter.

8. ‘The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat: wherein, notwithstanding the surprizing of the printer, he maketh it known vnto the world that he feareth, neither proud priest, Antichristian pope, tiranous prelate, nor godlesse catercap: but defiethe all the race of them by these presents, and offereth conditionally, as is farther expressed heerein, by open disputation to apear in the defence of his cause against them and theirs;—which chaleng if they dare not maintaine against him: then doth he alsoe publishe that he never meaneth, by the assistance of god, to leaue the assayling of them and their generation vntill they be vterly extinguished out of our church. Published by the worthie Gentleman D. martin marprelat, D. in all the faculties, primat and metropolitan.’ 12mo. D, in fours. Pp. 33; Roman letter.

9. ‘Theses Martinianae: that is, Certain demonstrative Conclusions, sette downe and collected (as it should seeme) by that famous and renowned Clarke, the reuerend Martin Marprelate the great: seruing as a manifest and sufficient confutation of al that euer the Colledge of Catercaps with their whole band of Clergie-priests, haue, or can bring for the defence of their ambitious and Antichristian Prelacie. Published and set forth as an after-birth of the noble Gentleman himselfe, by a pretty stripling of his, Martin Ivnior, and dedicated by him to his good name and nuncka, Maister Iohn Kankerbury. How the yong man came by them, the Reader shall vnderstande sufficiently in the Epilogue. In the meane time, whosoever can

‘bring mee acquainted with my father, Ile bee bounde he shall
‘not loose his labour.—Printed by the assignes of Martin
‘Iunior, without any priuiledge of the Catercaps.’ 12mo.
‘D, in fours. No pagination. Small Roman letter.

10. ‘The iust censure and reproofe of Martin Iunior.—
‘Wherein the rash and vndiscreete headines of the foolish
‘youth is sharply mette with, and the boy hath his lesson
‘taught him, I warrant you, by his reuerend and elder brother,
‘Martin Senior, sonne and heire vnto the renowned Martin
‘Mar-prelate the Great. Where also, least the springall shold be
‘vtterly discouraged in his good meaning, you shall finde, that
‘hee is not beraued of his due commendations.’ 12mo. D, in
fours. No pagination. In small Roman letter.

11. ‘Pappe with an hatchet; alias, A figge for my God
‘sonne; or, Cracke me this nut; or, A Countrie cuffe, that is,
‘a sound boxe of the eare, for the idiot Martin to hold his
‘peace, seeing the patch will take no warning.—Written by
‘one that dares call a dog a dog, and made to preuent Martin’s
‘dog-daies.—Imprinted by Iohn Anoke, and Iohn Astile, for
‘the Bayliue of Withernam, cum priuilegio perennitatis, and
‘are to bee sold at the signe of the crab-tree cudgell, in
‘thwackcoate-lane.—A Sentence.—Martin hangs fit for my
‘mowing.’ 4to. E iij. in fours. No pagination. Roman letter.

12. ‘Plaine Percevall the Peace-maker of England. Sweetly
‘indeuoring with his blunt persuasions to botch vp a Recon-
‘ciliation between Mar-ton and Mar-tother.—Compiled by law-
‘full art, that is to say, without witchcraft, or sorcery; and
‘referred specially to the Meridian and pole Artichocke of
‘Nomans Land; but may serue generally, without any great
‘error, for more Countries then Ile speake of.—Quis furor aut
‘hos, Aut hos, arma sequi, ferrúmque lacesere iussit.—Printed
‘in Broad-streete, at the signe of the Pack-staffe.’ 4to. E 2,
‘in fours. Pp. 26. Black letter.

13. ‘An Almond for a Parrat; or, Cutbert Curry-knauess
‘Almes. Fit for the knaue Martin, and the rest of those
‘impudent Beggers, that can not be content to stay their
‘stomakes with a Benefice, but they will needes breake their
‘fastes with our Bishops.—Rimarum sum plenus.—Therefore
‘beware (gentle Reader) you catch not the hicket with laugh-
‘ing.—Imprinted at a Place, not farre from a Place, by the
‘Assignes of Signior Some-body, and are to be sold at his
‘shoppe in Trouble-knaue-street, at the signe of the Standish.’
4to. F 3, in fours. Pp. 19. Black letter.

14. ‘A Countercuffe giuen to Martin Iunior; by the ven-
‘turous, hardie, and renowned Pasquill of Englande, Causaliero.—
‘Not of olde Martins making, which newlie kniçhted the Saints

‘in Heauen, with rise vppe Sir Peter and Sir Paule; but latelie
 ‘dubd for his seruice at home in the defence of his Country,
 ‘and for the cleane breaking of his staffe vpon Martin’s face.—
 ‘Printed between the skye and the ground, wythin a myle of
 ‘an Oake, and not manie Fieldes off, from the vnpriuiledged
 ‘Presse of the Ass—ignes of Martin Iunior. Anno Dom.
 ‘1589.’ 4to. Single sheet. Roman letter.

15. ‘Martin’s months Minde, that is, A certaine report
 ‘and true description of the Death and Funeralls of olde
 ‘Martin Marre-prelate, the great makebate of England, and
 ‘father of the Factions.—Contayning the cause of his death,
 ‘the manner of his buriall, and the right copies both of his
 ‘Will, and of such Epitaphs, as by sundrie his dearest friends,
 ‘and other of his well-willers, were framed for him.

‘Martin the Ape, the dronke, and the madde,

‘The three Martins are, whose workes we haue had.

‘If Martin the fourth come, after Martins so euill,

‘Nor man, nor beast comes, but Martin the deuill. 1589.’

4to. H, in fours. Roman letter.

16. ‘The Returne of the renowned Caualliero Pasquill of
 ‘England, from the other side the Seas, and his meeting with
 ‘Marforius in London vpon the Royale Exchange.—Where
 ‘they encounter with a little houshold talke of Martin and
 ‘Martinisme, discouering the scabbe that is bredde in England;
 ‘and conferring together about the speedie dispersing of the
 ‘golden Legende of the Liues of the Saints.—If my breath be
 ‘so hote that I burne my mouth, suppose I was Printed by
 ‘Pepper Allie. Anno Dom. 1589.’ 4to. D, in fours. Roman
 letter.

Of the above, there are in the Bodleian Library, Nos. 1, 3, 4,
 and 9 to 16 inclusive; and in the Museum Library, Nos. 1, 4,
 11, 15, 16 and 17.

We would take then, as we have already said, ‘The Epistle’
 to be the first of the Marprelate tracts; but by this we do not
 mean that Martin Marprelate sprung up before the astonished
 counsellors and high commissioners of Queen Elizabeth, opening
 any new controversy, or even directing his attack upon hitherto
 untouched places of his enemy’s camp. Men also had been
 accustomed to bitter language and misrepresentation, of which a
 huge folio (for many years a favourite however) was a ponderous
 specimen, viz. ‘Fox’s Book of Martyrs;’ and direct personal
 allusions had not been spared, and motives, however base and
 unworthy, already imputed to those who were, or had been
 in authority. But this had occurred in books written appar-
 ently in sober earnestness; even John Foxe might possibly have

believed that a great part of what he said was fact, and might all have been no more than what every one would naturally look for in the productions of such men in times of so fierce religious animosity, and unsettled faith. Martin Marprelate was a new assailant in an old struggle, armed with new weapons; no one, indeed, according to his own admission, yet knew their efficacy, but he came to prove them; these were to be jesting, and ribaldry, and plain lying; as the Author of '*Pappe with a Hatchet*' says 'to the indifferent reader,' 'They have scattered divers libels, all so taunting and slanderous, as it is hard to iudge, whether their lyes exceed their bitternesse, or their bitternesse their fables.' Such, then, it seemed, were now to be the means—means worthy of the cause—by which the Church of England, her orders, her worship, and her rulers, were to be overthrown, and the entrance so long looked for at last gained for the 'holy discipline,' the platform of Geneva, the outwardly sanctimonious and meek and unassuming, the really insolent and prying and tyrannical politico-presbyterian model.

There had been, from about the year 1580, an almost unceasing flow of Puritan tracts from the press, such for example as the '*Abstract of Acts and Canons, &c.*,' the '*Counterpoyson*,' the '*Dialogue concerning the Strife of our Church*,' '*The Demonstration of Discipline*' (by Udall), and many others, upwards of forty of which may be found collected together in a volume published by Waldegrave, the chief Puritan printer, with the curious title, 'A parte of a Register, contayninge sundrie memorable matters, written by divers godly and learned in our time,' &c. Dr. John Bridges (elected in 1603 Bishop of Oxford), then Dean of Sarum, in 1587, wrote a large 4to of 1401 pages, in which he answered the objections contained in these publications, and established (to his own satisfaction we mean) the excellence of the government of the reformed Church of England. The title of his book is (though long, it seems necessary to give it entire), 'A Defence of the Government established in the Church of England for ecclesiastical matters. Contayning an aunswere unto a Treatise called, The Learned Discourse of Ecclesiastical Government, otherwise intituled, A brieft and plaine declaration concerning the desires of all the faithful ministers that have, and do seeke for the discipline and reformation of the Church of Englande. Comprehending likewise an aunswere to the arguments in a treatise named the iudgement of a most reverend and learned man from beyond the seas, &c. Aunswering also to the argumentes of Calvine, Beza, and Danæus, with other our reverend learned brethren, besides Cœnalis and Bodinus, both for the regiment

' of women, and in defence of her Maiestie, and of all other
' Christian Princes supreme gouernment in ecclesiastical causes,
' against the Tetrarchie that our brethren would erect in euery
' particular congregation, of doctors, pastors, gouernors, and
' deacons, with their seuerall and ioynt authoritie in elections,
' excommunications, synodall constitutions and other ecclesias-
' ticall matters. Aunswered by John Bridges, Deane of Sarum.

' Come and see.

Take it up and read.

' Joh. i. 36.

Aug. lib. conf. viii. ca. 12.

' at London. Printed for John Windet,* for Thomas Chard, 1587.'
It was against this book in particular that Martin Marprelate
professed to direct his *Epistle* and *Epitome*; in the first page of
the *Epitome*, he gives a true enough account of it (in a biblio-
graphical way): 'The whole volume of M. Deanes, containeth
' in it, 16 bookes, besides a large preface, and an epistle to the
' reader. The epistle and the preface are not aboue 8. sheets of
' paper, and very little vnder 7. You may see when men haue
' a gift in writing, howe easie it is for them to daube paper.
' The compleat worke, very briefly comprehended in a portable
' booke, if your horse be not too weake, of an hundred three-
' score and twelue sheets, of good demie paper, is a confutation,'
&c.

But, by far, the greater part of these two tracts is employed
in abusing Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Aylmer,
Bishop of London 'Oh! read over D. John Bridges, for it is a
' worthy worke,' is the head-line of the titles of both of them;
but in the first page of the *Epistle*, after mentioning that 'seen
and allowed by the Archbishop' is not to be found in the Dean's
Defence, Martin passes on to claim the victory for Cartwright,
in his old controversy with Whitgift, about the '*Admonition to the
Parliament*;' because, his two last books, viz., his '*Second Replie*,'
and '*the rest of the Second Replie*,' had not been answered. This
was a boast of victory which the authors of the tracts against
Martin Marprelate quickly and frequently refused to acknow-
ledge: for example, in one of them, 'Ile ribroste my brother
' Martin a litle, for obiecting to my Lord Archbishop, the not
' answering of his bookes. Therefore, first, would I know of
' sweete M. sauce malapert, whether he would have the care of
' the commonwealth, and forseing consultation of domestical and
' forreine affairs, resigned to the retorting of T. C., his irreve-
' rent railings. Next, what such equall proportion his master-
' ship finds in their places, that the grauity and widness of the

* This John Windet, 'dwelling at the signe of the Crosse Keyes neere Powles Wharffe,' was the printer, and probably the publisher, of the first edition of the four books, and of the fifth book of the Ecclesiastical Polity.

‘one, should stoupe his attention so low, as the iangling lenity of the other.—As there is nothing more vnseemely, then to aunswere the froward, so there is nothing more profitable then scilence to such as are prouokt.’—*Almond for a Parratt, sign. D. 2. Rev.* To return, however, to the *Epistle*. Immediately after this claiming of the victory for Cartwright, Martin proceeds to attack Aylmer, and the Bishops of Winchester, Exeter, and Rochester. Presently he returns to Dr. Bridges’ book, again, not without constant digressions, until, at last, after a few pages, he fairly gives the matter up, plainly confesses that he is weary of him, and says, ‘I care not an I now leave masse Deane’s ‘worship and be eloquent once in my dayes:’ ‘well, nowe, to ‘mine eloquence;’ and this eloquence is displayed to the end of the book, in telling scurrilous stories about Bishops Aylmer, and Cooper of Winchester, and the Archbishop. The same account, in as many words, is equally applicable to the second tract, the *Epitome*.

John Elmar, Ailmer, or Aylmer, (his name is spelt indifferently in books of his own time),* then Bishop of London, comes in for, even more than Whitgift, Martin’s abuse, at least, in the early tracts: most probably as having been an active member of the High Commission Court. In the year 1554, he was Archdeacon of Stowe, and one of the six who, in the Convocation of that year, refused to subscribe certain propositions offered by the prolocutor, Weston, Dean of Westminster, and engaged, afterwards, in the disputation which was allowed to be held upon them. A full account of this disputation was printed the same year, at Basil, (a most rare volume,) entitled, ‘The trew report of the dysputacyon had and begonne in the conuocacyon hows at London among the clargye there assembled the xviiij. daye of October, in the yeare of our lord M.D.LIII.’ There is no name attached, but it purports in the beginning to have been done by one ‘that was present thereat,’ and John Philpot, at that time Archdeacon of Winchester, afterwards burnt in Smithfield *causa religionis*, acknowledged, upon his examination, in 1555, that he had been the author of it. Philpot reports largely enough his own share, and we need scarcely say that the whole is to be received with very considerable caution, coming, as it does, from a violent partisan who, according to his own admission, would not conform to the usual orders and decency of the house, but studied to provoke those who were in authority over him, by refusing to appear in ‘the long gown and typpet,’ which all the others wore; saying, ‘I had rather be absent altogether.’

* The very accurate and careful *Le Neve*, in his ‘*Fasti Ecclesie Anglicæ*,’ gives us ‘Aylmer’ as the orthography.

However, in this disputation, Archdeacon Elmar (as he is there called) took some part, and seems to have said what he did say, learnedly and with moderation. He was shortly afterwards deprived, and fled to the Continent. In 1559 he wrote and published a work against John Knox's '*First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women.*' This was called, '*An Harborowe for faithfull and trewe Sebiectes, agaynst the late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Gouernment of Wemen; wherin he confuted all such reasons as a straunger of late hath made in that behalfe, with a brieve exhortation to Obedience.* Anno M.D.lix. At Strasborowe the 26. of Aprill.' (4^{to}) Aylmer had been, for some time, among the refugees, and foreign protestants; and, whatever his opinions might have been before his absence, it is quite clear that in 1559 they were not according to what he must have believed as Bishop of London, in 1589. It is ill printing sometimes, and the Bishop would gladly have forgotten his early contest with Knox: not, indeed, the intention and object with which he wrote against him, (for people were much moved by the Scotchman's abominable arguments, and Elizabeth wanted a defender, and himself a bishopric,) but the reasoning which he had used, and the admissions which he had made. Martin Marprelate, however, had unluckily too good a memory: 'Quoth honest John Elmar in his Harboro,' is a favourite reference with him, and not unfairly we must own. For example, take his very first appeal to *John of London*: 'I hope one day her Maiestie will either see that the L. Bb. prooue their calling lawfull by the word, or as Iohn of London prophesied saying, Come downe you bishoppes from your thousands, and content you with your hundreds, let your diet be pristlike and not princelik, &c. quoth John Elmar in Harborow of faithful subiects. But I pray you B. John dissolue this one question to your brother Martin: if this prophesie of yours come to passe in your dayes, who shall be B. of London?'—*Epistle*, p. 3. Compare *Harborowe*, sign. O. 4.

There can be no doubt, let it be excused and disguised as much as it may, that the leading men among the reformers of the sixteenth century were wonderfully pliable. The circumstances in which they were placed may be allowed to have been various enough, and yet we are utterly at a loss many times to offer any reasons which might honestly have induced them to act as we know they did act: sometimes advocating one doctrine, at others another: *now* exclaiming against certain practices and customs as unchristian and to be detested (to use mild phrases); *now*, clean contrary, finding out all at once, that they might not only lawfully be submitted to, but rigorously enforced:—*now*, for years it may be, whilst hope of gain remained from plundering some hospital, or college, or endowed cathedral, professing

hatred of Catholic truth, and pushing to their furthest limits the wild theories of Luther, and Bucer, and Calvin: *now*, when about to lay down their heads upon the block, and whilst being disrobed upon the fatal scaffold, a time when men usually are driven to speak the truth, declaring that they died in the true faith of the Church of Rome, and confessing, and joining in the solemn offices which are proper for those 'who are appointed to die.' Having already slightly alluded to it, let us take more particularly, yet very briefly, the question of *the Vestments*. Bishop Hooper's case is the best known, from his after-sufferings, and readers of the common books called Ecclesiastical Histories of England, or Histories of the Reformation, from the prominence which has been given to that case, naturally suppose that he was a rare exception; and as regards him, the sternness with which he met his dreadful death, almost makes us forget his conduct when he accepted his Bishopric, productive as it was of most unhappy consequences. But the exiles during Queen Mary's time thought as he did:* whilst they were at Strasburg, or Zurich, or Frankfort, or Geneva, they could exclaim nearly as loudly as even their hosts could, against the sacerdotal robes, and holy apparel which for ages had been used in their own Church of England. Pilkington of Durham spoke softly when he merely ranked them among 'unprofitable ceremonies;' Jewel did not hesitate to say that they were 'the relics of the Amorites.' But when the times changed, and sees were offered them, then their objections became less violent: they could listen to the disgraceful advice of Peter Martyr, that '*they should consent to wear the vestments, but speak and preach against them:*' and even wondered that men who had been taught by them, who were their disciples brought up at their own feet, should not also forget their arguments and abuse, and see that the habits and kneeling were simply 'things indifferent,' and to dispute about them, 'raising great troubles in trifles.' They were growing old also, and we may suppose wiser; they had had enough of trouble, and had gained their end: they now desired to rest, and to live quietly, and that the laws should be observed: and who

* That is, the exiles and Hooper said equally hard words about the habits. Because it appears to be somewhat doubtful whether the objections of the latter did not lie against the surplice more particularly, because it was rather an *Aaronical* than a *Popish* garment. Neal, *Fol. I.* p. 46, tells us that he declined his offered bishopric 'for two reasons. 1. Because of the form of the oath, which he called foul and impious. 2. By reason of the *Aaronical* habits.' But he soon found other arguments against them, not more forcible, but more likely at the time to be listened to. Such as that (we quote again from Neal) 'They were the inventions of Antichrist, and were 'introduced into the Church,' not by Moses and Aaron, but 'in the corruptest ages of Christianity. That they had been abused to superstition and idolatry, and to use 'them was to symbolize with Antichrist, &c.' Here the exiles fully agreed with him.

be sure of destroying her, 'when they sawe so many holy martirs 'sacrificed to the God in the boxe.' And gibing at the habits of Bishops of the Church, calling them 'ratchetters.' *Sign. N. 4.* Scoffing at the holy Communion also, as a 'blestered masse.' *Sign. O. 1.* Regretting that under Queen Mary any of the nobility or gentry had been forced to give up their sacrilegious gains, and to disgorge some of the fair manors of the plundered Church, *Sign. O. 1*; and threatening the Bishops of Elizabeth, and telling them, 'Let the Quene have the rest of your 'temporalities and other lands to maintain these warres which 'you procured, and with the rest to builde and founde scoles 'thorow oute the realme: that euerye parishe church may haue 'his preacher, euery city his superintendent to live honestly and 'not pompously.'—*Sign. O. 4.* We shall quote no more passages upon this head: far more even than all this to our present purpose is it that Aylmer at Strasburg had said, what Bishop Aylmer was reminded of by Martin Marprelate, that 'those 'that be preachers, must be no mylke soppes, no white lyuered 'gentlemen, that for the frowning and cloudy countenance of 'euery man in authoritie, will leaue his tackle and crie Peccavi,' *Sign. H. 1*; and that Bishops must 'away with their superfluities, 'yeld up their thousands, be content with hundreds, as they be 'in other reformed churches,' *Sign. O. 4.* We are glad now to dismiss Bishop Aylmer's book, as neither our present object, nor the question itself how far women are competent to rule, seems to call for any further notice of it.

A remarkable feature of the first Marprelate tracts is, the expressions which frequently occur in them of the certain expectation which their authors had, that the Church of England, as ruled by Bishops and Priests, was now tottering to its downfall. 'Look to yourselves, I think you have not long to raigne,' is Martin's advice to the Bishops, reminding us of the warning given within a few years past, by one now alive, in his place as a peer of the realm, to their successors, that they should '*set their houses in order.*' And such expectations, humanly speaking, were not unfounded. As the learned editor of the last edition of the Ecclesiastical Polity has observed (*Preface*, lii.), there are certain points, *turning points*, in the annals of the Church, when God in His mercy is at length pleased to interfere, and stop at once the whole course of things tending (almost without hope) some one evil way. 'One of these critical periods,' the editor continues, 'if he mistakes not, is the latter portion of the sixteenth century.' It was not unnatural, therefore, that the Puritans should begin to rejoice that they were about to gain their end: and even Hooker seems to have thought as they did, that there was but little hope of escape for the English Church,

and that her candlestick would be very soon removed. The Puritans wrote as if in triumph, he confessedly desponding: both could but look upon the struggle passing around them, as being themselves *actors* in it, only guessing at the probable event, and not as *we* can at a long distance of time after all is over, able to discern, if we may venture to say so, the plain interposition at the proper hour, of the Almighty Hand. This doubt which Hooker evidently felt, and the fearful peril in which to his judgment (and so far we need no better) matters appeared to be, are clearly shown by the first sentence of his own Preface to his great work. 'Though,' he says,—'though for no other cause, yet for this; that posteritie may know we have not loosely through silence permitted things to passe away as in a dreame, there shall be for men's information extant thus much concerning the present state of the Church of God established amongst vs, and their carefull endeouour which would haue vpheld the same.'

Hence, therefore, it was not merely in jest, that Martin Marprelate scoffingly proposed the following 'conditions of peace,' to be inuiolablie kept for euer,' between his party and the Bishops of the Church.

'1. In primis, the said Lord Bb. must promise and obserue, without fraud or collusion, and that as much as in them lyeth, they labor to promote the preaching of the worde in euery part of this land.

'2. That hereafter they admitt none vnto the ministerie, but such as shalbe knowen, both for their godlinesse and learning, to be fit for the ministerie—and that they suffer M. Cartwrightes answer to the Rhemish Testament to be published.

'3. That neyther they nor theyr seruants—urge any to subscribe contrary to the statute 13 Eliza.*—that none be suspended or silenced, eyther for speaking (when their text giueth them occasion) against the corruptions of the Church, for refusing to weare the surplice, cap, tippet, &c., or omitting the corruptions of the booke of common prayers, as churching of women, the crosse in baptisme, the ring in marriage, &c.

'4. That none be molested by them—for not kneeling at the communion, or for resorting on the Saboth (if they haue not preachers of their owne) to hear the word preached, and to receiue the Sacraments.

'5. Lastly, that they neuer hereafter profane excommunication —; that they neuer forbid publike fasts, molest either

* This Statute, by a construction not unfrequently at that time put upon it, was taken to give a permission to those who had received orders in some other form than that of the English Service Book, on giving certain securities, to exercise their calling in England.

'preacher or hearer, for being present at such assemblies. Briefly, that they neuer slander the cause of reformation, or the furtherers thereof, in terming the cause by the name of 'Anabaptisterie, schisme, &c., and the men puritans, and enemies to the state.'—*The Epistle*, pp. 38, 39.

'I offer you peace upon these conditions,' continues the writer shortly after, 'if you will keep them, but if you violate them either in whole or in part, then your learned brother Martin doth proclaim open war against you, and entendeth to worke your woe 2. maner of wayes as followeth. First, I will watch you at euery halfe turne, and whatsoeuer you do amisse, I will presently publish it: you shall not call one honest man before you, but I will get his examination,*—and publish it. To this purpose I will place a young Martin in cuerie diocese.—Secondly, all the books that I have in store already of your doings, shall be published—the catalogue of their names, and the arguments of some are as followeth:—First, my *Paradoxes*; 2. my *Dialogues*; 3. my *Miscelanea*; 4. my *Varie leiciones*; 5. *Martin's Dreame*; 6. *Of the liues and doings of English popes*; 7. my *Itinerarium*, or *visitations*; 8. my *Lambathismes*. In my *Paradoxes* shalbe handled some points, which the comon sort haue not greatly considered of: as 1. That our prelates, if they professed popery, could not do so much hurt unto God's Church as now they do. 2. That the Diuele is not better practized in bowling and swering then John of London is, with other like points. What shalbe handled in my 2. 3. 4. 5. and 6. bookes, you shall know when you read them. *Epistle*, pp. 40, 41. (None of these threatened publications ever appeared, at least no copy of any one of them has been found.)

Both the *Epistle* and the *Epitome* are full of scandalous stories of various people in authority, especially of the Bishops of London, and Winchester, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. There are one or two passages in the two volumes in which Martin Marprelate shows a lurking fear that he has overstepped even the usual allowed broad limits of his party, and that a severe inquiry would be set on foot after himself, and those who printed or bought his tracts. *Vide Epistle*, pp. 38 and 43, and *Epitome*, pp. 1 and 42. And his denial that his book is a libel is curious: 'You will go about,' he says, 'I know, to proue my booke to be a libell, but I have preuented you of that

* Among the Tracts contained in the *Parte of a Register* are, 'An examination of certayne Londonners before the Commissioners, about anno 1567.' 'The Bishops proceedings against Maist. Robart Johnson Preacher, who dyed in the gate 1573.' and 'The Conference betweene some of the high Commissioners, and Mai. Marbury anno 1578.'

‘aduantage in lawe, both in bringing in nothing but matters of fact, whiche may easily be proued, if you dare denie them, and also setting my name to my booke.’ *Epistle*, p. 40. We are at a loss which we are here to admire the most: the legal knowledge displayed by the Nonconformist party, or its strict adherence to the truth.

In every age there have always been hasty and turbulent, or sour and discontented men, who wanted some outlet for their discontent and violence, and cared little against what they were directed provided only that an opening was found. In the latter years of Queen Elizabeth, the one object seemed to be, the remnant which had escaped the religious revolutionists of Edward's and Henry's reigns. Many questions of great importance had gradually dwindled into almost utter insignificance, or sunk quietly to rest: many others through changes in the political world had lost their interest, or ceased to be even among the probable chances of that busy time: but still one party persevered: the loss, by death, of one leader, the defection of another, only served to stimulate the exertions of the rest, and to produce new hosts. Like a vortex, it was absorbing rapidly the scattered fragments of parties which had been broken and dispersed, but formerly united with some far different purpose. So, all that had hitherto been given up to clamour, and abandoned through fear, did but whet the appetites and excite the passions of men who pretended to be more thorough reformers. Others, again, would sit speculating in their closets, or draw conclusions natural enough from premises laid down by the writers of some forty years before, then go into the world, and look out for an opportunity of putting these theories and conclusions into active practice. Lastly, we must not forget that the popular preachers of the day were not idle in heaping fresh fuel upon the fire. The pulpit then, in many an instance, served the end which now the daily press amongst us does, not merely spreading intelligence abroad, but stirring up and leading the people.

It has been frequently said that many among these, of whom we have just been speaking, would have become, in the centuries immediately preceding, inmates of monasteries; that there they would have sought for refuge from disappointment, and, in the equal routine of the daily services and duties of such foundations, have found relief from the excitement of eager, and unsatisfied, and visionary hopes. The fact also has been triumphantly appealed to in support of this opinion, that, until of late years, (late, that is in comparison,) so great outrages by professed Christians upon religion and religious ordinances were unheard of. With this we cannot agree; and (we mention it merely incidentally, as matter for future consideration) we think

the same objection would lie, in a measure, against a too hasty revival, amongst ourselves, of conventual institutions, solely with their ancient purpose. Convents and monasteries will be only a refuge, to be very partially indeed available, and of very limited use, *so long as the masses are irreligiously educated under an imperfect system.* Most certainly, as regards the Elizabethan Puritans, if the abbey had been still standing in their time, we cannot think that they and the Martin Marprelates would have taken the monastic vows. They were fanatics and seditious preachers, not sober-minded and earnest, not desirous, by a more intimate communion with their God, to forget the world. Their great aim was to be among 'the powers of this world.' There were none such, perhaps, among their fathers as they were; but their fathers had been otherwise brought up. In after days the very foundations of the Church had been shaken, her strongholds overthrown, her ordinances ridiculed, her powers despised, her faith changed, her worship meanly, poorly, provided for; and we may as well expect the thunder not to succeed the flash, as that such a generation should *not* follow, as its most natural progeny, such an age as were the first sixty years of the sixteenth century. The seeds had been sown with an unsparing hand; home produce and foreign had been mixed in most strange and horrible confusion; these had been thrown into one hotbed to grow up as they might, and we cannot be surprised at the rank luxuriance of the crop.

We shall now proceed to a publication which was intended to check the outbreaks of Martin Marprelate and his faction. Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, boldly took up the cause; and in the work, (No. 3,) '*An Admonition to the People of England,*' soberly appealed to their good feelings, and warned them against the ribaldry and exaggerations of Martin's pamphlets. Bishop Cooper had been a few years before translated from the See of Lincoln, to which he had been elected in 1570, having previously been Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Dean of Gloucester. He was originally of low parentage; and Anthony à Wood gives us an account of the misery which he endured through the misconduct of his wife. There are many indecent allusions to her notorious ill-living in the Marprelate tracts, the authors of which cared not a whit for the feelings of other men, and spared not their misfortunes, so long as they might raise a laugh by gibing at them. Wood tells us, that it was proposed to set him free by a divorce, but he would not consent, and 'to divorce and marry again, he would not 'charge his conscience with so great a scandal.' In 1565, Cooper published his '*Thesaurus Linguae Romanæ et Britannicæ,*' &c. fol., commonly known as '*Cooper's Dictionary;*'

'this work was so highly esteemed by Queen Elizabeth,' continues Dr. Bliss, in his additions to Wood, 'that ever after she endeavoured to promote the author as high in the Church as she could.' Whether rightly or wrongly, (we have never examined the book,) it is certain that there were more than one opinion of its merits. Martin Marprelate says 'that it was a mere compilation, unworthy of a scholar.' 'Alas!' says one of the speakers in the '*Dialogue*,' (No. 6,) 'he is altogether vnlearned, (for I have heard of him in Oxford, and the papists say they can make him beleue the moone is made of greene cheese,) marry to get him a name (forsooth), being a correcter with a printer in fleet streete in London, who printed a Dictionary, called *Sir Thomas Eliott's* dictionarye, Cooper translated a peece of *Robert Stephanus* his Thesaurus, and joined it to the same with a fewe phrases, and so bereaued the famous knight of his labour, and calls it by the name of *Cooper's Dictionary*.'—*Dialogue*, sign. B. 3. (Quoted also by Dr. Bliss from Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.*) Anxious as the Puritans must have been to rake up any old stories against Bishop Cooper, it is indeed very much in his favour that we find but little against him, except the unfair imputation to himself of his wife's ill-conduct, and this charge about the dictionary.

As to the *Admonition*, how sad, how very sad, is the first sentence of it. Surely, we exclaim, is this England, Catholic England, against whom such complaints are laid? Is this the land, and within few years, of so many holy Bishops and good saints of Christ? We no longer wonder that at that very time Richard Hooker gave way to despondency. 'When,' says the Bishop, 'I call to my remembrance the loathsome contempt, hatred, and disdaine, that the most part of men in these dayes beare, and in the face of the worlde declare towarde the ministers of the Church of God, as well Bishops as other among vs here in Englande; my heart cannot but greatly feare and tremble at the consideration thereof.'—*Adm.* p. 1. And again, shortly after, 'Who seeth not in these dayes, that hee who can most bitterly inueigh against Bishops and Preachers, that can most boldly blaze their discredites, that can most vncharitably slaunder their liues and doings, thinketh of himselfe, and is esteemed of other, as the most zealous and earnest furtherer of the Gospel.'—P. 2.

It appears that when the *Admonition* was published, there had not been sent abroad by the Marprelates more than two or three pamphlets. This is rendered almost certain by the author of '*Hay any Worke*,' who says (p. 35) 'I haue onely published a Pistle, and a Pitomie, wherein also I graunt that I did reasonably Pistle them. Therefore T. C. you begin with a lye,

'in that you say that I haue published either 3 or 4 bookes.' But the eagerness with which these few had been read, and more were looked for, seemed to call for some immediate notice. The scandalous stories told of the Archbishop, and of Bishop Aylmer, and of Cooper himself, required a contradiction; even where they did not admit of direct and complete denial, (such, for example, we must allow, as the cutting down of the elms at Fulham, or the taking the dyers' cloth,) yet the exaggerations were to be exposed. To these points the beginning of the *Admonition* is directed. Each charge is separately dealt with, and satisfactorily also. We shall now extract only one or two of these. 'Touching the Apocrypha, &c.' says the Bishop, referring to the *Epistle*, (p. 37,) wherein it was complained, that 'the last lent there came a commaundement from his grace into 'Paules Churchyard, that no Byble should be bounde without 'the Apocripha.'—'He gave commaundement in deede, and 'meaneth to see it observed. For who ever separated this '*Apocrypha* from the rest of the *Bible* from the beginning of 'Christianity to this day? or what Church in the worlde, 'reformed or other, doth yet at this present? and shal we 'suffer this singularitie in the Church of England, to the 'aduantage of the aduersary, offence of the godly, and contrary to al the world besides?'—*Adm.* p. 49. Again (we have a reason for extracting this):—'Among other their reproches, 'they affirme of the Bishop of *Rochester*, that hee presented 'himselfe to a benefice. I doe not think it to be true, for that I 'know it can not be good in lawe. If he hath procured a benefice in way of *commendam* (as they call it) it is by lawe allowed, 'and hath been done by other.'—P. 62. Soon after, it is said, that the Bishop of Lincoln had been attacked merely because he was a member of the Commission Court. As the Bishop did not put his name to this defence against Martin Marprelate, he speaks of himself as the Bishop of Winchester, in the same way, with no greater particularity, answering the accusations which had been made against him. Upon the name which the Puritans had assumed, he observes, 'The author,' of these libels, 'calleth himselfe by a fained name, *Martin Marprelate*: a very 'fit name vndoubtedly. But if this outrageous spirit of boldnesse be not stopped speedily, I feare he wil proue himselfe 'to bee, not onely *Mar-prelate*, but *Mar-prince*, *Mar-state*, *Mar-lawe*, *Mar-magistrate*, and all together, vntil he bring it to an 'Anabaptisticall equalitie and communitie.'—P. 30. The Puritans had objected against the old and good custom, still continued for a time in the Church of England, of prohibiting the celebration of marriage at certain solemn seasons of the year: 'thereby,' they pretended, 'giving occasion of sin to weake

‘and fraile persons, or to burne in their consciences with great danger of their soules.’ The Bishop answers, ‘Vndoubtedly this must needs be thought a captious and rigorous interpretation, to say that a stay of marriage for certaine daies and weeks, is an vnchristian forbidding of marriage,—for then it is a Popish disorder also, and Antichristian corruption, to stay marriage for three weekes, vntill the banes be asked: for in that space, light and cuill disposed mindes, may easily fall to offence.’—P. 104. The question of abstinence and fasting is treated in much the same way. ‘The law of forbearing flesh on Fridayes, in Lent, and other dayes, for the state of our countrey, I thinke very conuenient, and most necessarie to be vsed in Christian policie. I woulde to God those men, that make so small accompt of this lawe, had heard the reasons of the grauest, wisest, and most expert men of this realme, not only for the maintenance of this law, but also for some addition to be made vnto it.* How God hath placed this land, there is no reasonable man but seeth: The sea are our walles, and if on these walles we haue not some reasonable furniture of ships, we shal tempt God:—there is no state of men, that doth so furnish this realme with sufficient numbers of mariners for our nauie, as fishers do. And howe shall fishers be maintained, if they have not sufficient vtterance for those thinges, for which they trauell? And howe can they haue utterance, if euery dainty mouthed man, without infirmitie and sicknesse, shall eat flesh at his pleasure? They cannot pretend religion, or restraint of Christian libertie, seeing open protestation is made by the lawe, that it is not for conscience sake, but for the defence and safetie of the realme.’—P. 107. Alas! that a Bishop of the Church of England, with the Book of Common Prayer open before him, even in the state to which that book had fallen, could sum up such an argument, with such a conclusion!

We had intended to have pointed out several instances in this book, proving the correctness of the remark made in Mr. Keble’s Preface to Hooker’s Ecclesiastical Polity (before

* The Bishop very probably refers to an order of the Privy Council which was sent to the Archbishop in 1576, in which complaint was made that the embering and fish days were not duly observed, and ‘it is ordered that they shall be more carefully seen unto and continued, than heretofore they have been.’ But the Council direct also that the clergy, when they press this order upon their people, shall ‘further declare unto them, that the same is not required for any liking of Popish ceremonies heretofore used (which utterly are detested), but only to maintain the mariners and the navy of this land, by setting men a fishing.’ The whole may be seen in *Collier. Ecc. Hist.* ii. 557. Edit. 1708. It is not necessary to do more than allude to the well-known line taken in the Homily of Fasting, second part.

cited), that the Church-writers of that day either would not or could not appeal to the true source of Christian teaching, together with the Holy Scriptures, viz. Catholic antiquity, but to the writings of the foreign Protestants, such as Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Calvin. But we are somewhat limited in space. We need also scarcely perhaps add, after the last extract especially, that there are many statements in Bishop Cooper's work which we utterly dissent from; indeed it is not likely that we should agree in all things with a book written for such a purpose at such a time. Neither do we at all consider *the Admonition* to be an authorized exposition or apology by the whole order of which he was a member.* Indeed, the book in no way claims to be other than it really was, a private answer (apparently not by a public man, or one in power) to the Marprelate libels. If, then, in short, an over-charitable reader is not astonished to find general praises of the reformed discipline and faith of the English Church, or broad statements such as, p. 10, that 'God alwaies hath appointed godlie men to be teachers and reuiuers of his trueth, as *Abraham* with the other Patriarchs, *Moses*, *Aaron*, *David*, the *Prophets*, the *Apostles*:' adding in one lump, 'in our dayes, *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Æcolampadius*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Jewel*, &c.; and styling them all, 'godly capitaines' to gouerne his Church, and to set forth his word;—if, again, he should not think it unnatural to call Rome 'Antichrist,' and suppose that the five centuries preceding the sixteenth had been 'dark,' echoing the common cry of a general decay of learning during them, and of the knowledge of Holy Scripture; then we believe that such a reader of the whole volume, and such only, (making that reasonable allowance in other matters for Bishop Cooper which, under the circumstances of his position, we are ourselves inclined to do) will find but little cause to differ from Lord Bacon, who thus spoke of it: 'I do much admire the wisdom and religion of that bishop, who replied to the first pamphlet of this kind, who remembered that a fool was to be answered, but not by becoming like unto him; and considered the matter which he handled, and not the person with whom he dealt.'—*Adv. on Ch. Controversers. Works*, vol. ii. p. 503.

* The indefatigable Strype, who had seen, and (unlike some other historians) had examined, it is evident, several of the Marprelate Tracts, gives us a long account of this book of Bishop Cooper's. And he supposes, but not on satisfactory grounds, that not only the Archbishop himself was a joint-author of it, but that the several vindications were drawn up by the Bishops, and the whole work overseen and approved by them. We, nevertheless, would rather hold to our opinion expressed above, and believe that Cooper spoke only from his own knowledge, having unquestionably had many opportunities of hearing these slanders contradicted. When matters of doctrine are involved we would always give suspected parties the benefit of a doubt.—*Vide Strype's Life of Whitgift*, pp. 300, 304.

Such, nevertheless, was not the spirit in which the *Admonition* was received, nor, as we shall hereafter see, were a soberness of reasoning, and an appeal to the good feelings of the people, the weapons by which Martin was to be opposed. The same inspired writer who forbids us, under some circumstances, to answer a fool according to his folly, immediately added the command, that under other circumstances, we must 'answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit.' The Puritans were not fools as regarded mere learning, and knew well enough long ago the common arguments which the Bishop offered in reply: the object was not to convince the Martin Marprelates themselves, but the ignorant and silly people who read their books: and where one bought and read the solemn and apologetic *Admonition*, scores eagerly purchased and believed the scurrilous tales and assertions of the *Epistle* and *Epitome*. Scarcely had the Bishop's book issued from the press, before it was replied to by the '*Hay any worke for Cooper.*' The dedication, or rather inscription of this is, 'A man of worshipp, to the men of worship, that is, Martin Marprelate, gentleman, primate, and metropolitane of all the Martins whersoever. To the John of al the sir Johns, and to the rest of the terrible priests: saith haue among you once againe my cleargie masters.' Martin Marprelate had gained, at least, one of the ends which he had proposed; his libel, wicked and abominable as it was, had drawn forth an earnest remonstrance from one of the Bishops of the Church. Returning to the passage just before quoted, Lord Bacon in it seems to suppose, that such was not only the proper style of rebuke, but that it was not also either improper or impolitic to reply at all. This, however, was exactly the sort of notice which Martin required; he therefore could not contain his joy. Like many other lying pamphlets his, probably, would have been confined to a smaller circle of readers, perhaps scarcely beyond the Puritans themselves, if they had been let alone. But if it was a mistake to bring them into further notoriety by civil penalties laid upon the purchasers of them, by seizing the printers, and demolishing their presses, surely much more would it seem to have been a blunder that the Bishop of Winchester should address a sober admonition to the people of England upon the subject, which (at the time certainly) could not escape the being looked upon as an authorized apology of the dignified clergy and the bench of Bishops. So the first address of Martin Marprelate to 'his brethren,' the Bishops, is; 'O brethren, there is such a deal of love growne of late, I perceive betweene you and me, that although I would be negligent in sending my Pistiles unto you; yet I see you cannot forget me. I thought you to bee

‘very kinde when you sent your purcivaunts about the countrie
 ‘to seeke for me. But now that you yourselues haue taken the
 ‘paines to write, this is out of all crie. Why it passes to thinke
 ‘what louing and carefull brethren I haue, who although I
 ‘cannot be gotten to tell them where I am, will notwithstanding
 ‘ing, make it known unto the world, that they haue a moneths
 ‘mind towards me. Now, truly brethren, I find you kinde, why
 ‘ye do not know what a pleasure you haue done me. My
 ‘worships books were unknowne to many, before you allowed
 ‘T. C. to admonishe the people of England to take heed, that if
 ‘they loued you, they would make much of their prelates, and
 ‘the chiefe of the cleargie. Now many seeke after my bookes
 ‘more than euer they did.’ We are not inclined to think that
 Martin here expresses himself beyond the truth. And another
 very serious evil followed the publication of Cooper’s *Admonition*.
 It not only spread abroad the fame of his opponent, and appealed
 to the people to judge the truth of his tales and arguments; but,
 as the author of ‘*Hay any Worke*’ was sharp enough to see and to
 mention, ‘Whatsoever you ouerpasse in my writings, and did
 ‘not gainsay, that I hope wilbe iudged to be true.’—P. 2.

As we before said, Bishop Cooper did not attach his name to
 the *Admonition*. The initials T. C.* were alone given at the end
 of his short preface to the reader. Very probably there was no
 secrecy about the matter, and common rumour, at the time
 uncontradicted, gave it to its real author. The author of ‘*Hay
 any Worke*’ appeals to internal evidence, and his inferences are
 amusingly expressed. ‘I gesse your T. C. to be Thomas Cooper
 ‘(but I do not peremptorily affirme it) because the modest
 ‘olde student of 52 yeres standing, setteth Winchester after
 ‘Lincolne and Rochester in the contefts of his booke, which
 ‘blasphemy would not have been tollerated by them that saw
 ‘and allowed the book, unlesse mistres Coopers husband had
 ‘bin the author of it. Secondly, because this T. C., the author
 ‘of this booke, is a bishop, and therefore Thomas Cooper, he is
 ‘a bishop, because he reckoneth him selfe charged, amongst
 ‘others, with those crimes whereof non are accused but bishops
 ‘alone. Ha olde Martin, yet I see thou hast it in thee, thou
 ‘wilt enter into the bowels of the cause in hand I perceve.
 ‘Nay, if you wil commend me, I will give you more reasons
 ‘yet. The stile and the phrase is very like her husbands, that
 ‘was sometimes woont to write vnto Doctor Day of Welles.
 ‘You see I can do it indeed. Again, non would be so groshend

* The reader must be careful not to confound this T. C., Bishop of Winchester, with the T. C., Thomas Cartwright, who by a prerogative of dignity, familiar to the students of Hooker, has monopolized these notorious initials.

‘as to gather, because my reuerence telleth Deane John, that he shall haue twenty fists about his eares more than his owne,—that I threatened him with blowes, and to deal by stafford law; whereas that was far from my meaning, and could by no means be gathered out of my words, but only by him that pronounced *Eulojin*, for *Eulogein*, in the pulpit: and by him whom a papist made to beleeve that the Greek word *Eulogein*, that is, to give thanks, signifieth to make a crosse in the forehead; py hy hy hy! I cannot but laugh, py hy hy hy! I cannot but laugh to thinke that an olde soaking student in this learned age is not ashamed to be so impudent as to presume to deale with a papist, when he hath no grue in his pocked.’—Pp. 3, and reverse.

But from this, we now pass on to the picture displayed in this pamphlet of the utter hatred which was felt by the Puritans against the diuine order of the Episcopacy. The known leaders of that heretical faction restrained, or were aware that as much as they could they *must* restrain their language: we are speaking of their avowed publications. It is, then, from their anonymous works that we are enabled to discover what their objects were, and the full extent to which their opinions went upon doctrines and rites of the Church of God, which have been held from the earliest age, the Apostolic, to be essential not simply to her efficacy and well-being, but to her very existence, and to the validity of her sacraments. Now, let us hear ‘reverend Martin.’ ‘Doe you thinke our Church *gouernement* to be good and lawfull, because hir Maiestie and the state, who maintaine the reformed religion, alloweth the same? Why the Lorde doth not allow it, therefore it cannot be lawfull. And it is the falt of such wretches as you bishops are, that her Maiestie and the state alloweth the same.’—P. 4. Again: ‘But our archbishops and bishops, which hold it lawfull for her Maiestie and the state, to retain this established forme of *gouernment*, and to keepe out the *gouernment* by pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons, which was appointed by Christ,—hold it lawful for her Maiestie and the state to bid God to battel against them.—Therefore you T. C., and you Deane John, and you John Whitgift, and you the rest of the beastly defenders of the corrupt church *gouernment*, are not only traytors to God and his word, but enemies to God and the state. Like you any of these nuts John Canterbury? I am not disposed to iest in this serious matter.’—P. 24. And once more, passing by an overflow of ‘wretches,’ ‘grosse beasts,’ and such epithets, Martin at last, by impiously perverting an argument of the Dean of Sarum, arrives at this: ‘Now you bishops of the diuell, what say you now, are you spighted of

'the Puritans, because you, like good subiectes, defend the lawes of her Maiestie, or els because, like incarnate diuells, you are bishops of the diuells.'—P. 28. It is not without much hesitation that we have brought ourselves to quote these passages: after all, they are not the worst, neither are they more than a few out of many such: and our duty is to represent these productions of the Elizabethan Puritans as indeed they are, and not allow our readers to suppose them to be, unwarned, merely witty, though perhaps scandalous, squibs of the day. If any one says that they are but repetitions in coarser language, of still earlier Puritan and Nonconformists' objections upon the great question of Episcopacy, and that our apology is unnecessary, we are not disposed to quarrel with him—'there is nothing new under the sun.'

But another point or two remains before we can dismiss this '*Hay any Worke.*' Martin confesses, or pretends to confess, that his style and manner of addressing those who were in authority had been misliked by some even of his own party: alluding, that is, to Cartwright, Travers, and others among the chief Puritans. He says, 'I am called Martin Marprelat. There be many that greatly dislike of my doinges. I may have my wants, I know. For I am a man. But my course I knowe to be ordinary and lawfull. I sawe the cause of Christ's gouernment, and of the bishops' antichristian dealing to be hidden. I tooke that course. I might lawfully do it. I, for iesting is lawful by circumstances, euen in the greatest matters.—My purpose was and is to do good. I know I haue don no harme, howsoever som may iudge Martin to mar al. They are very weake ons that so think. In that which I haue written I know, vndoubtedly, that I haue done the Lord and the state of this kingdom great service.' (We hope it is no profaneness to quote a parallel almost contemporary with the humble Puritan—

'Soft you; a word or two, before you go.

I haue done the state some service, and they know it;

No more of that:—

so to return.) 'Because I haue, in som sort, discovered the greatest enemies thereof. And by so much the most pestilent enemies, because they wound God's religion, and corrupt the state with Atheism and loosnes, and so cal for God's vengeance vpon vs all, euen under the coulour of religion.'—Pp. 14, 15. And a few pages after more plainly; 'I knowe I am disliked of many which are your enemies, that is of many which you cal Puritans. I am alone. No man vnder heauen is priuy, or hath bin priuy vnto my writings against you. I vsed the aduise of non therein. You haue and do suspect diuers.' &c.—

Pp. 20, 21. Now we really do not think that this dislike arose among the more notorious of his own party until it was produced by fear that their experiment was about to fail—that it had overreached the mark, and disgusted men, rather than was likely to effect the object which the Puritans had in view. We could point out in the avowed publications of Travers and Cartwright, in the little controversial tracts, for example, upon the question of the habits, in the ‘Counterpoysion,’ &c., many passages which, with less violence of language, and less expressed profaneness, breathe the same virulent spirit and hatred of the ordinances of the Church of God. That these pamphlets of Martin Marprelate were, indeed, disapproved of by the faction who made use of him, we require other witness than himself only before we give it credit; and we do not remember that any such disapproval was plainly expressed *at the time* by the Puritan leaders. It is not enough that they should disclaim him *after*, before the council-board, with the terrors in the distance of the Tower and the rack, or before the court of High-Commission: it is not enough that Neal, their professed historian in after years, and their apologist, should speak of Martin in terms of reprobation, and (which proves either his utter ignorance, or wilful lying) class him and his opponents in the same style, as equally obnoxious to the members of the government. Even Martin himself, in a later publication, to which we shall come presently, speaks again merely in such language as this, addressing the ‘Puritans:’ ‘The report goeth, that some of you have preached against me.’ *The report goeth*: very cautious this; to be used hereafter in two ways. In short, it may easily be downright asserted, but it cannot be proved, that the Marprelate pamphlets were not an experiment which the Puritan leaders, Cartwright and Travers, and the rest, were willing enough to try. Doubtless, being wise in their own generation, when they fancied it about to fail, they neglected not the providing some ground to retreat upon, by a timely disconnecting of it with themselves. If it *should* succeed (which was not un hoped for when ‘*Hay any Worke*’ was published), there would be no difficulty in substantiating their claim to this honour among others, that *Martin Marprelate* had been their doing, that his tracts had been a part of their ‘godly work,’ a stepping-stone to the obtaining their ‘holy discipline:’—if, again, it should *not* succeed, disclaimers, such as we have quoted above, would be an easy blind in the eyes of the silly multitude, and it would be far from easy to bring home to them their cognizance of the authors, or their recommendation of such an attempt.

After one more passage, illustrating Martin’s style and reasoning, we shall pass on to another of the series.

'Our churche government is an vnlawfull government, and
'not allowed in the sight of God. Because, that church govern-
'ment is an vnlawfull church government, the offices and
'officers whereof the civil maiestrate may lawfully abollish out
'of the church; but the offices of archbishops and bishopps, and
'therefore the officers much more, may be lawfully abollished
'out of the church by her Maiestie and our state. And truely
'this were braue weather to turne them out: it is pittie to keepe
'them in any longer. And that would do me good at the
'heart, to see John of London, and the rest of his brethren, so
'discharged of his busines, as he might freely runn in his cas-
'socke and hose after his bowle, or flourish with his 2-hand sword,
'O 'tis a sweet trunchfiddle. But the offices of archbishops
'and bishops may be lawfully abollished out of the church by
'her Maiestie and the state. As I hope one day they shalbe.
'Therefore (marke now T. C., and cary me this conclusion to
'John o' Lambelith for his breakefast) our church government,
'by arch. and bishops, is an vnlawful church government.
'You see, brother Cooper, that I am very courteous in my
'minor, for I desire therein no more offices to bee thrust out of
'the church at one time, but archb. and bishops. As for
'deanes, archdeacons, and chancellors, I hope they will be so
'kind vnto my lord's grace, as not to stay, if his worship and
'the rest of the noble clergie lords weare turned out to grasse.
'I will presently proue both maior and minor of this sillogisme.
'And hold my cloake there somebody, that I may go roundly
'to worke. For Ise so bumfeg the Cooper, as he had bin better
'to haue hooped halfe the tubbes in Winchester, then write
'against my worship's pistles.'—Pp. 5, 6.

Yet this chain of attack and defence is so connected link upon link, that (though they run not exactly link *for* link, now one added upon this side, and now another upon that,) we must pass on to our next book, led by a passage in the last. Martin says, '*Hay any Worke*,' p. 21, 'I am alone. No man vnder heauen is priuy, or hath bin priuie vnto my writings against you; I vsed the aduise of non therein. You haue and do suspect diuers, as master Paggett, master Wiggington, master Udale, and master Penri, &c., to make Martin. If they cannot cleare their selues their sillinesse is pitifull, and they are worthy to beare Martin's punishment.' Upon this disclaimer of authorship, we need say no more than we already have; and, indeed, those observations would apply with even greater force in the present case. Of the four persons above named, Penry now claims our notice. He was by birth a Welshman, afterwards a member of the University of Oxford, and about the year 1586 admitted into holy orders. Anthony à Wood's account of him is, that

being 'a person full of Welsh blood, of a hot and restless head, 'he did, upon some discontent, change the course of his life, 'and became a most notorious Anabaptist, and in some sort a 'Brownist, and most bitter enemy to the Church of England.' Hence he was very fit for, and soon became, a tool in the hands of wiser men. The Marprelate tracts were, at the time of their publication, immediately attributed to him as one of the authors: a warrant was issued for his apprehension, together with some others, and he was taken, and his house and study searched for some proof against him. We must not overlook this, that no evidence was found; and also that Penry himself at the time, (which we do not give much weight to,) and always after, even when about to die, (when we are rather inclined to believe that he would speak the truth,) denied that he had been concerned in the writing of those tracts. If we were disposed to adopt Martin's own line of reasoning, we should more especially decide that he was mixed up with them, from his being named the last among 'the goodly company' in the extract given above. It is curious, certainly, that, of all the anonymous tracts, '*Hay any Worke*' has been the most constantly attributed to Penry. However, there being then no sufficient evidence against him, after a short imprisonment of a month, he was discharged. As soon as he was at liberty, to use his own language, 'I saw 'myselfe bound in conscience not to giue ouer my former purpose, in seeking the good of my countrymen, by the rooting 'out of ignorance and blindness among them.'—P. 5. Here he alludes, not to the Marprelate tracts, but to two former books of his, about the state of religion in Wales, and a supplication to the parliament. His conscience obliged him then to continue writing. We know well that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth much harshness was used towards political offenders: (it is scarcely necessary to remark, that Penry and his fellows would, and justly, be looked upon as of that class:) they were generally deprived not merely of liberty, but even of opportunities of communicating with their friends, and of the means of correspondence: not seldom, also, greater violence and torture were resorted to. The extent to which this last way of arriving at confessions had been carried a few years before, more especially in the cases of the seminary priests, had reached so far that the Queen had interfered and checked it; and a sort of authorized apology been put forth by the council, entitled 'A Declaration 'of the favourable dealing of her Maiesties Commissioners 'appointed for the Examination of certaine Traitours, and of 'tortures vnjustly reported to be done vpon them for matters of 'religion, 1583.' (4to, reprinted in the Harl. Miscell.) Burleigh also found it was necessary for himself to write a like

excuse, which he called 'The Execution of Justice in England, &c.' It does not appear, however, that Penry was treated with even the usual severity of the day, but immediately upon his release he published his '*Appellation to the High Court of Parliament*.' (No. 5.) Little less violent or coarse in language, and equally bitter in its spirit, with the *Epitome* or the *Epistle*, or the answer to Bishop Cooper, its author could not possibly suppose that any personal benefit would be the consequence: (in fact, he was included in the next warrant from the High Commission Court, which for a time he escaped :) and we must say of him, a kind of praise common to many of his party, that he was both stubborn under correction, and insensible to kindness. Neither was he at all wanting in that self-sufficiency, so frequent among fanatics, which leads men to suppose that God certainly approves their doings. Penry claims to be an especial instrument employed by Him. 'You are to understand,' he says, 'that the beginning of these mens hatred towards me did arise from the goodwill I beare vnto the glory of my God and the good of his church, and that the continuance thereof is for the same cause. For vntill such time as the Lorde vouchsafed to vse me (most unworthie, I acknowledge from the bottom of my heart) as an instrument to motion the parliament in the cause of God's truth, I was a man altogether vnknowne vnto th' Archb. or any other of the high commission.'—P. 3. And he boasts that 'the Lord, of his infinite goodnes, had enlightened him with the knowledge of the sauing trueth of his gospell.'—P. 2. And he does not stick at comparing himself and his condition with St. Paul and the Prophet Jeremiah, and their sufferings, calling upon the parliament to judge his cause, as Festus listened to St. Paul. One would have thought that experience had taught him moderation; but a sidenote (p. 11) tells us, 'It is no new thing to find the supposed pillars of the church to be the most pestilent enemies thereof.' And again he says, 'I am bounde in conscience to lay open, that the blindnes and ignorance of our blind and ignorant guides, the tyranny, vnlawful bondage, and vnjust oppression of God's church by vngodly and tiranical Lord Bishops, with the rest of th' vnlawful church gouernoures, (who, euen by vertue of their places, cannot chuse but oppresse the church of God,) are the ready and direct waie, not only to kepe my countrimen from eternal life, but also to bringe the Lord's wrath vpon vs, our prince, maistrats, people, and the whole kingdome.'—P. 16. And once more, those to whom he is himself now appealing, he accuses of 'careles and wilfull negligence to deal in the Lord's matters.'—P. 34. Very probably the parliament had been negligent, as he esteemed it. It was

no concern of parliament; and it would have been well if its members had always kept within their proper limits, and from interference with the government and practice of the Church of God. These, no less than the doctrines of the Church, are beyond both its power of controlling, and capability of correctly judging. We need hardly add that in saying this we do not forget its vaunted claim to omnipotence; but *power* is not *right*. The parliament of England, as its parliament alone, acting upon its own judgment only, has never meddled with the Church without weakening her powers, and lessening her efficiency, and injuring her reputation. And if this is true, as most unquestionably it is true, of parliaments which professed at least to be Christian, how much more now, when this profession has ceased to be a necessary qualification of its members.

Penry, however, does not forget to press a point, which, under the strong hand of Elizabeth, and her vigilant eye, and jealousy of her prerogative, the parliament would not then dare to listen to, viz. this, (speaking of the powers exercised under the High Commission,) ‘Judge whether it be not ‘against all right, that some fewe of the inferiour members in ‘that house (of which number, in respect of manye, I might ‘justly account the men before named) should extort vnto their ‘privat censure, the judgement of a cause preferred publicly ‘vnto the whole parliament. The time hath beene, wherein ‘this high courte woulde not haue taken a meaner injurie ‘offered vnto their liberties, at the handes of anye prerogative ‘within this kingdome: whether it stands not with the honor ‘and credit of parliament men, amongst posterities, not to haue ‘their liberties thus infringed and diminished by inferior and ‘baser courts: it behoues them that loue their countrie, and ‘endeuor to maintaine the welth thereof, to consider.’—P. 41. Here was a little leaven of sedition thrown into the mass to work its silent way: here was one spark, which, mouldering, was not extinguished, and mouldered on, until more fuel and more fire were gradually given, and at last this question of prerogative was sufficient to set the kingdom in a blaze.

We are not in the least disposed to enter into an argument in behalf of the oath *ex officio*, although much possibly might be said for it; and men now are scarcely sufficient judges how far in former times such means were necessary to extort the truth, for the preservation of the public peace against the malice of the disaffected; yet it was not according to our modern ideas of justice, and at the time was spoken of as a measure only of absolute necessity. One thing cannot be denied, that it did effect in a great degree the object which it aimed at, and was no less a terror to the Puritans than a very successful

means of discomfiting their plans, by arriving at a knowledge of their secrets. We quote, therefore, Penry's account of the manner of administering this oath: he says, 'All the justice that poore christians haue at Lambeth is this. You are now sent for by Lords grace here, and vs her Majestie's Commissioners; we grant, in deed, that as yet we know nothing wherewith you may be charged. For accusers you haue none, neither were you sent for to answeere vnto them. For it is our maner to deliver men into bonds, though they haue no accusers to conuince them of any crime. And therefore you must here be deposed vpon your oath, to reveal whatsoever you know by yourselfe, or any other of Gods children her Majesties subjects. Whereby it shall come to pass, that you shall escape vs narrowly, but ere you depart the court, we shall finde sufficient matter to imprison you; and if you refuse the oath, to prison you shall goe. For we administer it *ex officio*, and so, vpon your refusal, we may imprison you.'—P. 46. Undoubtedly Master Penry had experienced the putting of this oath; he may be thought, therefore, to be a good witness against it: and so, indeed, he was in words; but the fact was clear that he had evaded it in some way or other, and had been set at large by the Commissioners.

But a word or two more about this ancient bugbear, the oath *ex officio*. We really do not think that we must listen to objections from the Elizabethan Puritans in the same temper as we would to other men's; neither can we allow them to have the same weight. Here were people making a great grievance of this oath; refusing it stiffly, and with unseemly language, when it was likely to effect the object proposed. Loudly protesting also against it as an infringement, not merely of their civil, but of their Christian liberty, and enlisting upon their side, as being cruelly persecuted by it, all who, from whatever motive, were opposed to the government of the day. And what was *their own practice*? It is very true that legally they could not administer any oath; but they came as near to it as possibly they could, by subjecting every one who was of their party to the solemn scrutiny of their consistories, and obliging him, upon any suspicion, to give an account of his private opinions, and so accuse himself. They had enacted a plain law (the 52d Article of their '*Discipline Reformed*,') upon this point: 'That every member of the congregation do not refuse to render a declaration of their faith, before the ministers and elders, whensoever they shall by them be thereunto required.' Their great exemplar, the heretic Calvin, made use of the actual oath *ex officio* in his consistory at Geneva. (Calvin. Epist. 71. *Farello*.) More than this: there was but one Court of High Commission in

England which had the power of administering the oath. If the Puritans had gained their end, each parish in the country would have had a little set of arbitrary judges, ready to listen to any trivial complaint, eager to find a cause of intermeddling with every man's affairs, and too glad of so ready a means of gratifying their malice. They were even bound, upon their own theory, to find out causes for bringing men before them. Cartwright, in his 'Defence of the Admonition,' says, 'The Elders watch over the life and behaviour of every man; and to them belongs the decision of all such matters as do rise in the Church, either touching corrupt manners or perverse doctrine.' There was to be no difficulty in indulging any of their whims: no check upon partiality or prejudice; and no provision made against personal dislike having its full swing. These were safeguards which the Puritan Nonconformists utterly despised: they were to be accusers, witnesses, and judges: they were to complain, and to determine according to their own pleasure, and their own caprice. And these are the men who sought for compassion and found it, when the oath *ex officio* was duly administered by a proper authority to themselves.

A little less than a year before this, Dr. Robert Some had written a book against Penry, which he called '*A godly Treatise containing and deciding certaine questions, mooued of late in London, and other places, touching the Ministerie, Sacraments, and Church.*' (4to.) To this '*M. Some laid open in his coulers, &c.*' (No. 7) was intended to be an answer. Who the Oxford man was, cannot now be ascertained, probably (as Wood thought) Penry himself: at any rate, this volume made its appearance very soon after the *Appellation*. It is long, and sufficiently dull. Hooker's name occurs in it, in connexion with Dr. Some's. The 'Oxford man' denies that a papist can be saved: he says, 'We hold, that to him that dieth a papist (let him do neuer so many good workes, and builde, if it were possible, ten thousand colledges or churches) the verie gates and porteculleses of Gods mercie are quite shutt vp, and all those his glorious works, how sweet soeuer they may be to others, shall be but wrack and misery to himself. And in this point if either *M. Hooker*, *M. Some*, or all the reuerend Bb. of the land doe stand against vs, it shall little dismaie vs.' (P. 29.) There is nothing in it which requires of us a further account of this reply to Dr. Some.

The advisers of Queen Elizabeth were always in those dangerous days too much upon their guard to suffer such publications as the tracts of Martin Marprelate to pass unnoticed. Looking at them as we do, after a long period of time, it is a matter of extreme doubt still, in what way they ought to have

been received: whether they should have been left unregarded, in silent contempt. Those who were then in authority could not overlook the sedition and treason against the state which they contained, even if many who sat at the same council-table cared nothing for their more open attacks upon the Church. It has been always known that some of the most influential persons about the Queen were inclined to the Puritan party; and Lord Leicester generally pretended to be so: it was his game to play: when abroad he had tried to hide his incapacity by spending half his time with the schismatic preachers, who were followers of the camp, joining in their praying exercises, and patiently listening to their three hours' sermons. No less so were others of a sterner cast; and some who were mere courtiers and parasites of the day. Nor is this to be wondered at; for, independent of deeper motives by which a few were influenced, up to a certain point the love of being amused was quite sufficient to make Martin popular at court. He says himself, (*Epitome*, p. 2,) 'I haue been entertaigned at the court: euerye man talkes of my worship. Manye would gladly receiue my bookes, if they coulde tell where to finde them.' So we think ourselves obliged, by the way, to quote the old anecdote of Lord Essex. 'When a prohibition issued that no person should carry about them any of the Marprelate pamphlets on pain of punishment, the Earl of Essex observed to the Queen, "What, then, is to become of me?" drawing one of them out of his bosom and presenting it to her.'—To return, however: active measures were taken to prevent any more such publications:* as we have seen already, Penry with several others were arrested; and at last, after great difficulty, the Marprelate press and the printers were seized, it is said, in Lancashire. At the time of the surprisal, it is not improbable that they were engaged upon more than one pamphlet: the rapidity with which these had already followed one another would of itself make us suppose that two or three might be preparing together. It is quite clear that one, at least, was far advanced towards completion; viz. '*Hay any more worke for the Cooper.*' All the finished sheets of this were taken, and we believe that no copy of it, in any state, remains. Other titles

* A proclamation was issued '*against certain seditious and schismatical books and libels.*' This contains the prohibition to which Lord Essex is said to have referred. 'Her Highness doth hereby will and also straitly charge and command that all persons whatsoever, within any her majesty's realms and dominions, who have or hereafter shall have any of the said seditious books, pamphlets, libels, or writings, or any of the like nature already published, or hereafter to be published in his or their custody—shall with convenient speed bring in and deliver up the same unto the ordinary of the diocese, or of the place where they inhabit, to the intent they may be utterly defaced by the said ordinary, or otherwise used by them.'

of books have been mentioned, as seized also at the time: such as *Epistomastix*, *Paradoxes*, *Dialogues*, *Miscellanea*, *Variae Lectiones*, *Martin's Dream*, *The Lives and Doings of English Popes*, *Itinerarium* or *Visitationes*, *Lambethismes*. So they are given (as missing books) in *Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual*, p. 1225. But they all stand, as to the fact of their 'having been,' upon the sole authority of Martin himself, in his later tracts: and we have scarcely any doubt that these titles were a subsequent invention of the Puritans, pretending also that the books were nearly finished and ready for dispersion. It was a cheap way of proving their unwearied diligence in their 'calling,' and of exciting greater pity for their losses.

But in fact they were unwearied, and their operations were checked for a very short time only: they were many-limbed, and the destruction of one or two members seemed to quicken and give energy for a time to the rest. '*The Protestation of Martin Marprelate*' (No. 8) quickly made its appearance, showing, however, evidently by its wretched typographical execution, and almost countless errors, the haste and fear in which, after their surprisal, the printers worked. It opens, 'Thou canst not lightly bee ignorant good reader of that wich hath latly fallen vnto some things of mine, wich were to be printed, or in printing: the presse, leteres, workmen and all, apprehended and caried, as malefactors before the magistrat, whose authoritie I reverence, and whose sword I would fear were I as wicked as our Bb. are.' It is a strange characteristic of the time and person, that he should suppose the surprisal of the press to be perhaps a token of God's anger and dislike against himself: he continues in sober earnest; 'These events I confes doe strike me, and giue iuste cause to enter more narrowly into my selfe, to see whether I bee at peace with God or no.' (P. 1.) Presently the author says that he (that is, his party) is not dismayed at the mischance which had occurred: 'Good reader, I would not haue thee discouraged at this that is latlie fallen out.—As to the present action, let them be well assured it was not undertaken to be intermitted at everye blast of euill successe. Nay let them knowe that by the grace of God the last year of *Martinisme*, that is, of the discrying and displaying of L. Bb. shall not be, till full 2 years after the last year of *Lambethisme*.—Be it knowne vnto them that *Martinisme* stands vpon au (an) other maner of fundation, then ther prelacy doth or can stand. Therefore yf they will needs ouerthrowe me, let them goe in hand with the exdloyte, (*exploit*?) rather by proving the lawfullnes of their places: then by exercising the force of ther vnlawefull tyranny.' (Pp. 6 & 7.) *The Protestation* gives us an account, or pretended account, of what the '*Hay*



'any more worke' would have been. 'To tell thee true, good reader, I sigh to remember the losse of it, it was so prettie, and so witty.—First then, there was set downe, the true, proper, and naturall definition, or rather description of *Martinisme*, to this effect. That to be a right Martiniste indeede, is to bee neither Browniste, Cooperist, Lambethist, schismatike, papist, atheist, traytor, nor yet L. byshop; but one that is at defy-aunce with all men, so far forth as he is an enemy to God and her Maiestie. Whereupon I remember, I did then aske the reader, whether it were not good being a Martiniste.—Nexste to this followed a preamble to an Eblitaph vpon the death of olde Andrewe Turne-coate, to be sung antiphonically in his graces Chappell, on Wednesdayes and Frydayes, to the lamentable tune of Orawhynemeg.—The next prettie thing to this, was to my remembrance, Chaplain Some comforted with the balde sheath of his own dagger.—Then there was recorded a braue agreement which Martin of his curtesie is contented to make with the bishops, &c.' (Pp. 24—31.)

Old 'Andrewe Turne-coate,' above mentioned, is a title which the Puritans very irreverently, whatever his demerits might have been, gave to Dr. Perne.* He died in 1589, Dean of Ely and Head of Peterhouse, Cambridge. He had a sufficient command over himself, and his conscience, to go with the leading party, whatever it might be, through the troubled times of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth: no test was found stringent enough to drive him from his deanery or headship. We would not deny that if he had any principle at all, it was upon the side of the Reforming sect: this possibly induced Whitgift to support and patronise him in his later years, to which he was also in a measure bound in gratitude, for some kindnesses which Dr. Perne had shown him when a fellow of Peterhouse, in Queen Mary's days. His partiality, however, seems to have been extreme. If Dr. Perne had not a character to lose after 1570, Dr. Whitgift had; and men cannot touch pitch without some of it sticking to them. Martin Marprelate said that the Archbishop had been at Peterhouse 'the master's boy, and had carried his cloak-bag;' Bishop Cooper denies this in his *Admonition*, in a manner which shows at least that the Doctor's intimacy with the Archbishop was a matter of notoriety: and Strype calls him 'his dear friend.' But there is a curious jest, very much to the purpose, which Fuller has handed down to us. Queen Elizabeth (we know from her personal

* Jacke says, in the '*Dialogue of Tyrannical Dealing*,' 'What, Doctor Pearne? Why he is the notablist turnecoate in al this land. Why every boy hath him in his mouth, for it is made a prouerbe, both of olde and young, that if oue haue a coate or cloake that is turned, they saye it is Pearnd.'—*Sign. D. 2.*

histories) was accustomed to take a certain daily amount of exercise. Once, when it was raining hard, she was still determined upon going from home: at that time she was not in good health: and, after much advice offered, the Archbishop, who happened to be at hand, was called in to dissuade her majesty. He was not listened to; and, quite in accordance, as it seems, with the practice of the court at that time, the Queen's fool, *Clod*, was next appealed to. 'Heaven dissuades you, madam,' was his address, 'not only by its weeping aspect, but by the 'eloquence of the Archbishop: earth dissuades you by the 'tongue of your poor fool, Clod: and if neither heaven nor earth 'can succeed, at least listen to Dr. Perne, whose religious doubts 'suspend him between both.' Now, in all seriousness, we do not wonder that Dr. Perne (and many others) should have acted as he did; that he should have been a notorious time-server; a trimmer to every wind; and worse than this, (as he actually was,) eager to show his adhesion to the ruling party, whatever it might be, by persecuting the losing one. But we do wonder, unless we set it down as a sign and token by which we are to guide our judgment as to the rulers of that time, and the sincerity of the great movers in and leaders of the Reformation,—we do wonder, we say, that such men—for Dr. Perne, again, was but one of many, a specimen of a class—should have been sought out for preferment, and allowed to retain their dignities.

There can be no doubt that there were many among the courtiers of Queen Elizabeth, high in rank and powerful in influence, who, remembering the spoils divided some forty years before, hankered after the remnants of the possessions of the Church, and were looking out, eager to avail themselves of every internal commotion among her members and reported members, to obtain their end. This was asserted, even by the opponents of Martin Marprelate. In the dialogue between Pasquill and Marforius (*Return of Pasquil*, No. 16), we find, '*Marforius*. By your leave, Cavaliero, they say Martin hath 'great vpholders. *Pasquil*. It may be so, some that are as 'ready as himselfe, to rob the Church.' (*Sign. C. 4. Ret.*) Again, in the same book, speaking of the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, 'If a greedie desire of withholding that from 'the Church which themselves had giuen, was of force to open 'such a windowe to the deuill, that they were presently giuen 'ouer as a pray to the iawes of hell,—howe many foule sinnes, 'and howe many greeuous plagues are to be feared in this lande, 'which alreadie hang at the ende of the lyne of *Martinisme*, 'and would speedilie be puld vpon our heads, if we should but 'beginne to take that from the Church which we neuer gave.'—*Sign. D. 1.* We fully believe, that with so near a precedent

before them, one almost of their own experience, it was by the most merciful interposition only of the divine Providence that the destroying hands were stayed. The same arguments which led men on blindfold, as it were, to overthrow the abbeys of England, and could make their consciences so blunt as to care nothing for the sacrilege which they were committing, or, which was more dreadful, could teach men to talk about their sin as done for conscience' sake,—these same arguments, we say, would apply, broadly stated, to the cathedral endowments and parochial revenues of the Church reformed. But self-seekers, (to use their own term,) as the Puritans unquestionably were, selfish as were the ends to gain which there were few means which they hesitated to employ, this end, at any rate, was not openly proposed, nay, very openly started from with horror, that the courtiers of Queen Elizabeth should divide the spoils. Far from it: they were avowedly destined to another purpose. Let us, upon this, listen to Martin's indignant protest: 'I may safelye saye, it is so far from me to bringe the Churche liuinges into the hands of any but the ministers, and officers thereof;' these ministers to be the elders of the Genevan discipline, Cartwright, Udall, Travers, and the rest; 'that I can no more abide church-robberie in a temporall man, then I can brooke sacriledge in a presumptuous priest: as I hate the one, so I abhorre the other. But as concerning the laying open of their bishopprickes to the spoyle of such cormorants as gape for their downfals, thereby only to enrich themselues, I greatly muze, that our prelates wil be so ouersene as to charge me therewith.'—*Protestacyon*, p. 18. Really, all this looks so honest, that if it stood alone, we might give the Puritan credit, more particularly in such a case, for once speaking the truth; but, alas! Pasquil of England has been before us, and hinders our praise. He mildly admonishes Martin Marprelate upon this very point: 'May it please your Masterdom to vnderstand, that by the last Butterflie you sent abroad, you tel me a tale of a dry Sommer, and protest that you seek not to stanch the hote thyrst of any couetous courtier, with the bishopprickes of the land, but to share them amongst the Ministerie. Fie, fie, do you not know that a lyer must haue no shetle memory? If you looke eyther to your former workes, where you urge the spoyle of the Church for the maintenaunce of wars, or to your son Martin Senior, a man that hath slept in his father's bosome, and knowes your mind, in exhorting his yonger brother to resigne the care of Church reuenewes to the Court, you shal find your selfe taken with an overture.'—*The Return of Pasquil*, sign. D. 4. The author also of '*An Almond for a Parrat*' speaks out plainly, not fearing the Court, upon the ill-concealed rapacity of some of the

then advisers of the Crown, and their friends the Puritans. He says of Martin Marprelate, 'One thing I am persuaded, that he
'neither respects the propagation of the Gospel, nor the prosperity of the Church, but only the benefite that may fall to
'him and his boulderers by the distribution of bishopprickes.
'Beshrewe mee but those Church-liuings would come well to
'decayed courtiers. O howe merrilye the dyce would runne, if
'our lustye laddes might goe to hazard for half-a-dozen of these
'dioceses. Not a page but woulde haue a flinge at some or
'other impropriation or parsonage: and in conclusion, those
'liuings which now maintaine so many scollers and students,
'would in two or three yeares be all spent in a taverne amongst
'a consort of queanes and fidlers, that might carouse on their
'wine-bench to the confusion of religion.'—*Sign. E. 4. Rev.*

The term 'Protestation' in the title of this tract would rather seem to imply 'Proclamation,' or 'Publishing.' It is this, pp. 10 and 11, printed in a larger type: 'I doe therefore, by
'this my protestation, make it knowne to the whole church of
'England—that I who do now go vnder the name of Martin
'Marprelate, do offer personally to apear, and there to make
'my selfe knownen in open disputation, vpon the danger not
'onlie of my libertie, but also of my life, to maintaine against
'all our bishops, or any els whosoever, that shal dare in any
'scholastical manner, to take their parts: the cause of the church
'government, which is now in controversie betwixt me and our
'prelats: so that I may have this condition following inviolablie
'kept and obserued, viz. That for apearng, I be not delt with,
'except thei overthrow me by the worde of God.—But if in this
'encounter I overthrowe them (as I make no question of it, if
'they dare abide the pushe) then they to trusse vp and be packing to Rome, and to trouble our church no longer. Provided
'also, that if any of the Puritans wil ioyn with me, and venture
'their liues in the cause, it maye be lawfull for them to come
'in freely against these dragons in disputation.' This *Protestation* was new only in its name: merely harping upon an old string. Martin has just before said, in this same book, speaking of the Bishops, 'They are the children of those fathers, who
'neuer as yet durst abide to haue their proceedings examined
'by the word, and me thinks they should be ashamed to haue it
'recorded vnto ages to come, that they haue euer shunned to
'maintaine theyre cause, eithere by open disputation, or by any
'other sounde conference or writing.'—P. 8. There are allusions to it in the '*Appellation of John Penri*,' and in the earlier tracts, the *Epistle* and the *Epitome*. In the first we find, 'Nowe
'may it please your grace (addressing Whitgift) with the rest of
'your worships, to procure that the Puritans may one day haue

‘a free disputation with you about the controuersies of the Church, and if you be not set at a flat *non plus*, and quite ouerthrowen, ile be a Lord B. my selfe.’—P. 3. In the other, ‘Haue but a free disputation with the Puritans, about the vnlawfulnes of your place, and if you be not ouerthrowene I wil come in, and do vnto you what you thinke good: for then I will say that you are no Popes.’—P. 3. And in the next tract, which we are about to give some account of, the same demand is boastfully repeated, and the denial of it, or not having been taken notice of, set down as an acknowledgment of *right* being on the side of the Puritans. This tract is the ‘*Dialogue of the Tyrannical Dealing, &c.*’ (No. 6), and the speakers are ‘Puritane, Papist, Jacke of both sides, and Idoll Minister.’ The opening is good, in the Izaak Walton style. ‘*Puritane*. You are well ouertaken, sir; doe you travel far this way, I pray you? *Jacke*. Towards London, sir. *Puritane*. I shall willingly beare you companie, if it please you. *Jacke*. With all my heart; I shall be very glad of yours.’—P. 1. Jacke, it appears, had just come from France, from Orleans, the Puritan also from Rochelle; this leads to a discussion upon the points in controversy, sufficiently well managed. But, being upon the point, let us hear what they say about a disputation. We must premise that they have been joined ere this by the *idoll minister*, who is supposed to represent the Church party, or Conformists of the day. Neither Jacke nor Puritane hit it off with him at first. ‘*Jacke*. Why, vicker of the diuell” (we suppose the vicker was a meek man) ‘why, vicker of the diuell, let the whole conuocation house of diuels know of it and you wil, for they dare not, noe not *Beelzebub* of Canterburie the cheefe of the diuels, come to disputation, therby to approoue their Callings to be lawefull, and other points in controuersie against the discipline of God, as they haue bin often challenged, and offered by the Puritans, euen to aduenture their liues against their bishopricks, and yet they durst not. And I pray you tell me, if they were not Bishops of the diuel indeed, woulde they refuse this offer? *Minister*. Why, the Puritans have bene often disputed with. *Puritane*. Where? In the Bishops closet? For they are ashamed to haue it tried before any magistrate. Let them, if they dare, procure a free disputation, wherby every man may freely speake, and be indifferently heard, and if the Bishops and al their partakers be not ouerthrowne, I will loose my life for it.’—*Sign. C. 4.*

We do not think that any of the Marprelate Tracts exceed the *Dialogue* in violence and bitterness of language. The check which had been given was not likely to mitigate either the one or the other. In the extract just above ‘Bishops of the diuell,’

is a specimen which might be easily accompanied, if we thought it necessary, by others of a like sort. The volume, however, is chiefly of importance as a proof of what the Puritans really thought of Archbishop Whitgift. There have been, according to various writers' views, various opinions given upon this: some say, that although harsh and severe in a few instances, he nevertheless had won the general good-will of many among the Non-conforming and Puritan party: some go so far as to assert, that he did not press the penalties upon them of his own accord, so much as in compliance with the will of another more powerful than himself, (though the Archbishop stood very near the throne,) and more determined in Church views and principles. But, says Martin, and we look upon his hatred as clearing a doubtful point in the Archbishop's character, 'Is not this a diuvelishe pollicie of the Bishop of Canterbury, to place such heads in the vniuersitie: that none shal proceed, or be preferred, but such as wil subscribe.*—Of all the Bishops that ever were in that place, 'I meane in the see of Canterbury, did neuer so much hurt vnto the church of God, as he hath done since his comming. 'No Bishoppe that ever had suche an aspiring and ambitious 'a mind as he, no not *Cardinal Wolsey*: none so proud as he, 'no not *Steuens Gardiner* of *Winchester*: none so tirannical as 'he, noe not *Bonner*.'—*Sign. D. 4.* Martin is very particular in stating the place he means; but still it may be thought hypercritical, if we venture to observe, that not one of his three examples was an Archbishop of Canterbury. Nevertheless, it stands the same for his and our own purpose.

It is quite towards the end of the dialogue that *the Papist* joins the others with, 'You are well overtaken, my masters. 'Which way trauel you, I pray? *Jacke*. Towards London, sir. 'Papist. What good newes is there abroad, doe you heare any? 'Puritane. I knowe none good, for the land is sore troubled with 'these trecherous Papists; and our Church pestered,' &c.; and so he goes on, quite in the old fashion, with Bishops of the devil, and popish priests, and dumb dogs. Most certainly, if we take their own evidence, the Puritans must have had not only a monopoly of impudence, but a miraculous means of knowing whom they might insult upon the Queen's highway with impunity. The Papist does not, in return, say much; and we should scarcely have thought it necessary to have noticed him, were it not for a somewhat (to say the least) witty application of his having joined the travelling party; for the Dialogue ends with an arrangement between him and Jacke of both sides, and the

* Curious, this: with a little change of persons, plans, and purposes, some late proposals in 'the vniuersitie' seem to be a burlesque of it.

idoll minister, to lay an information against the Puritan as soon as they should reach London. *Papist.* I can hardly beleieve 'that you heard masse at Orleans?' *Jacke.* If I had not bin 'present at the masse, I should have bene taken for a Hugonot, 'and so I shoulde hardly escaped with my life. *Papist.* I am 'the gladder of your company. *Jacke.* And I of yours, for I 'perceue you are a Catholike. *Papist.* Yea, indeed, and I will 'not deny it: looke, I thinke the Puritane and the Vicker will 'goe by the eares. *Jacke.* He shall doe the Vicker no wrong 'for al my speeches to him: and he will be ruled by me, wee 'will haue him before my lords grace, for we will giue him the 'slip, when we come in the citie, and one of vs will fetch a pur-'suant, and the other twoe shal dog him. *Papist.* Content, 'sir, if you please, let it be so.—*Sign. D. 4. Rev.* We have said that here ends the dialogue: this is a mistake, for the Puritan, as might be expected, strikes in, has the last word, and sums up the whole with two texts about 'blind watchmen,' 'dumb dogs,' and 'idoll shepheardes,' and thunders that he will justify all that he hath spoken.

We must be more brief now in noticing the other two Marprelate tracts, which we proposed to give account of. The first of these is the '*Theses Martinianæ.*' (No. 9.) The fact, that Penry and some others had been imprisoned, and their press taken, suggested the not very witty idea of Martin's sons succeeding to their father's place, and carrying out his interrupted design: neither, whoever he might have been, does the author of this book retrieve his character, in respect of wit, by what he has written. A set of 110 Theses, pretended to have been collected out of his works by old Martin Marprelate, and now published by his son, *Martin junior*, would but drily answer the expectations of his old admirers. We must acknowledge, however, that there is the usual seasoning of virulence and blasphemy. As, for example, the 34th Thesis, 'That the warrant 'that the Archbishops and Bishops haue for their places, can be 'no better than the warrant which the open and most monstrous 'whoredom in the stewes had in times past amongst vs. For 'by the worde they are condemned, &c. And as for the laws 'that maintain them, being the wound and sore of the church, 'they are no more to be accounted of then the lawes maintein-'ing the stewes.' 'That by the doctrine of the Church of 'England our lord bishops are none of Christ's bishops, but the 'ministers of Antichrist.' *Thesis* 60. Many Theses begin, 'That by the doctrine of the Church of England,' and that it is *her doctrine* is proved previously by citing Tyndal, and others, and especially Master Foxe, as being authorized expounders and doctors of the Church. Once more, the 72d, 'That by the doc-

'trine of the Church of Englande, all ministers be of equal 'authoritie;' the 78th and 79th, 'That our prelates haue no 'authoritie to make ministers; and to haue a bishops licence to 'preach is the very marke of the beast Antichrist.' Martin, junior, adds an '*Epilogue*,' of some five or six pages, headed by an address or dedication, 'To the worshipfull his very good 'neame, Maister Iohn Canturburie.' This gives an account of the *Theses* having been picked up 'under a bush;' and a hope that old Martin Marprelate, who is supposed to be in jail, would not be offended at their having been published. All this seems exceedingly dull and stupid. Neither does the book show any novelty of daring (as our readers are already aware) in demanding a public disputation, (*sign. D. iij.*) or of wit, in using the queer words which had already been repeated over and over again, such as 'Ka,' 'nunckle,' 'Cankerbury,' 'Catercaps,' and the like.

But, we confess it to our astonishment, within a short time, from one of his own party, comes out '*The just Censure 'and Reproof, &c.*' (No. 10.) This is the last tract, evidently upon the Puritan side, which we have to notice; and we feel a sort of satisfaction that the ancient violence of Penry and Cartwright, and the rest, are fully displayed even to the last. There are no signs of weariness and flagging in them. Their old supporters might probably be getting tired; the fallacy of their arguments might, in many instances, have been exposed; their exaggerations been explained away; their lies contradicted; and, more than all, answerers in their own style have taken the field against them, but they are determined to die hard. If profaneness and malice were destined for a season to be checked, though not destroyed, it was even then to be only after a desperate struggle. But why this apparent disagreement among themselves? Why this censure of one of Martin's sons by an elder brother? Because it is pretended, if no more pamphlets had been published after the imprisonment of the printers, and Penry's seizure, that the High Commissioners would probably have looked upon Martin's productions as mere jokes, and said, 'I faith, lette him go, Martin is a madde knaue.' *Sign. A. ij. Rev.* But now their pursuivants will be sent out, and a sharp search made, and 'Marke whether these poore men 'beforenamed, to wit, Penry, Sharpe, Walde-graue, New-man, &c., with many other good men, who, I dare sweare for 'them, did neuer medle nor make at anie time with the metro-'politically writings of our renowned father, shall not be now as 'hotlic pursued after as euer they were. And al this comes of 'thy foolish and paltrie meddling in matters too high for thy 'capacitie. And thus other men are like to smart by thy

‘follie.’—*Sign. B. ij.* In this ‘*Reprooffe*,’ the Puritan speaks out again about ‘the men of sinne, I meane the Canturburie ‘Caiphās, with the rest of his anti-Christian beasts, who beare ‘his abominable marke,’ (*Sign. A. ij.*); and makes his usual ten or eleven protests against the Ecclesiastical government of the Church of England. We quote the first of these. ‘First, ‘I protest and affirme, that the foresaide Iohn Whitgift, *alias* ‘Canturburie, which nameth himselfe archbishop of Canturburie, is no minister at all in the church of God, but hath, ‘and doeth wrongfully usurp, and inuade the name and seate of ‘the ministerie, vnto the great detriment of the Church of God, ‘the vtter spoyle of the soules of men, and the likelie ruine of ‘this commonwealth. And in this case do I affirme al the lord ‘bishops in England to be.’—*Sign. B. iv.*

It is well known that Archbishop Whitgift maintained always a household and retinue suited to his high dignity. If we remember rightly, it was of him that an Italian spoke, when he afterwards told some Englishman that ‘the English nation had ‘been much misrepresented abroad: that instead of there being ‘no Archbishop, or cathedral, or ecclesiastical services, he never ‘remembered to have seen greater pomp displayed, or more ‘outward ceremonial.’ We should be glad to be able to appropriate this praise more fully than we feel we can do.

The fact, however, remains undisputed, that Archbishop Whitgift properly kept up great personal state. Sir Geo. Paull says, ‘He kept a good armory, and a fair stable of great horses: ‘inasmuch as he was able to arm at all points both horse and ‘foot; and divers times had one hundred foot and fifty horse of ‘his own servants mustered and trained, for which purpose he ‘entertained captains.’ Martin Marprelate was not a likely man to overlook this: we have one sharp example of his keen sight in the ‘*Just Censure and Reproof*.’ ‘Doeest thou not see ‘thy vnclē Canturburie abroad in his visitation? Doeest thou ‘not see with how manie men Esau rides, that if hee meete with ‘his poore brother Jacob he maie be sure to sucke his blood? ‘Is seuen score horse nothing, thinkest thou, to bee in the ‘traine of an English priest? Whereof also there are thirtie ‘golden chaines! Doeest thou thinke that the kingdome of ‘Christ, which thy father seeketh to builde, shall be able to ‘stand, seeing John Canturburie, with so manie men, rideth ‘about the countrie, to proclame nothing else but fire and ‘sworde vnto as manie as professe themselues to be the true ‘subjects thereof.’—*Sign. B. 1.*

The Puritans were never behindhand in claiming for themselves the distinction of being *the* true Church: as here, in his last effort, Martin declares himself and company to be the only

'true subjects of Christ's kingdome;' so in his first tract also he had said, 'all the pastors in the land, that deserue the name of 'pastors, are against their wil vnder the bishops iurisdiction.'—*Epistle*, p. 6. Hooker has set down amongst the causes advancing the popularity of Puritanism this one; that it is 'instilled into their hearts, that the Spirit, leading men into 'their opinion, doth thereby seal them to be God's children; 'and that, as the state of the times now standeth, the most 'special token to know them that are God's own from others is 'an earnest affection that way. This hath bred high terms of 'separation between such and the rest; whereby the one sort 'are named the brethren, the godly, and so forth; the other, 'worldlings, time-servers, pleasers of men not of God, with 'like.' And Bishop Cooper, speaking of the *Recusants*, 'Some haue affirmed flatly vnto me, that in seeking to presse 'them to come to our church and seruice, we doe against our 'owne consciences, seeing our most zealous preachers (as they 'be taken) openly speake and write, that as well our service, as 'the administration of the sacraments, are contrary to the word 'of God.'—*Admonition*, p. 128.

But we must turn, at last, to those productions which were to be effective, when other means had failed, to check for a time this outbreak against the Church. We have given but a slight sketch, and but few extracts from the writings of Martin Marprelate; and we shall be compelled also, by want of space, to be even less copious in our selection now. It will be sufficient for our purpose if we mention each in order, upon our former plan, and give our readers a just notion of the spirit in which they were designed to carry out their purpose.

It is not to be wondered at that Neal, and others after him of the same sort, should attempt to class both the answerers and the answered as equally obnoxious to the government, and equally included under the same prohibitory proclamations. As they knew that the original pamphlets were of very rare occurrence, that few could obtain them, and that the majority of people were quite content to take statements for granted, it did not seem likely to injure their reputation as historians (such as it was) so to speak of them, and echo from one to the other a false account. But it is quite certain that Nash and others, whoever they might have been, who were the authors of these replies, were looked upon in a very different light by the government of the day. It is not necessary to defend upon every point the style of answer adopted; the *argumentum ad hominem*, the *tu quoque* way of reasoning, is one of the least satisfactory at all times: but here was an especial case; one out of the common pale of things; extravagant in its attack, it was to be met

by an extravagant defence; fools were to be answered according to their folly. It is certain, also, that this mode of defence was not adopted without consideration, and until other means had been tried and failed. There are evidences ample to prove this: one is sufficiently strong for us, coming from so high a quarter, and spoken of so important a person: when Dr. Bancroft was made Bishop of London, the Archbishop, in consequence of some ill-reports spread abroad about him, wrote a commendatory letter to the Court in his behalf. Among other things, 'That he was, by his diligent search, the first detector of Martin Marprelate's press and books: where and by whom they were printed. He was a special man, that gave the instructions to her Majesty's learned council, when Martin's agents were brought into the Star Chamber. *By his advice that course was taken, which did principally stop Martin's and his fellows' mouths; viz. to have them answered after their own vain writings.*'—*Strype. Life of Whitgift*, cap. xxij. p. 516.

It is not easy to say which of these answers was first published; neither is it possible to assign a name to each as its author. It must be evident to any one who reads the books, that they were written by several men. Yet Thomas Nash, who had formerly been of St. John's College, Cambridge, is usually spoken of as the sole author: generally in Catalogues (even of our public libraries) we find all entered under his name, which not only confirms error, but misleads. Anthony à Wood attributes to him particularly '*Pappe with a Hatchet*;' but Dr. Bliss has added, in a note to his edition of Wood, 'It may be doubted, however, whether Nash wrote this; for Oldys, in his MS. notes to Langbaine's "*Dramatic Poets*," in the British Museum, expressly says that John Lilly was the author.' So imperfect is our knowledge of the whole affair. It is not either impossible or improbable but that Bancroft himself had something more to do with the composing them than merely recommending. His avowed book, the '*Dangerous Positions and Proceedings*, 1593,' is little less severe, somewhat in the same style, and shows an intimate acquaintance with the most foul and disgraceful pamphlets of the Puritans.

We see every reason to suppose that '*Pappe with a Hatchet*,' (No. 11,) and the '*Countercuffe*,' (No. 14,) were the first published, and must have made their appearance shortly after the '*Theses Martinianæ*,' and the '*Just Censure and Reproofe*.' 'Take this,' the author of the first says, 'for the first venew of a yonger brother, that meanes to drie beate those of the elder house.'—*Sign. E. 3. Rev.* The dedication is, 'To the Father and the two Sonnes, Huffle, Ruffe, and Snuffe, the three tame ruffians of the Church, which take pepper in the nose, because

‘they cannot marre Prelates grating.’ As a specimen of the style and manner of arguing now about to be tried against Martin Marprelate, we give the beginning, and part of this dedication.

‘Roome for a royster; so that’s well sayd, itch a little further for a good fellowe. Now haue at you all my gaffers of the rayling religion, tis I that must take you a peg lower. I am sure you looke for more worke, you shall haue wood enough to cleaue, make your tongue the wedge, and your head the beetle, Ile make such a splinter runne into your wits, as shal make them ranckle till you become fooles. Nay, if you shoot bookes like fooles bolts, Ile be so bold as to make your iudgments quiuer with my thunderbolts.—We care not for a Scottish mist, though it wet us to the skin. I professe rayling, and think it as good a cudgell for a Martin, as a stone for a dogge, or a whippe for an ape, or poyson for a rat. Yet find fault with no broad termes, for I haue measured yours with mine, and I find yours broader iust by the list.—I was loath to write as I haue done, but that I learnde, that he that drinckes with cutters, must not be without his ale dagger; nor he that buckles with Martin, without his lauish termes.—If a Martin can play at chestes, he shall knowe what it is for a scaddle pawne to crosse a Bishop in his owne walke. Such dydoppers must be taken up, els theile not stick to check the king. Rip vp my life, discipher my name, fill thy answer as full of lies as of lines, swel like a toade, hisse like an adder, bite like a dog, and chatter like a monkey, my pen is prepared and my minde; and if yee chaunce to finde any worse words than you brought, let them be put in your dads dictionarie. And so farewell, and be hangd, and I pray God ye fare no worse.

‘Yours at an houres warning,

‘Double V.’

Immediately after this Dedication follows a more sober admonition to ‘the indifferent Reader,’ in which the author says, ‘it is found that certaine Martins, if no miscreants in religion, (which wee may suspect,) yet without doubt malecontents, (which wee ought to feare,) haue throwen fire, not into the church porch, but into the chauncell, and though not able by learning and iudgment to displace a sexton, yet seeke to remooue Bishops.’ And he again excuses the style which he has been obliged to adopt: ‘If they be answered by the grauitie of learned Prelates, they presentlie reply with railings; seeing then either they expect no graue replie, or that they are settled with railing to replie, I thought it more convenient to give them a whiske with their owne wande, than to haue them spurd with deeper learning. I seldom vse to write, and yet never writ anie thing that in speech might seeme vndecent, or

‘in sense vn honest; if here I haue vsed bad tearmes, it is
‘because they are not to be answered with good tearmes.’

The passage above, ‘such dydoppers must be taken up, else
‘theile not stick to check the king,’ reminds us of the often
quoted untrue aphorism of King James, ‘No bishop, no king.’
The replies to Martin Marprelate press this point however:
years before the conference at Hampton Court, a generation or
two before their plans had matured, the necessary consequences
to which, as the constitution of England is framed, the Puritan
objections and attempts tended, were clearly foreseen. In this
book we find again, ‘There was one indited at a Jaile deliverie
‘of felonie, for taking vp an halter by the high way. The Jurie
‘gaue verdit and said guiltie. The Judge, an honest man, said
‘it was hard to find one guiltie for taking vp a penie halter, and
‘bad them consider, what it was to cast awaie a man. Quoth
‘the foreman, we haue enquired thoroughly, and found there was
‘a horse tied to the halter. I marie (quoth the Judge) then let
‘him be tied to the halter and the horse goe home. *Martin* saies,
‘he is envied onelic, because he leuelleth at Bishops! and we
‘say as the Judge saith, that if there were there nothing else,
‘it were hard to persecute them to death; but when we finde
‘that to the rule of the Church, the whole state of the Realme
‘is linckt and that they filching away Bishop by Bishop, seeke
‘to fish for the Crown, and glew to their newe Church theire
‘owne conclusions, we must then say, let Bishops stand, and
‘they hang; that is, goe home.’—*Pappe &c. sign. C. 3. Rev.*
Again, soon after: ‘They that teare the boughs, will hew at the
‘tree, and hauing once wet their feete in factions, will not care
‘how deepe they wade in treason.’ *Sign. E. 2.* We could
multiply these passages: for example, in the *Almond for a Par-
ratt*, p. 5: ‘Were this all, then shoulde not treason be such a
‘braunche of your religion as it is. Haue not you and your
‘followers vndermined her Graces Throane, as much as traytours
‘might.’ And, indeed, there had been open threats used by the
Puritans which were quite sufficient to set men on their guard,
and excuse the severity with which some of the leaders were
treated by the Council. They had declared in their ‘*Subscription
to the book of Discipline*,’ that it should prevail, in spite of all op-
position: and they hint at other methods to advance it, besides
an appeal to the Queen’s Majesty and the Parliament. In the
‘*Motion to the Council with Submission*’ they had said that thousands
sigh for it, and ten thousands have fought for it, and approved.
Thomas Cartwright in his ‘*Reply to Whitgift*’ says that some of
these matters are such, as if every hair of our head were a life, we
ought to afford them, in defence of them. Martin himself, in his
Epitome, had wished that the Parliament would bring it in (*i.e.*

the godly discipline) though it were by withstanding her Majesty. And once more in the *Just Censure*, he boasts of 'a hundred thousand hands, to offer a supplication, which in policy would not be rejected; especially standing thus in danger of our enemies abroad.'

We have mentioned already that not only are the Marprelate tracts full of scandalous stories of the Bishops and Clergy, but also that Martin had promised to put spies in every parish, for the purpose of collecting slanders, and that a volume was nearly finished already, and about to be published. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that the replies abundantly retort with stories, one or two equally indecent, of the leading Nonconformists, and itinerant preachers, and notable men among the godly. But it was not an unwise thought also to threaten such a volume from themselves. Pasquill says, that 'hee came latelie ouer-sea into *Kent*, from thence he cut ouer into *Essex* at *Gravesend*, and hearing some tidings of *Hartfordshire*, hee made as much haste as he coulde to *S. Albanes*, where he staide one whole Sabaoth at the *Christopher*, and hauing there pestered a newe paire of writing-tables with profitable notes for that quarter, hee sette forward the Munday following to *North-hampton-shire*, smiling and glauncing as hee turned his horse about to bidde the congregation of *Saint Michaels* adieu.* To be breefe with your worshipfultie Pasquill hath posted very dilligentlie ouer all the Realme, to gather some fruitfull volum of THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS, which maugre your five hundred fauorites shall be printed. There shall you read, &c. &c.' (with half a dozen specimens which we willingly omit.) *Countercuffe. Sign. A. ij. Rev.* And the author of '*Pappe with a Hatchet*' threatens; 'Pasquill is comming out with the liues of the Saints. Beware my comment, tis odds the margent shall be as full as the text. I haue manie sequences of Saints; if naming be the advantage, and ripping up of lives make sport, haue with thee knuckle deepe, it shall neuer bee said, that I dare not venter mine eares, where Martin hazards his necke.'—*Sign. E. 3.*

The passage in the title of the *Countercuffe*, 'Not of olde Martin's making, which newlie knighted the Saints in Heauen, with rise vppe Sir Peter and Sir Paule,' refers to some places in the *Epistle* and the *Epitome* in which the Puritan, not content with speaking evil of earthly dignities, had denied also their proper titles to the Holy Saints, and made a mock at them. *Sir Peter, Sir Marie*, &c., instead of Saint Peter and Saint Mary the Blessed Virgin, occur again and again. We leave Bishop Cooper to express, as he has well done, the indignation, which every

* These were places well known as strongholds of the Puritans.

good man must feel at this blasphemy. 'I must needs,' he says, 'looke for any hurt, that venomous scoffing, and unbridled 'tongues can worke toward me. And how shoulde I hope to 'escape that, when the Saints of God in Heaven do feel it? In 'the course of their whole libell, when they speake of *Peter, Paul,* 'or the *Blessed Virgin Mary*, &c., whome other justlie call 'Saintes, their phrase in derision is, *Sir Peter, Sir Paul, Sir 'Marie*. Surely it had becommed right well the same unmodest 'Spirite, to have said also *Sir Christ*, and so thoroughly to have 'bewrayed himself.'—*Admonition, sign. A. ij.*

The Returne of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquill of England (No. 16) is a dialogue between himself and Marforius, as the title of the tract tells us, meeting upon the 'Royall Exchange.' This seems, independent of some internal evidence to have been by the same hand as was the *Countercuffe*. Pasquil inquires, 'But 'of fellowship tell me, how hath my *Countercuffe* been intreated?' and Marforius answers both to his satisfaction, and we must confess to our own, 'It was verie welcome to the court, thankfully 'received in both Vniversities, the citties of the land doe giue 'you good speeches; as for the countrey, after the plainest manner, with hart and good will they are ready to greete you with 'a cake and a cup of ale in euery parish. This onely is the thing 'that greiveth, they know not what *Pasquill* is. They desire in 'all places of the Realme to be acquainted with you, because 'they would bring you intelligence, thicke and threefold, to 'further your volume of the liues of the Saints.'—*Sign. A. ij.* This 'Golden Legende,' as it is called in the title, if the Puritans had gone on with their threatened publications, would probably have proved, and without the expense of much labour in the collection, a bulky volume. There was an abundance of stories afloat (of which we have in these answers a random selection) about the doings of that 'godly' set, and if Martin upon his side did not stop to investigate the evidence upon which they were told, it was not to be expected that those whom he had so wantonly attacked would be more strict in their inquiries. But happily we have been spared this infliction: for our antiquarian curiosity does not reach so far as to regret the loss of those anecdotes and secret history of Puritan misdeeds: no length of time could have sweetened such a dunghill:—and more than this, the good old 'Golden Legende' itself, the favourite book and guide of our forefathers holding up examples which men ought to follow, retains its holy associations, unmixed even in a passing thought with anything so wretched, as this travesty must inevitably have proved.

Every one has heard of the 'Propheesyings' which were set on foot, and patronized by some of the Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's

reign, until their ill-consequences were discovered; in this dialogue Pasquil gives an account of one, at which he says he was present, at Ashford in Kent. We extract this as curious, from a contemporary, and probably not exaggerated. 'I went thither,' he says, 'with a student of Cambridge, and comming in the habite of schollers, we pressed somewhat boldly into their companie to dine with them, assuring ourselues to finde some new service at theyr table. When the dinner was doone, one of them read a chapter, every man keeping his place still.— The chapter was, the 1 Cor. 3; which being read, the reader began first to vtter his conceit upon the text, in short notes, then it came to his next neighbours course, and so in order, glosses went a begging, and expositions ranne a pace through the table, till they came to me, whom they desired to open my mouth among the rest. I vtterly refused to vndertake the taske, notwithstanding, I was so wonderfully vrged, that I coulde not any way shift them off, and somewhat I spake among them. When I came to the ende of my carriere, my companion was requested to pricke in for company with his freendes. I needed no minstrill to make me merrie, my hart tickled of it selfe, when it came to his turn, because I knew him to be a gentleman well studied in Philosophie, but he had not yet medled with Diuinitie. He chose the thirteenth verse of the chapter to discourse vpon, where the Apostle saith, Euery mans worke shall be tryed by fire. But to see how brauely hee trotted ouer all the meteors bredde in the highest region of the ayre, to see how louingly hee made the sence of the Apostle, and *Ouid's* fiction of *Phaeton's* firing of the world to kisse before they parted, and then how souldier-like hee made an ende of his manage with a double rest, was sport enough for vs to beguile the way, as we travailed backe againe from thence to Canterburie. I have brought many a proper note out of that meeting, for euery mans spirit at the table, had two bowts with the Apostle before hee left him, and one whilst another spake, had a breathing time giuen him to whisper with the Holy Ghost, to know what should be put into his head to vtter, against it came about to his course againe.'—*Return of Pasquil, sign. C. ij.*

We have the more readily selected this description of one of the famous 'Exercises,' as they were also called, because it does not appear that while the author was present there was any attempt at those treasonable and forbidden discussions in which the members very frequently engaged, and managed, by some twist or other, to drive their subject into. Here we have a plain account of what the Exercise was, as recommended by Parkhurst or Grindal; and we do not think that it differed

much from some meetings in modern days, (under other names,) at which we have been present ourselves—dull, stale, and unprofitable—an opening for the display of the commonest information, and for the indulgence of an aptitude to talk; an opportunity which, if the members are agreed upon the point before them, is worse than useless; if they are divided, is almost certain to lead to personal recrimination and to quarrels; a disputation without a moderator, whose authority is recognised for an instant, when interference becomes really necessary, and where the vain and the pretending claim an unjust superiority, which the less assuming, though they refuse to own it, cannot resist.

We make one extract more from this tract, viz. ‘Pasquils Protestation vpon London Stone.’ We have had Martin’s; let us now hear his adversary’s. ‘I, Cavaliero Pasquill, the ‘writer of this simple hand, a young man of the age of some few ‘hundred yeeres, lately knighted in Englande, with a beetle and ‘a bucking tub, to beat a little reason about Martin’s head, doe ‘make my protestation vnto the world, that if any man, woman, ‘or childe, haue anything to say against Martin the great, or ‘any of his abettors, of what state or calling soever they be, ‘noble or ignoble, from the very court gates to the cobbler’s ‘stall,’—Pasquill flies high, but his quarry was in sight:—‘If it ‘please them these dark winter nights, to stickie up their papers ‘upon London stone, I will there giue my attendance to receiue ‘them, from the day of the date heereof, to the full terme and ‘reuolution of seuen yeeres next ensuing. Dated 20 Octobris. ‘Anno Millimo, Quillimo, Trillimo, per me venturous Pasquill ‘the Cavaliero.’—*Sign. D. iij. Rev.* Pasquill had just come ‘from the other side the seas,’ and had been, we have no doubt, at Venice, and admired the usefulness of the lion’s mouth.

‘*An Almond for a Parrat*’ (No. 13) would seem to have been published next. The author alludes to ‘*The Return*’ and to ‘*Pap with a Hatchet*.’ Speaking of Martin Marprelate, he says, ‘His ‘crazed cause goes on crutches, that was earst so bravely en- ‘countered by Pasquin and Marphoreus, and not many moneths ‘since most wittily scofte at by the extemporall author of *Pap ‘with a Hatchet*.’—*Sign. B. 3.* The style is different from the last-named of these tracts; and from other evidence, we think it highly improbable that both, as has commonly been supposed, are from the same pen. The extravagant wit of the ‘*Pap with a Hatchet*,’ and manner of expression, are imitated, in one or two places, with the plain intention of being so understood. But there is a general soberness of argument in this pamphlet, which is not to be found in the other, and an earnestness of reasoning in many parts, showing the natural style of the writer of it, if

he had not been desirous of concealing himself. We would quote, particularly, one passage in illustration of this: 'By this time, I thinke, good-man Puritan, that thou art perswaded that I knowe as well as thy owne conscience thee, namely, *Martin Makebate of Englande*, to bee a moste scurvie and beggerlie benefactor to obedience, and, *per consequens*, to feare neyther men, nor that God who can cast both bodie and soule into unquenchable fire.—Talke as long as you will of the ioyes of heauen, or paines of hell, and turne from your selues the terroure of that iudgement howe you will, which shall bereaue blushing iniquitie of the figge leaues of hypocrisie, yet will the eie of immortalitie discerne of your painted pollutions, as the euer-living foode of perdition. The humours of my eies are the habitations of fountaines, and the circumference of my heart the enclosure of tearefull contrition, when I thinke howe many soules at that moment shall carrie the name of *Martine* on their foreheads to the vale of confusion. There will enuie, malice, and dissimulation bee euer calling for vengeance agaynst thee, and incite whole legions of deuilles to thy deathless lamentation. *Mercie* will saie unto thee, I knowe thee not, and *Repentaunce*, what haue I to doe with thee? All hopes shall shake the head at thee, and saie, there goes the poyson of puritie, the perfection of impietie, the serpentine seducer of simplicitie. Zeale herselfe will crie out upon thee, and curse the time that euer shee was maskte by thy mallice, who, lyke a blinde leader of the blinde, sufferedst her to stumble in the dimness of her sight, to murder her mother the Church.'—*Sign. C. 2.*

We shall refer to this tract presently upon another point, and would at once pass on to the next, if we could resist quoting an anecdote which the writer gives us of the state of learning among the Puritans: 'A doctor, standing in election for a living that was then in her Maiestie's bestowing, came to be examined by men of grauitie in the circumstance of his sufficiency, who descending eft soones into his unschooled simplicitie, gave him this little English to be made in Latin. There be three Creedes, the Nycene Creede, Athanasius Creede, and the Apostles' Creede, all which ought to be belieued upon paine of damnation. The good simple superintendant, that sawe himselfe so hardly beset, craved respite to compasse this vulgar, which graunted, after some deliberation he began thus to go forward. *Tria sunt Creda, vnum Niceni, alterum Athanasii, tertium Apostolorum, quæ omnes debent esse creditum, sub pœna condemnationis.*'*—*Sign. F. 1.* Two or three other stories

* We are quite able to parallel this in late days, upon the authority of a friend, an ear-witness. At a meeting, some four years ago, in Southampton, the reverend

follow this, exhibiting the absurdity and ribaldry of some of the noted non-conformists in the pulpit, which we refrain from citing, because we have not given Martin Marprelate's anecdotes; and even a more potent reason, these, equally with his, are really not fit to be transferred to our pages. We must, therefore, refer our readers to the original: if they have no means of such reference, we hope that they will hold us excused; and the rather, as they are, in fact, of little importance to our main object, and it appears sufficient to mention, which we have already, that the tracts, on both sides, contain many such tales.

'*Martin's Month Minde*' (No. 15) is, without doubt, the cleverest and the most witty of the replies to Martin Marprelate. We are not surprised that the contest was getting for a season near its end, and that the men who began it and recommended such a plan, should now think that they had had enough, as it was a game at which two might play; and those only could hope to win when stones of this sort were flying, who had no glass in their own windows. The title fully explains the object of it. It has two prefatory epistles. The first to Pasquine of England, author of the *Countercuffe*, complimenting him and pressing the speedy publication of his *Lives of the Saints*. 'It must needes be a singular peece of work, and edifie much; especiallye against the seuen deadlie sinnes which they never transgresse. *Pride*, for they despise all but themselves. *Lecherie*, for three at a clappe, their *heaths* can yeeld them. *Sloth*, for though they bee seldom idle, yet they are neuer well occupied. *Gluttonie*, for they would deuoure all. *Couetousness*, for they are never satisfied. *Wrath*, for they doo nothing but quarrell. *Enuie*, for they cannot abide anie to haue ought, but themselves. But especially for the foure cardinall vertues:—*Fortitude*, for they hide their heads. *Justice*, for they would take from euerie man his owne. *Wisedome*, or els I report me to their wittie conceits. And *Temperance*, for they gouern their passions passingly well. But for the three *Theological* vertues they excell, of all that euer I heard of:—*Faith*, for I doubt me whether they bee of anie. *Hope*, which is to see the ouerthrowe of all. And *Charitie*, for they detest and damne all but themselves.'—*Sign. A. 3.* The epistle to the reader follows,

'the *Deputation from the Parent Society*' made a long and wonderful speech, to the admiration of the ladies present: he concluded, in a sonorous voice, and with an energetic wave of his hand, that called down loud applause, '*magna est veritas et prævalēbit.*' A clergyman there (albeit a friend, perhaps) could not resist a sorry pun: whether his audience would be alive to it was another matter; but he rose, and having complimented 'the reverend the *Deputation*' upon his eloquence, begged to say, that 'he was sorry to differ from him, but he could not help believing that truth would not merely prevail a bit, but that it would prevail a great deal.'

rather long, giving a history of the rise and growth of Martin among the Puritans, and tracing him from the '*Admonition to the Parliament*,' down to their last productions, the *Theses* and the *Just Censure*.

The author reckons up a vast number of reported ways by which men said (he tells us) that Martin Marprelate had met his death. That he was now defunct all allowed. Some said that he had died abroad, taken by the Spaniards or the Portuguese: others, that he had been killed fighting in the Queen's service; that his horse had stumbled; that he had died of a surfeit; been murdered in prison; been poisoned with 'an Italian figge;' been choked with a fat prebend, &c.; all which reports are commented on and declared to be false. We have then 'the true report.' 'After that old Martin, hauing taken a most desperate cause in hand, as the troubling of the state, and ouerthrowe of the Church (both which attempts at once, *Alexander the Copper Smith*, that did *Paule* so much harme, would neuer haue aduentured; nor *Herostratus* that burned *Diana's temple*, by many degrees came neere unto), and being therefore (and well worthie) sundrie waies verie curstlie handled; as first *drie beaten*, and thereby his bones broken: (*T. C.*) then whipt that made him winse (*a whip for an ape*), then wound and launced, that he tooke verie grieuouslie, to be made a *Maygame* upon the stage, and so bangd, both with prose and rime on euerie side, as he knewe not which way to turne himselfe, and at length cleane *Marde* (*Marre-martin*): the grieffe whereof vext him out of all crie: and that if he were taken, it was to be feared he should be made a *Bishop* (of the fields), which name he neuer loued, and to weare a tippet,* that he euer detested: but especiallie being drawne so drie (so as he could say no more) whereby his radical moisture began to faile him, and his vital powers in such sort to decaie, as he saw that he could not long continue,—the old gentleman began at the length to droope and to mislike himselfe, and through meere melancholie fell into a feauer. And so hauing taken his bedde, he sent for his Physitions, who albeit they perceiued that he was past cure, yet loath to lose so profitable a member to their commensing commonwealth, they ministered to him a potion: but afterwards, when they perceiued that the force therof wrought so stronglie vpon him, as that it *purged away all the conscience, wit, and honestie he had*; and that *Purgarentur ea, quæ purgari non oportuit*, a deadlie signe, they came vnto him and with teares in their eyes, told him that there was no way with him but one; and therefore wisht him to set his worldlie

* A Tyburn tippet (our author means) in Tyburn fields.

'affaires in order, that no controuersie might growe amongst his, after he was gone.'—*Sign. E. 3.*

Martin then makes his last speech: and explains the three causes of his death. 'The first was my *foolerie*:' (his 'twaddling tales' and 'fond words and phrases'): 'the next was my *ribaudrie*.' 'The third and last meanes that hath brought me to my last end, was worst of all; and that was my *blasphemie*,' &c.: and ends with some advice to his sons ('those two scape-thrifts to him, who like a couple of good and vertuous babes stood grinning all the while, as glad they should bee chiefe Martins themselues'), that it was worse than vain to expect that even if the bishoprics were suppressed and their possessions alienated, themselves would be the gainers. 'Touching the matter you strive for, take heede what you do: you shoot at Church liuings, you hope to have the spoyle. See what hath come by it in Scotland. Forsee what will become of it here: forget not the last partition.' And he tells them the fable of the Fox and the Crow. (*Sign. F. 3. Rev.*)

Martin Marprelate's will, his last will and testament, that 'lay sealed in his deske, bound fast with an hempen string,' is now read to him in the hearing of his sons. Let us also hear the substance of the Puritans bequests.

'He begun with the vsuall style; next touching his bodie, (for it should seeme he had forgotten his soule, for the partie that heard it told me, he heard no word of it,) much after the fashion of men now-a-days, 'he would not be buried in any church, chappell, nor churchyard, for that they had been prophaned with superstition; but in some barne, outhouse, or field: without bell, pompe, or any solemnitie—minister he would haue none to bury him, but his sonne, or some one of his lay brethren, to tumble him into the pit.'

We stop here, to caution our readers against supposing that the author of 'Martin's Month's Mind' has exaggerated the probabilities of such a case as is here supposed. Waldegrave, the Puritan printer (who has already been alluded to), about the year 1585, or 1586, for the book is not dated, though the name is attached, published 'A booke of the Forme of common prayers, administration of the Sacraments, &c.: agreeable to God's worde, and the vse of the reformed Churches.' We now, limited as our space is, intend to extract from this, the whole Order of Buriall! 'The corps is reuerently to be brought to the graue, accompanied with the neighbours in comely manner, without any further ceremonie.' A very similar book printed at Middelburgh in 1586, and again in 1587, also called Forms of Common Prayer, &c., has the same service (?) appointed, word for word. But it may be said these were but private forms after all: it is

strange, however, that there should be so many editions at the same time, and we could prove that they were *intended* to be of authority: but it is enough now to say that we have another work to appeal to; viz. ‘The Booke of prayers and administration of the Sacramentes, approued and received by the Church of Scotland. 1584.’ Again, we extract the whole Order of Burial. ‘The corps is reuerentlie brought to the graue, accompanied with the congregation, without any further ceremonies: which being buried, the Minister if he be present, and required, goeth to the Church, if it be not farr off, and maketh some comfortable exhortation to the people, touching death and resurrection.’ We cannot say whether this is the order still observed by the members of the establishment, miscalled the *Church of Scotland*, but we know that it was so for many years after this time: and we must also own that it did allow a faint and distant opening for the burying of our dead out of our sight, in somewhat a more decorous way than we should get rid of a dead dog. But still an opening very distant: the minister is to be present; he is to be asked; he is to go to the church only if it be not far off: a happy concatenation not very favourable to the chance of ‘some comfortable exhortation.’

Looking back wistfully to years long gone by, regretting, as we often must, the many good observances which have been taken away from us, how much cause yet of thankfulness have we as members of the Church of England, that *not all is gone*: that, for example, in this one point of burial, we still commit the bodies of our fellow-Christians to the earth, as hoping for their blessed resurrection; as knowing that they are not severed really from, although no longer visibly in, our Holy Communion; that they are still to be subjects of our pious solicitude, still to be prayed for over the grave, still to be partakers with ourselves in the mysterious blessings which attend the offering up to the Almighty Father of the Body and the Blood of our risen Lord.

But we reluctantly return to Martin: ‘he would not be laid East and West, but North and South: Tomb he would haue none, nor Epitaph upon his graue, but in some post or tree, not farre from it, he would haue onelie engraven, *M. M. M.* Whereby his sonnes say, he meant, *Memoriæ Martini Magni.* But I think rather, this, *Monstrum Mundi Martinus.*’ (*Sign. G. 1.*) The will goes on to bequeath various legacies: such as his knavery, his lying and slandering, his foolery, &c. &c. to various persons: ‘Item, I bequeath all my plots, and modell, that I haue drawne, of churches, and commonweales, to the number of twelve, for euerie moneth of the year one, to our chiefe builders (you know their names) to dispose of at their plea-

'sure.' And so, the narrative goes on, within about half an hour, Martin Marprelate dies. The next day, the physicians open his body, and find 'a wonderfull corrupt carcasce:' a hollow heart; lungs, huge and made to prate: a tongue 'wonderfullie swolne in his mouth; I thinke by reason of his blasphemie.' 'The night after (for the horrible stinke thereof, because his bodie was so corrupt), and for that he durst not in his life time bee seene by day, being a night bird; they carried him foorth in the darke; and by reason he died excommunicate, and they might not therefore burie him in Christian buriall, and his will was not to come there in anie wise; they brought him vnawares to a dunghill, taking it for a tump, since a tomb might not be had, and there cast him in.' 'And this is the very truth of old Martin's death, which if the young Martins, or any Martinist of them all denie; I cast here my mitten upon the quarrell.'—*Sign. G. 2. et seq.*

We might have fancied that Martin, being dead, might rest at last; upon the old principle *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. But our author thought differently: and feared not to say so. In his prefatory Epistle to Pasquin, speaking of the Martinists, he ends, 'Since they are now become contemptible, amongst the most and best, let vs trample on them as the dirt of the streete.' So his book finishes, as in fact the history of any one's death should, with a series of epitaphs, by various contributors. We shall extract the author's own.

'Hic iacet, ut pinus,
Nec Cæsar, nec Ninus,
Nec magnus Godwinus,
Nec Petrus, nec Linus,
Nec plus, nec minus,
Quam clandestinus,
Miser ille Martinus,
Videte singuli.'

'O vos Martinistæ,
Et vos Brounistæ,
Et Famililouistæ,
Et Anabaptistæ,
Et omnes sectistæ,
Et Machiuelistæ,
Et Atheistæ,
Quorum dux fuit iste,
Lugete singuli.'

'At gens Anglorum,
Præsertim verorum,
Nec non, qui morum,
Estis bonorum,
Inimici horum,
Ut est decorum,
Per omne forum,
In sæcula sæculorum,
Gaudete singuli.'

(*Sign. H. 2.*)*

We have one tract more, which was either published at the same time with the '*Month's Minde*,' or very shortly after. This is, '*Plaine Percevall the Peace-maker*.' (No. 12.) Almost every one, we know no exception, who has alluded to or professed to give a list of the Marprelate Tracts, has set it down to the credit of his adversary, or has directly attributed it to Nash. (*Confer. Lowndes, Bibl. Dict.*) But it is, in fact, a last gasp of the Puritans: an expression in their extremity of some desire of peace: a wish that they might for a time, until themselves spoke again, be let alone. The quaintness of the title, leaning apparently against Martin Marprelate, would be apt to mislead: and the writer of it struggles to be neutral, but his bias is too

* This epitaph is quoted by Dr. Bliss in his edition of Wood's *Athenæ*, from Weaver's *Funeral Monuments*.

strong to be mistaken. The book is tiresome: the spirit of the particular controversy might be said to be at an end; and we do not propose to strain the little remnant of our reader's patience through '*Plaine Percevall*.' There is no little anxiety displayed to be witty, or to seem to be so, according to the old tune; but we agree with Percevall himself, that after the spice and peppercorns of the earlier dishes of the feast, *he* follows, 'like a plaine Dunstable groome, with salt and spoones on a trencher.' Now that, in fact, the battle had been fought, and the assailants beaten out of the field with their own weapons, and (in a sense) upon their own ground, it was too late, and manifestly absurd, that any one should venture forward as a peacemaker, to say, as it were, to two parties no longer equally strong, 'be friends,' and so strive to cover a defeat, and check, by a pretended compromise, the real triumph of the victors. If there is any cleverness at all in the idea, it certainly consists in the attempt to induce men to believe that such really was the case; and if, again, we can give any credit for sincerity to some of our historians, this ruse, though it failed with contemporaries, succeeded with their successors. These seem to have thought that it was not alarm, but a genuine wish for peace, which at last brought the Puritan to complain that there 'was no penaltie to repress such lauish ouer reachers 'as offer legends of lies to the presse;' that 'heresay is too 'slender an evidence to spit a man's credit upon;' and that it should come to this, as the most reasonable and Christian course, 'Well, Martin and you professed Mar-Martins, in presence of 'me Percevall, shake hands and be friendes, meet halfe-way, 'and I standing jump in the middle, will crie aime to you 'both.'—Pp. 11, 12, 20.

One consequence of acting a pretended part is shown in this book: both the style and the matter are in many places so obscure and involved, that it is not possible to make sense of it. We would willingly give some specimens of the author's reasoning, but have found the greatest difficulty in selecting one: Plaine Percevall begins a long paragraph addressing *this* side, then turns to *that*, back again to the first, and so on, equal in his favours, until the reader is most successfully mystified, and so far the object of the author gained. (We would refer, for example, to pp. 16, 17, 18.) The following extract, however, is clear enough, and somewhat to the purpose; addressing (if we are not mistaken) the Mar-Martins. 'Mary who began (say 'you :) Martin cald traytor first, he spake lavishly, and must 'heare as knauishly. Now the blood is vp; he that hath most 'gall in his garbage, thinks to win the goall. And he that hath 'most toong powder hopes to driue the other out of the field 'first. I could tell these eager youngsters how they might be

‘euen with their adversary: giue faire words for foule: Doe
 ‘good against euill, and heape hoat burninge coales vpon his head.
 ‘That is a sentence sooner belieud, bicause it is scripture, then
 ‘put in practise, for all it is true.’—P. 7. And one more:
 addressing Martin or his sons: ‘O Martin, honor gray heares,
 ‘during thy nonage: or else looke for dishonor and dotage, if
 ‘thou canst get any competent yeeres on thy backe; be thou
 ‘a young boy or a stale batchellar, learne to reuerence those
 ‘two ornaments of a common-wealth; age and authority. Barre
 ‘this pert bearding of men reputed honest for their behaviour,
 ‘and honorable both for their calling and counsaile.’—P. 13.
 We would draw our reader’s attention to the qualified praise,
reputed honest and honourable. It was an enemy that did this.

Besides the volumes which we have described, there was published in 1589 a Latin tract against Martin Marprelate, of which we give the full title below.* A copy of this is in the Bodleian Library. It is very sensibly written, and its object to prevent the youths of that day being carried away by Martin’s misrepresentations of facts, ill-arguments, and lies. It points out the extent which Puritan violence would reach if not checked; that it would not overthrow the Bishops of the Church only, but the ruling powers of the State. The pretended divine call which many of that faction claimed, and that they had authority given them, are also exposed and denied. The author states expressly in his preface that he aims at arguments, and not persons. We have no doubt that this is one of the rarest books connected with the controversy; being written in a learned language, and for a particular class, it is probable that the original edition was somewhat limited.

There were also at least two, perhaps more, poetical tracts against Martin. One of these ‘*Mar-Martine*,’ was written soon after the ‘*Hay any Worke for Cooper*,’ or the ‘*Dialogue of Tyrannical Dealing*.’ It begins (we take our account from Herbert)—

‘I knowe not why a trueth in rime set out
 ‘Maie not as wel mar Martine and his mates,
 ‘As shamelesse lies in prose-books cast about,
 ‘Mar priests, & prelates, and subvert whole states.
 ‘For where truth builds, and lying overthrowes,
 ‘One truth in rime, is worth ten lies in prose.’

The book consists of satirical epitaphs, much we suppose after the fashion of those in the ‘*Month’s Minde*,’ alluded to already.

* Antimartinus; seu monitio cuiusdam Londinensis ad adolescentes utriusque academix, contra personatum quendam rabulam, qui se Anglicè Martin Marprelat, hoc est, Martinum Μαρτινάρχον, ἢ μαρδάρχον vocat. Londini. Excudebant Georgius Bishop et Radulphus Newbery. Anno Domini 1589. 4to. Pp. 60.

This production excited the wrath of the Martinists. The author of the '*Just Censure and Reproofe*' says, 'I would have born with thee, if thou haddest taken a little paines in ryming with Mar-Martin, that the cater-caps may knowe howe the meanest of my father's sonnes is able to answere them, both at blunt and sharpe. And for thy further instruction against another time, heere is a sample for thee of that, which in such like cases thou art to performe. ¶ The first rising, generation, and originall of Mar-Martin.

1.

' From Sarum came a gooses egge,
' with specks and spots bepatched,
' A priest of Lambeth coucht thereon ;
' thus was Mar-Martin hatched.
' Whence hath Mar-Martin all his wit
' but from that egge of Sarum ?
' The rest comes all from great Sir John,
' who rings vs all this larum.

2.

' What can the cockatrice hatch up,
' but serpent like himselfe ?
' What sees the Ape within the glass
' but a deformed elfe ?
' Then must Mar-Martin have some smell
' of forge or else of fire,
' A sottie in wit, a beast in minde,
' for so was damme and sire.'

Sign. D. iij. Quoted also by Herbert. The other poetical tract is, '*A Whip for an Ape, or Martin displayed.*' It begins —

' Since reason, Martin, cannot stay thy pen,
' We'll see what rime will do : have at thee then !'

One stanza bears upon a point which we have already spoken of, and we therefore quote it as confirming our own view :—

' And ye graue men that answere Martin's mowes,
' He mocks the more, and you in vain loose times.
' Leauē Apes to Doggs to baite, their skins to crowes,
' And let old *Lanam* lashe him with his rimes.
' The beast is proud when men note his enditings ;
' Let his workes goe the waie of all wast writings.'

Both these tracts are a single sheet each of four leaves, and copies are in the libraries of the British Museum and Bodley.

Another effective weapon was used against the Puritans, but soon forbidden by the government, viz. the stage. The theatrical history of that period is somewhat obscure ; and there is not any play now extant which was performed with the especial

object of ridiculing Martin. There are several allusions to him in plays of the same date; one or two, perhaps, may be traced in Shakspeare; but it seems clear that allusions only were not the limits. Martin Marprelate was put forward as a character. We have a proof of this in a passage, wherein the author of '*Pappe with an Hatchet*' complains that these representations had been put a stop to. He says, 'Would those Comedies might be allowed to be plaid that are pend, and then I am sure he (*i. e.* Martin) would be decyphered, and so perhaps discouraged. *He shall not be brought in as whilom he was*, and yet verie well, with a cocks combe, an apes face, a wolfe's bellic, cats clawes, &c.; but in a cap'de cloake, and all the best apparel he ware the highest day in the yeare, thats neither on Christmas daie, Good fridaie, Easter daie, Ascension, nor Trinitie sundaie, (for that were popish,) but on some rainie weeke-daie, when the brothers and sisters had appointed a watch for particular praiers, a thing as bad at the least as auricular confession.'—*Sign. D. 2. Rev.* In 1589 the introduction of matters connected with religion into plays had become so extensive, that Burghley (who occasionally threw his shield over the Puritans) issued a commission to inquire what companies of players had offended. A very valuable document has lately been discovered, in which Shakspeare, and some twenty of his fellow-players, disclaim their having been concerned in any of these objectionable representations.*

We do not think it beside the mark to add, that two volumes came out apparently after the Marprelate tracts had ceased for some time. The first, by Penry, (but anonymous,) '*A treatise, wherein is manifestlie proved that reformation, and those that sincerely favor the same, are unjustly charged to be enemies vnto her Maiestie and the state, &c. 1590.*' 4to. A copy of this is lying before us, and we have mentioned it, although itself not exactly connected with our particular subject, any more than many other tracts of the same sort which continued to be published, because it seems that it was replied to in the old style of the authors of '*Pappe*,' or the '*Countercuffe*.' The spirit in which they wrote seems to have died slowly away. We do not remember to have seen this answer, and take the title of it from Herbert. '*The first part of Pasquil's Apologie. Wherein he renders a reason to his friendes of his long silence: and gallops the fiede with a Treatise of Reformation lately written by a fugitive, John Penrie. Printed where I was, and where I will bee ready by the helpe of God and my muse, to send you the Maygame of Martinisme for an intermedium between the first and the second part of the Apologie. Anno Dom. 1590.*'

* *Fide* Knight's Shakspeare, a Biography, p. 342.

We have left until now one or two points upon which a few observations seem to be called for; and first the date of these publications. They have been set down as about the year 1590, which, speaking generally, is not incorrect. The *Epistle* and *Epitome* were both published in 1588. The first edition of the *Admonition** before the end of that year, or early in 1590 (as we now compute). Bishop Cooper complains how lamentable a thing it was that such books as the Marprelate's should be in men's hands and bosoms, 'when the viewe of the mightie Navie of the Spaniards is scant passed out of our sight: when the terrible sound of their shot ringeth, as it were, yet in our eares.'—P. 33. Nor had the winter passed away when Martin's answer (*Hay any Worke*) was published. 'I cannot,' he says, 'be got to tell them where I am, because I loue not the ayre of the Clinker or Gatehouse in this colde time of winter.'—P. 2. The Queen's proclamation, as given in *Wilkins*, 4, 340. against certain seditious and schismatical books and libels, is dated Feb. 13th, 1588, i. e. 1589, new style. The '*Countercuffe*' is dated the *eyght of August*, and the *return of Pasquill* 20th of October, in the same year. The intermediate months would be fully occupied with the other pamphlets, and winter was again near at hand, if not already come, when the '*Month's Mind*,' dated 1589, was written.—(Vide *Sign. A. 2.*) At the same time, or shortly after, as we have already said, came out '*Plain Percefall*.'

A far less easy task is it, even to guess at the authors. The tracts on the Marprelate side have usually been attributed to Penry, Throgmorton, Udal, and Fenner. We are obliged to refer our readers who wish a further account of these writers, to Wood's *Athenæ*, under *Penry*, to Collier, Strype, and Herbert's edition of Ames. Our limits do not allow us to say more, than that after a careful examination of these and other authorities on the subject, the question remains in our judgment as obscure as before; and that it is very far from clear, that either of the three last named were actually concerned in the authorship of any one of the pamphlets. It is undeniable that they were written by several persons. We say undeniable, in spite of the author of the '*Almond for a Parratt*,' who attributes all to Penry. 'Let all posteritie that shall heare of his knauerie, attend the discovery

* The copy which we have used, is a second edition, with a date, 1589. It is almost page for page and line for line, identical with the other. The first is known from two alterations; one in p. 40, where *dare* in the text is pasted over with *can*, and one in p. 135, the assertion *they will not denie*, is modified into *it is not yet proued*, also pasted over. Both these are properly corrected in the second edition. We are indebted to Martin's keen eye for the detection of these (*Hay any Worke*, p. 38), who chuckles and says that he has already 'made the Bishops pull in their hornes;' and indeed the circumstance is very remarkable. Copies of both editions are in the Bodleian.

' which now I will make of his villanie. Pen. I. Pen. Welch
' Pen. Pen the Protestationer, Demonstrationer, Supplicationer,
' Appellationer, Pen. the father, Pen. the sonne, Pen. totum in
' toto et totum in qualibet parte.'—*Sign. E. 2. Rev.*

We might have expected more certainty with regard to the writers against Martin Marprelate: but as we have already seen, here also we are disappointed; and all that remains appears to be, to prevent, if possible, the connecting them with wrong names. Nash, from general consent, was probably one; John Lilly, the Euphuist, another, upon the authority of Oldys, who allots to him '*Pappe with a Hatchet*;' but if he wrote any of them, we should say not that, but the '*Almond for a Parratt*;' it is much more in his style, and we would refer our readers to the extract from that book, given before (p. 393). The sentence, 'The humours of my eies, &c.,' seems conclusive.

Two or three years after the date of this controversy (viz. 1593) a quarrel of long standing was in full vigour between Nash and Gabriel Harvey. The latter published a quarto volume, now very rare, against Nash, entitled '*Pierce's Supererogation*, or, a new praise of the old Ass.' Harvey was a learned man: his books overflow from the most queer accumulation which he had made from all sorts of authors, upon all sorts of subjects; he knew something also of the classics; he was a pedant, and absurdly vain. His enemy was a wit; himself an excellent butt. This particular volume, '*Pierce's Supererogation*,' shows how deeply its author had been stung, and exhibits both his own foolery of style in the highest perfection, and a wonderful mixture of originality of thought, with the result of long study. We quote his work now as of no little importance to our subject. Writing against Nash, he charges his friend Lilly with the authorship of '*Pappe with a Hatchet*.' (We doubt much whether Harvey's accusation has not been the chief evidence upon the point.) He then acknowledges that himself had been accused of having written some of the Marprelate tracts, and, much after *Plaine Percevall's style*, complains of the whole affair, speaks in disparagement of Martin, and in more decided language against his answerers, as would be natural, his own enemies, Nash and Lilly, (as the report went,) being of them. He abuses the '*Pappe*' with right good will; but his hatred of the supposed author peeps through as the real cause, together with a strong leaning towards the Puritans. Doctor Perne (of whom we have already said enough) comes in for a fair share of his satire, and both well-placed and well-spoken it is. We would refer our readers for more information to the book; a reprint also of which is in the second volume of Sir E. Brydges's *Archæica*.

A much more important point is it, to prove that the Marprelate Tracts were not only connived at (which is acknowledged), but recommended by, and their authors known to the leaders of the Puritan party. In the '*Just Censure*' occurs a passage much to the purpose. It shows that at the time of publication, men were generally used to connect the names of Cartwright, and Paget, and Travers, with these libels. When the experiment failed, however much their then followers, and afterwards their apologists, have laboured to throw off from them so great odium, yet Martin himself allows that *at the time* such was the common report. We have already said, that there is no plain, sincere-looking denial of such connexion in the known writings of those men. In the '*Just Censure*,' the writer makes the Bishop of London say at the table of the High Commissioners, 'My Masters, you must not sleepe in this matter. I will be a pursuivant myselfe, rather than abide this tumult. If I were, I trowe I would watch about Travers his house in Milke-streete, who go in and out there, and I would know what they caried vnder their cloakes too. There is Paget at Hounslo, &c.—There is Cartwright too at Warwicke, he hath got him such a companie of disciples, both of the worshipfull, or other of the poorer sort, as we have no cause to thanke him. Neuer tell me, that hee is too graue to trouble himselfe with Martins conceits.—Cartwright seeks the peace of the Church no other-wise than his platform may stande. I doe not see of my trothe, but that Martin's abettors may be worse than himselfe, and doe more mischief.'—*Sign. D. ij.* Pasquil tells Marforius also in his Dialogue, that passing by Martin, he must have 'three courses of the launce with Th. Cartwright. Hath Martin made him his God, and thinketh he to escape my fingers?' The author of the '*Almond for a Parratt*,' sums up a long history of Cartwright, beginning from his disappointment about the Vice-chancellorship of Cambridge, by praying that pride which overthrew Golias, Haman, and Herod, 'will also confound arrogant T. C. and all his accomlishes in the Lord's good time.'—*Sign. D. 2. Rev.* It is not therefore surprising that when Cartwright was brought before the Commissioners in 1590, among the articles objected were two, accusing him of knowing who wrote and printed 'several libels, going under the name of 'Martin Marprelate.' And it is remarkable that he refused to deny upon oath that he had such a knowledge.

Our readers have now accompanied us through the volumes which are extant of the famous Martin Marprelate and his adversaries. Strype had read some of them: he gives especially a long account of the *Admonition*: Mr. D'Israeli also seems to have read in a cursory way about five or six of the tracts, and has

written a short paper on the subject in his '*Quarrels of Authors* :* but the credit which we would at least claim is, that probably for more than 200 years, no one, except ourselves, has either had the opportunity or taken the trouble of examining the whole series. Though each tract separately may not be of much interest, except for the quaint allusions to local customs, and manners of the day, which several of them furnish (and which we have been obliged to omit noticing), yet together they throw very considerable light upon the religious history of the age, and prove equally the extremes to which the doctrines of the Reformation were speedily carried, and the peril in which its genuine disciples soon placed the Church of England. Martin Marprelate was most rapid in his growth; sudden in his attack; novel in his method; we have seen that sober reasoning was powerless against him, and equally so the strong arm of the Privy Council:† but at last he was struck down with almost a like suddenness. Scarcely more than a single year saw both the beginning and the end of his attempt. Nevertheless, it was not only the great controversy of that year, but *the controversy* of the Elizabethan age. We must not so much estimate it by the shortness of the time it occupied, as by the consequences to which it led, and the various events which had been long tending towards it, and of which it was, though monstrous, the matured produce. The Puritans had been making many struggles: working openly, working secretly: losing no opportunities of carrying on to full perfection the fantastic theories, and wild heretical absurdities of the earlier reformers; pouring out their abuse of Catholic practice in private conventicles, in lectures from the pulpit, in exercises, and in more moderate language, by means of the press. At last they ventured upon *Martin*: ventured, if not beyond their own depth, at any rate beyond the sympathy of lookers on: people were amused it may be, but at the first check regained their senses, and took part against them; and Puritanism for some years, until that generation had passed away, received a blow under which it staggered, without a hope of recovery, until fresh strength and energy was again given it, from sources abhorrent to its original design; and by the enlisting among its ranks of a multifarious host, who sought, and with success, to use it as a political weapon for the attainment of other unholy ends.

* We would refer our readers to that paper, because at the end is a reprint of the '*Whip for an Ape*.' The other poetical pamphlet, *Mar-Martin*, is reprinted in the *Censura Literaria*, vi. 236.

† It may, indeed, be doubted whether the Privy Council was sincere against the Puritans: Fuller says that there lay the great strength of that party, even as the Archbishop and the High Commission were their chief enemies; and Strype in his life of Parker tells us that when the '*Admonition to the Parliament*,' was ordered under heavy penalties to be brought in to the diocesan within twenty days, so little attention was paid to it, that not one copy ever reached any of the Bishops.

I Promessi Sposi. The Betrothed. By ALESSANDRO MANZONI.
A new Translation. 2 vols. London: Burns. 1844.

IT is too late in the day for a formal critique upon a novel which has been so long before the world as *I Promessi Sposi*; and we do not want a few rough thoughts which we string together, to be regarded as such. A new translation, however, is a sort of fresh introduction of Manzoni's work amongst us, and naturally recalls some notice to it.

The present translation is spirited, pliant, and nervous, and reflects the original transparently. It reads like a translation in parts; but perhaps that could not well be helped. The difficulty of the choice between a genuine and characteristic style of translation, and a smooth one, is well known. One who prefers the former—and we think it is decidedly to be preferred—must make up his mind to a few roughnesses occasionally. They only come in occasionally in the present translation, and are of very little consequence; while the spirit, force, and liveliness of Manzoni is perpetually seen in it. Easy flowing English and literal characteristic translation in the main combine, and make the want of knowledge of Italian as supportable a regret, as a translation can be expected to do.

We are struck, as soon as we open Manzoni, with the difference of the ground, air, and scenery, and costume of mind and body, from what we have in our own romances. We feel we are in Italy, and not in England or Scotland. There is a peculiar instinct by which the domestic eye sees foreign marks and symptoms; and any thing characteristic of another nationality is detected immediately. The Englishman sees something especially French in the first cart and horse that meets his eye after landing at Calais. Some very broad Italian features come across one in the first pages of *I Promessi Sposi*. The race of bravoos is especially Italian. In their ease and swagger, flourish and cavalier attire, the single lock of hair—the emblem of the order, their facetious but indomitable rascality, and the air with which they follow at their master's tail, like a set of gay spotted pointer dogs,—these smiling, remorseless, walking stilettoes, display genuine Italian breeding. They answer to the moss troopers and armed feudal retainers of Scott's novels: Christie of the Clinthill, in the Monastery, is an approach to the bravo. But the moss troopers are a very rustic, rough hewn form of the character, and come under the shade and cover of the wild justice of the day, as accredited agents in a way of feudal law. The bravo dispenses with

any such shelter, and takes more of the position of the civilized pickpocket and cut-throat. There is no doubt in the reader's mind as to the propriety of his being hung at any moment of his career, that it may please the author to inflict justice upon him. In their very best exhibitions, and when the bravo's tricks are most sportive, good humoured, and attractive, the gallows never for an instant deserts the judicial corner of the reader's eye. As Mr. Carlyle describes Robespierre generally as a sort of compound of murder and tallow grease, the bravo mixes the playfulness of the feather and the lightness of the cascade with the same formidable substratum of character. He is a pleasure-ground statue, and ornaments as well as strengthens his master's service. He appears on the staircase and in the anteroom; he ushers the guest politely into the drawing-room, and is ready, with equal politeness, to stick his poniard into him on his exit. He watches his master's eye, and has the real gratification of a faithful animal in pleasing him. We must add, that even his faithfulness is of a humorous and capricious kind, and can never fairly be said to be appropriated. There are, however, large general reasons why the bravo and the master should be friends; and so long as these are in operation, he may be depended on. He is much more of a gentleman, and much more of a scoundrel, than a very insolent debauched London footman. He is a town-bred more than a country ruffian, is familiar with parades and lounges, arcades and squares; and follows his master from the country chateau to the town house at Milan, or Rome, or Naples, with something of the latter's fashionable love of town life, and change of air. The general impression in the public at large about him, and the looks and shrugs of passers by, do not affect him in the smallest degree. His master's livery protects him; he is strong in the inner circle and *imperium in imperio* which the count or the marquis commands, and walks past the street crowd with an inward serene sense of security, analogous to the peace of mind produced by a calm conscience, and the memory of good and beneficent actions. The world thinks he ought to be hanged; but he does not think so; and his opinion is supported by the fact that he is not. On the contrary, he considers himself the very cream of the subordinate and lower region of chivalry, and second only in point of magnanimity and consideration to the crested count, baron, and cavalier. The proclamations of governors pass over his head with the innocence of soft zephyrs, and he is sentenced by a hundred exterminating clauses of which he hardly condescends to acknowledge the existence. In 1583, 'the most illustrious and excellent Signor Don Carlo d'Aragon, Prince of Castelvetro, Duke of Terranuova, Marquis of Avola, Count of Burgeto, grand Admiral, and grand Constable of Sicily,

‘Governor of Milan, and Captain-General of His Catholic Majesty in Italy, *being fully informed*,’ &c. &c.; and after him, in 1593, ‘the most Illustrious and most Excellent Signor Juan Fernandez de Velasco, Constable of Castile, Grand Chamberlain of his Majesty, Duke of the city of Frias, Count of Haro and Castelnovo, Lord of the House of Velasco, and that of the Seven Infantas of Lara, Governor of the State of Milan, &c., *being fully informed*,’ &c. &c.; and after him, in 1600, ‘the most Illustrious and most Excellent Signor, Il Signor Don Pietro Enriquez de Acevedo, Count of Fuentes, Captain and Governor of the State of Milan, *being fully informed* of how much loss and destruction bravoes and vagabonds are the cause, of the mischief such sort of people effect against the public weal; and that the number of these people is on the increase, and day and night nothing is heard of them but murder, homicide, robbery, and crimes of every kind,’—warns them to evacuate the country, on pain of being sent to the galleys three years. Even ‘if no crime can be proved against the individual, the sole reputation and name of a bravo’ is enough: and ‘his Excellency is resolved to be obeyed by every one.’ Time after time, once in about every half dozen years, every Governor is seized with a desire to put an end to the bravoes: ‘*being fully informed*,’ &c. &c. he is, once and for all, ‘resolved to extirpate a plant so pernicious.’ ‘The most Illustrious Signor Don Giovanni de Mendosa, Marquis of Hynojosa, gentleman,’ &c. goes so far as to make a new corrected and enlarged edition of all the proclamations of preceding governors, which is sent to Pandolfo and Marco Tullio Molastesti, associated printers to his Majesty, to be printed for the destruction of the bravoes. Yet they survived even this formidable blow; and very soon after, the most Excellent Signor, the Signor, &c., and then the most Excellent Signor, the Signor, &c. respectively, recorrect and republish these corrected documents, with new admonitions, and severe penalties, &c. ‘with a firm purpose that, with all rigour and without any hope of remission, they shall be fully carried out.’ Alas for the farce of proclamations, corrected and enlarged, and admonitions and new penalties added, the race of bravoes still continued to flourish, and the next proclamation laments ‘that the greatest outrages are still caused by those denominated bravoes.’

It is in the thick of these vehement proclamations that we are introduced to the proscribed, injured race.

‘The curate, having turned the corner, and looked forward, as was his custom, towards the chapel, beheld an unexpected sight, and one he would not willingly have seen. Two men, one opposite the other, were stationed at the confluence, so to say, of the two ways: one of them was sitting across the low wall,

‘ with one leg dangling on the outer side, and the other supporting him in the path : his companion was standing up, leaning against the wall, with his arms crossed on his breast. Their dress, their carriage, and so much of their expression as could be distinguished at the distance at which the curate stood, left no doubt about their condition. Each had a green net on his head, which fell upon the left shoulder, and ended in a large tassel. Their long hair, appearing in one large lock upon the forehead : on the upper lip two long mustachios, curled at the end : their doublets, confined by bright leathern girdles, from which hung a brace of pistols : a little horn of powder, dangling round their necks, and falling on their breasts like a necklace : on the right side of their large and loose pantaloons, a pocket, and from the pocket the handle of a dagger : a sword hanging on the left, with a large basket-hilt of brass, carved in cipher, polished and gleaming :—all, at a glance, discovered them to be individuals of the species *bravo*.’ A scene follows, in which they inform him it is their master Don Rodrigo’s pleasure he (the curate) should not marry Renzo Tramaglino and Lucia Mondella, ‘ the hero and heroine.’

Their ordinary attendance on their master is characteristically given.

“ And Count Attilio ? ” asked Don Rodrigo, still pacing the room.

“ He left with the gentlemen, illustrious Signor.”

“ Very well ; six followers to accompany me—quickly ! my sword, cloak, and hat, immediately ! ”

‘ The servant replied by a bow, and withdrew, returning shortly with a rich sword, which his master buckled on, a cloak which he threw over his shoulders, and a hat, ornamented with lofty plumes, which he placed on his head, and fastened with a haughty air. He then moved forward, and found the six braves at the door, completely armed, who, making way for him, with a low bow, followed as his train. More surly, more haughty, and more supercilious than usual, he left his palace, and took the way towards Lecco, amidst the salutations and profound bows of the peasants he happened to meet ; and the ill-mannered wight who would have ventured to pass without taking off his hat, might consider he had purchased the exemption at a cheap rate, had the braves in the train been contented merely to enforce respect by a blow on the head.’

Griso, the head of Don Rodrigo’s braves, was the one, to whom the boldest and most dangerous enterprises were confided. Guilty of murder, he had sought the protection of Don Rodrigo to escape the pursuit of justice ; and he, by taking him into his

service, had sheltered him from the reach of persecution. The important scheme of carrying off Lucia is committed to him.

“Griso!” said Don Rodrigo, “in this emergency it will be seen what you are worth. Before to-morrow, Lucia must be in this palace.”

“It shall never be said that Griso shrank from the command of his noble protector.”

Signor Griso, with his followers, are hovering that night about Lucia's cottage. ‘Hastily putting on a slouched hat, with a pilgrim's dress of sackcloth, scattered over with cockle-shells, and, taking in his hand a pilgrim's staff, he said, “Now let us act like good bravoes; quiet and attentive to orders.”’ The plot fails. By a most extraordinary coincidence, the village bells begin to ring; and they fancy themselves discovered.

“If the cap fits, put it on,” says a Milanese proverb: each of the villains seemed to hear in these peals his name, surname, and nickname; they let go of Menico's arms, hastily dropped their own, gazed at each other's faces in mute astonishment, and then ran into the house where was the bulk of their companions. Menico took to his legs, and fled, by way of the fields, towards the belfry, where he felt sure there would be some people assembled. On the other ruffians, who were rummaging the house from top to bottom, the terrible bell made the same impression; confused and alarmed, they ran against one another, in attempting, each one for himself, to find the shortest way of reaching the street-door. Though men of approved courage, and accustomed never to turn their backs on known peril, they could not stand against an indefinite danger, which had not been viewed at a little distance before coming upon them. It required all the authority of Griso to keep them together, so that it might be a retreat and not a flight. Just as a dog urging a drove of pigs, runs here and there after those that break the ranks, seizes one by the ears, and drags him into the herd, propels another with his nose, barks at a third that leaves the line at the same moment, so the pilgrim laid hold of one of his troop just passing the threshold, and drew him back, detained with his staff others who had almost reached it, called after some who were flying they knew not whither, and finally succeeded in assembling them all in the middle of the court-yard. “Halt! halt! pistols in hand, daggers in readiness, all together, and then we'll begone. We must march in order. What care we for the bells ringing, if we are all together, you cowards? But if we let them catch us one by one, even the villagers will give us it. For shame! Fall behind, and keep together.” After this brief harangue,

'he placed himself in the front, and led the way out. The cottage, as we have said, was at the extremity of the village : Griso took the road that led out of it, and the rest followed him in good order.'

The faithful Griso appears characteristically towards the conclusion of the story, when the wretched Don Rodrigo has just caught the plague, and entreats to be kept out of the Lazzeretto.

"Griso!" said Don Rodrigo, with difficulty raising himself, and sitting up in his bed, "you have always been my trusty servant."

"Yes, Signor."

"I have always dealt well by you."

"Of your bounty."

"I think I may trust you . . ."

"The — !"

"I am ill, Griso."

"I had perceived it."

"If I recover, I will heap upon you more favours than I have ever yet done."

Griso made no answer, and stood waiting to see to what all these preambles would lead.

"I will not trust myself to anybody but you," resumed Don Rodrigo; "do me a kindness, Griso."

"Command me," said he, replying with this usual formula to that unusual one.

"Do you know where the surgeon, Chiodo, lives?"

"I know very well."

"He is a worthy man, who, if he is well paid, will conceal the sick. Go and find him; tell him I will give him four, six *scudi* a visit; more, if he demands more. Tell him to come here directly; and do the thing cleverly, so that nobody may observe it."

"Well thought of," said Griso; "I go, and return."

. . . . Don Rodrigo lay down, and accompanied him, in imagination, to Chiodo's house, counting the steps, calculating the time. Now and then he would turn to look at his left side, but quickly averted his face with a shudder. After some time, he began to listen eagerly for the surgeon's arrival; and this effort of attention suspended his sense of illness, and kept his thoughts in some degree of order. All of a sudden, he heard a distant sound, which seemed, however, to come from the rooms, not the street. He listened still more intently; he heard it louder, more quickly repeated; and with it a trampling of footsteps. A horrid suspicion rushed into his mind. He sat up, and gave still greater attention; he heard a dead sound in the

‘ next room, as if a weight were being cautiously set down. He
‘ threw his legs out of bed, as if to get up ; peeped at the door,
‘ saw it open, and beheld before his eyes, and advancing towards
‘ him, two ragged and filthy red dresses, two ill-looking faces—
‘ in one word, two *monatti*. He distinguished, too, half of Griso’s
‘ face, who, hidden behind the almost closed door, remained there
‘ on the look-out.

‘ “ Ah, infamous traitor ! . . . Begone, you rascals ! Biondino !
‘ Carlotto ! help ! I’m murdered ! ” shouted Don Rodrigo. He
‘ thrust one hand under the bolster in search of a pistol ; grasped
‘ it ; drew it out ; but, at his first cry, the *monatti* had rushed up
‘ to the bed He began to shout with loud cries to his other
‘ servants : but in vain he called ; for the abominable Griso had
‘ sent them all off with pretended orders from their master him-
‘ self, before going to propose to the *monatti* to come on this
‘ expedition, and divide the spoil.

‘ “ Be quiet, will you,” said the villain who held him down
‘ upon the bed, to the unfortunate Don Rodrigo. And turning
‘ his face to the two who were seizing the booty, he cried to
‘ them, “ Do your work like honest fellows.”

‘ “ You ! you ! ” roared Don Rodrigo to Griso, whom he beheld
‘ busying himself in breaking open, taking out money and
‘ clothes, and dividing them. “ You ! after . . . Ah, fiend of
‘ hell ! I may still recover ! I may still recover ! ” Griso
‘ spoke not, nor, more than he could help, even turned in the
‘ direction whence these words proceeded.’

So much for the race of bravoes. As there are other per-
sonages in the novel besides them, we must not devote too much
to them. They are a type, however, of the state of things, and we
could collect from the bravo the character of the noble. The cha-
racter of the Italian noble differs from that of the feudal chief of
Scott’s novels, the baron, and titled marauder of the borders, much
in the same way in which his retainer and moss trooper differs
from the bravo. Of course a difference of chronology comes in
here, as well as the difference of country. The Italian noble is a
more wily, scheming, plotting personage than the rough English
or Scotch territorial lord. He has his nets around him, and is
engaged in intrigues far and wide ; not so much for private ends
and projects of self-interest solely, as those of rivalry or hatred.
He has a variety of plots on hand, large or small, in proportion to
his extent of power, territory, or intellect. These furnish food for
his mind and energies, and make life desirable and pleasing to
him. The pleasure of circumventing, of hitting blows, of
striking in the dark or in the light, of attaining some object
by the assassination or injury of somebody, provides a sub-
terranean diplomatic domain for him in his dark castle in

the Apennines, amidst black ravines, and the frowns of inaccessible mountain tops. Yet the neighbouring court or city see in their visitor a perfect gentleman, with easy smiles and courtly graces, and insinuating small talk for ladies. And though a cloud passes over his face occasionally, and seems to betray internal commotion and something going on that he does not choose men in general to know, he carries his intrigues, in the main, under a fair guise, till he gets back to his castle again, and can be gloomy, ferocious, and bloody in open day. The noble banditti chief, or captain of braves, rather than feudal lord, is fit head to fit body; the braves look up to him with instinctive and superstitious admiration, as being what in their eyes is the *beau idéal* of human greatness,—a very great bravo. In that capacity he is the lineal descendant of the Macedonian and the Cæsarian line, and the representative of the world's heroes and conquerors. Alexander and Julius Cæsar were only very great braves, and represented on a large scale the virtues and aspirations of the class in their classical shape. Achilles was a bravo; he reigned over his myrmidons, *i.e.* he was a bravo-master. The Italian noble of this day had to fight with more difficulties, and was more confined to his walls and secret chambers, than his predecessors, owing to the alteration of manners, and the gradual progress of law. Law was beginning to peep out of her corner, and was regarded by the genuine heroic class with much of the same feeling with which the Epicureans regarded religion: *Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instat*. Her puny efforts at first, indeed, created no more than a feeling and an impression; a suspicion in the world at large that assassins, and robbers, and braves were not respectable people: still this was a descent. The castellated noble, with his circle of followers, and machinery of poison and stiletto, had an ambiguous position, and seemed to fly, like an ominous night bird, the approach of morn, and lived under a cloud.

On entering within this corner of Manzoni's ground, the youthful reminiscences—may we say it—of Mrs. Radcliffe and the *Mysteries of Udolpho* came across us. The old images of the banditti noble, and his forest chateau, with its dark and mysterious recesses, and doors in the wall, winding stairs, silent corridors, and alternation of desolation and riot; the awful clearance and desertion of daytime, and the illuminated hall and riotous banquet of midnight, recur in hazy, forgotten, dreamy outline. The heroine, torn from her home and friends, and awaiting, in the castellated solitude of an Italian marquis's mountain chateau, the issue of some unknown plot, and seeing movements going on which she cannot account for—wandering through empty rooms, with moth-eaten tapestry, and pictures

of the old counts and marquises of the family, as gloomy and as impenetrable as their present possessor, recur as the suitable traditionary associations of the region, and the development of the *genius loci*. A peculiar shadow and mystery of his own hangs over the motions of the titled Italian, and he is a characteristic portion of the human aristocracy, and has his species side by side with Spanish grandee, English baron, Scotch laird, Highland chieftain, Saxon earl, and, we doubt not, Persian satrap, Argive king, and nobles Mexican and Peruvian, and caziques of Zempoalla and Quiabison.

We break into the middle of the description of one of this class, who figures prominently in this story.

‘ During his absence he continued the same practices, not even intermitting his correspondence with those of his friends who remained united to him (to translate literally from Ripamonti), “ in the secret alliance of atrocious consultations and fatal deeds.” It even appears that he engaged the foreign courts in other new and formidable undertakings, of which the above-cited historian speaks with mysterious brevity. “ Some foreign princes several times availed themselves of his assistance in important murders, and frequently sent him reinforcements of soldiers, from a considerable distance, to act under his orders.”

‘ At length (it is not exactly known how long afterwards) either the sentence of banishment against him being withdrawn, by some powerful intercession, or the audacity of the man serving him in place of any other liberation, he resolved to return home, and, in fact, *did* return; not, however, to Milan, but to a castle on his manor, situated on the confines of the Bergamascan territory, at that time, as most of our readers know, under Venetian government; and here he fixed his abode. “ This dwelling,” we again quote Ripamonti, “ was, as it were, a dispensary of sanguinary mandates: the servants were outlaws and murderers; the very cooks and scullions were not exempt from homicide; the hands of the children were stained with blood.” Besides this amiable domestic circle, he had, as the same historian affirms, another set of dependents of a similar character dispersed abroad, and quartered, so to say, at different posts in the two states on the borders of which he lived, who were always ready to execute his orders.

‘ All the tyrannical noblemen for a considerable distance round, had been obliged, on one occasion or another, to choose between the friendship or the enmity of this super-eminent tyrant. Those, however, who at first attempted to resist him, came off so badly in the contest, that no one was ever induced

‘to make a second trial. Neither was it possible, by maintaining a neutral course, or standing, as the saying is, in their own shoes, to keep themselves independent of him. If a message arrived, intimating that such a person must desist from such an undertaking, or cease to molest such a debtor, or so forth; it was necessary to give a decided answer one way or other. When one party came, with the homage of a vassal, to refer any business to his arbitration, the other party was reduced to the hard alternative of either abiding by his sentence, or publicly declaring hostilities; which was equivalent to being, as the saying is, in the last stage of consumption. Many who were in the wrong, had recourse to him that they might be right in effect; many being in the right, yet resorted to him to pre-engage so powerful a patronage, and close the way against their adversaries; thus both bad and good came to be dependent upon him. It sometimes happened that the weak, oppressed, harassed, and tyrannized over by some powerful lord, turned to him for protection; he would then take the part of the oppressed, and force the oppressor to abstain from further injuries, to repair the wrongs he had committed, and even to stoop to apologies; or, in case of his proving stubborn and unbending, he would completely crush his power, constrain him to quit the place where he had exercised such unjust influence, or even make him pay a more expeditious and more terrible penalty. In these cases, his name, usually so dreaded and abhorred, became, for a time, an object of blessing: for (I will not say, this justice, but) this remedy, this recompense of some sort, could not have been expected, under the circumstances of the times, from any other either public or private source. More frequently, and indeed ordinarily, his power and authority ministered to iniquitous desires, atrocious revenge, or outrageous caprice. But the very opposite uses he made of this power produced in the end the self-same effect, that of impressing all minds with a lofty idea of how much he could will and execute in spite of equity or iniquity, those two things which interpose so many impediments to the accomplishment of man’s desires, and so often force him to turn back. The fame of ordinary oppressors was for the most part restricted to the limited tract of country where they continually or frequently exercised their oppression: each district had its own tyrant; and these so resembled each other, that there was no reason that people should interfere with those from whom they sustained neither injury nor molestation. But the fame of this man had long been diffused throughout every corner of the Milanese: his life was everywhere the subject of popular stories; and his very name

* carried with it the idea of something formidable, dark, and
'fabulous. The suspicions that were every where entertained
'of his confederates and tools of assassination, contributed to
'keep alive a constant memento of him. They were nothing
'more than suspicions; since who would have openly acknow-
'ledged such a dependence? but every tyrant might be his
'associate, every robber one of his assassins; and the very
'uncertainty of the fact rendered the opinion more general, and
'the terror more profound. At every appearance of an un-
'known ruffian, more savage-looking than usual; at every
'enormous crime, the author of which could not be at first
'pointed out or conjectured, the name of this man was pro-
'nounced and whispered about.'

The Italian mob has a character of its own in the same way. Quick, inflammable, and dangerous, ready to aim their poniard where an English countryman would only double his fist; with an appetite easily whetted for blood, and tenderness equally excitable, the lower classes present a peculiar variety of the human mass. They seem literally not to have that horror at blood in their nature, which we English suppose is the necessary property of man. They unclasp their knives in a moment; the sudden insult, or sneer, or inuendo kindles their eye; a fierce look is darted, and they rush with knife in hand upon one another. Their first idea, on such occasions, is to kill. They come to the point at once, and have no flat roundabout beating and bruising work. The character is, after all, capable of a most amiable aspect, where this final catastrophe is happily frustrated. The hero of the story, Renzo, is a regular Italian peasant; full of life, sensibility, good humour, tenderness, with a decided instinct for stabbing when he feels seriously aggrieved. We are really surprised at the vivid glibness with which the action of the knife recurs to his mind, in moments of vexation, and the facility with which a really amiable and devout youth makes his foe a corpse before his mind. He has just heard that it is Don Rodrigo who has prevented his marriage.

'Renzo, meanwhile, walked with an excited step towards
'home, without having determined what he ought to do, but
'with a mad longing to do something strange and terrible.
'The unjust and oppressive, all those, in fact, who wrong
'others, are guilty, not only of the evil they do, but also of the
'perversion of mind they cause in those whom they offend.
'Renzo was a young man of peaceful disposition, and averse to
'violence; sincere, and one who abhorred deceit; but at this
'moment, his heart panted for murder: his mind was occupied
'only in devising a plot. He would have wished to hasten to
'Don Rodrigo's house, to seize him by the throat, and . . . but

' he remembered that his house was like a fortress, garrisoned
' with bravoës within, and guarded without; that only friends
' and servants, well known, could enter freely, without being
' searched from head to foot; that an artisan, if unknown, could
' not put foot within it without an examination; and that he,
' above all . . . he probably would be too well known. He
' then fancied himself taking his fowling-piece, planting him-
' self behind a hedge, looking out whether his enemy would
' ever, ever pass by, unaccompanied; and dwelling with
' ferocious complacency on this thought, he imagined the sound
' of a step; at this sound he raises his head without noise;
' recognises the wretch, raises the fowling-piece, takes aim—
' fires; sees him fall and struggle, bestows a malediction on
' him, and escapes in safety beyond the borders.—And Lucia?
' —Scarcely had this word come across these dreadful phan-
' tasies, when the better thoughts, with which Renzo was
' familiarized, crowded into his mind. He recalled the dying
' charge of his parents. The thought of God, of the Blessed
' Virgin, and of the saints, returned upon him; he remembered
' the consolation he had so often experienced from the recol-
' lection that he was free from crimes; he remembered the
' horror with which he had so often received the news of a
' murder; and he awoke from this dream of blood with fear,
' with remorse, and yet with a sort of joy that he had but
' imagined it.'

In a scene with Lucia:

' "Ah, rascal! wretch! murderer!" exclaimed Renzo, striding
' backwards and forwards across the room, and grasping from
' time to time the hilt of his dagger.

' "Oh, heavens, what a fury!" exclaimed Agnese. The
' young man suddenly drew himself up before Lucia, who was
' weeping, looked at her with an anxious and imbittered ten-
' derness, and said, "This is the last deed this assassin
' shall do."

' "Ah, no, Renzo, for Heaven's sake!" cried Lucia; "no,
' no, for Heaven's sake! God is on the side of the poor, and
' how can we expect him to help us if we do wrong?"

' "No, no, for Heaven's sake!" echoed Agnese.'

The riot at Milan, and Renzo's proceedings in it, are vividly
given. He plunges into the very thick of the commotion,
while, with the most benevolent intentions, he assists in saving
the unfortunate Superintendent from the half-famished furious
mob. The Milanese mob is just stopped by the appearance of
the Chancellor, Antonio Ferrer, in his carriage, who, on the
strength of his own popularity and proclamations on the subject
of cheap bread, comes to the rescue of his fellow official.

‘The crowds moved onward, before, behind, and on each side of the carriage, like the mighty billows around a vessel advancing through the midst of a storm. The noise was more shrill, more discordant, more stunning, even than the whistling and howling of a storm itself. Ferrer, looking out first at one side and then at the other, beckoning and making all sorts of gestures to the people, endeavoured to catch something to which he might accommodate his replies; he tried as well as he could to hold a little dialogue with this crowd of friends; but it was a difficult task, the most difficult, perhaps, that he had yet met with during so many years of his high-chancellorship. From time to time, however, a single word, or occasionally some broken sentence, repeated by a group in his passage, made itself heard, as the report of a large squib is heard above the continued crackling and whizzing of a display of fireworks. Now endeavouring to give a satisfactory answer to these cries, now loudly ejaculating the words that he knew would be most acceptable, or that some instant necessity seemed to require, he, too, continued to talk the whole way. “Yes, gentlemen; bread, abundance—I will conduct him to prison: he shall be punished—*si està culpable*. Yes, yes: I will command: bread at a low price. *A si es . . .* So it is, I mean to say: the king our master would not wish such faithful subjects to suffer from hunger. *Ox! ox! guardaos*: take care we don’t hurt you, gentlemen. *Pedro, adelante, con juicio*. Plenty, plenty. A little room, for pity’s sake. Bread, bread. To prison, to prison. “What?” then demanded he of one who had thrust half his body through the window, to shout in his ear some advice or petition or applause, or whatever it might be. But he, without having time to hear the “what?” was forcibly pulled back by one who saw him on the point of being run over by the wheels. With such speeches and replies, amongst incessant acclamations, and some few grumbles of opposition, which were distinguishable here and there, but were quickly silenced, Ferrer at last reached the house, principally by the aid of these good auxiliaries.’

Ferrer gets the Superintendent into his carriage, and moves off with him through the crowd. ‘As soon as Ferrer had seated himself, he bent down, and advised the vicar to keep himself well concealed in the corner, and not show himself for Heaven’s sake; but there was no necessity for this warning. He, on the contrary, was obliged to display himself at the window, to attract and engage the attention of the multitude: and through the whole course of this drive he was occupied, as before, in making, to his changeable audience, the most lengthened and most unconnected harangue that ever was uttered; only interrupting

‘ it occasionally with some Spanish word or two, which he turned
 ‘ to whisper hastily in the ear of his squatting companion. “ Yes,
 ‘ gentlemen, bread and justice. To the castle, to prison, under
 ‘ my guard. Thank you, thank you; a thousand thanks. No,
 ‘ no; he shall not escape! *Por ablandarlos*.* It is too just; we
 ‘ will examine, we will see. I also wish you well, gentlemen.
 ‘ A severe punishment. *Esto lo digo por su bien*.† A just tariff,
 ‘ a fair limit, and punishment to those who would starve you.
 Stand aside, I beg of you.—Yes, yes, I am an honest man, a
 ‘ friend of the people. He shall be punished. It is true, he is
 ‘ a rogue, a rascal. *Perdone usted!*‡ It will go ill with him, it
 ‘ will go ill with him . . . *Si està culpable*.§ Yes, yes; we will
 ‘ make the bakers plough straightforward. Long live the king,
 ‘ and the good Milanese, his most faithful subjects! It is bad,
 ‘ very bad. *Animo; estamos ya quasi afuera*.”||

Such are the materials which Manzoni has provided for him to work up. He has, in the peculiar Italian shape, nobles, ruffians, an inflammable peasantry—all the turbulent, dark, and sanguinary elements of character, and all the mixture of generous, passionate, and affectionate ones, which our own novelists have. He has the same field of human wildness and restlessness, audacity, fraud, and lawless energy, to go over, that Scott has—the same irregular landscape, under a more southern sun. But there is this great difference in the respective ways in which Manzoni and Scott treat this raw material. The one represents the wildness of human nature going on by itself and left to its own direction; the other, that wildness brought under the softening control of a power above it. In Manzoni nature has her mistress: nature feels herself under an informing, guiding, restraining, soothing, sympathising, ruling master-hand. The Church overshadows the ground, like the cathedral arch; and the groined gothic roof overhangs, from its solemn height, all the stirrings and commotions of the crowd below. He takes us into a church interior, and shows a whole mob assembled in it, mightily unfit for the place most of them, and much wishing to be out of it, knocking their heads against the wall, raging, shouting, and hooting, but obliged to own their imprisonment notwithstanding. The supernatural influence of the scene affects the better part more properly, and their hearts yield as they look down the majestic vista, and hear the music of the choir. In Scott the scene is out of doors, in the open air, under a stormy sky, amid rock or moorland. Scott paints a scene of natural rude magnificence, and brings out the virtues, mixed and darkened, of a turbu-

* It is to coax them.

§ If he be guilty.

† I say this for your good.

|| Courage! we are almost out of danger.

‡ Excuse me, Sir.

lent age; the generosity of border robbers, the undying faithfulness of clanship, self-devotion, courage, revenge, false honour, all storming and swelling in Saxon and Norman forest, or on Highland mountain. Nature is left to produce her own mixed characteristics in her children, and we admire, and are horrified, and affected in turns. The dark rich juice overflows from the wild plant, and mingles strong sweet, and bitter. Scott introduces the Church, but he does not give it power. He introduces it as a feature in the landscape, as a painter might introduce a rock or a castle: he displays it in its picturesqueness, not in its solid life. We do not find the Church in his pages coming into actual contact with human hearts, and struggling with the individual will, now rebuffed, now triumphing in her efforts. It is as a picture that he treats her. The grey walls of her monasteries, her proud or her crumbling towers, her costumes, her cavalcades and prelatical pomps, are painted on the medieval canvass, and mingle with the baronial and feudal splendours of the times. Manzoni's Church is not a pictorial, but a practical one: conversant with all the busy details of man's heart, insinuating, protecting, persuading, assisting; effective, systematic, and stirring as any police-system. We detect in Scott's picture of the Church, that species of the interesting which time throws over what it destroys. The author's mind has to look out of the living world into the dead, and sees the Church he describes through an historical medium, by the telescope of the past, and not by the naked contemporary eye. He therefore sees her with that artificial colour on her, which belongs to a picture more than to real life. The ruin sleeps, in pleasing roughness or sweetness, upon the green slope, or broad bankside; and the optics of romance show the distant ecclesiastical group moving in still pictorial life within the poet's frame. In Manzoni, we do not see the Church of romance, but the Church contemporary and living: we see a practical machinery going on. She appears as the ordinary, commonplace, matter-of-fact working power of the day; she is as much a part and parcel of the vulgar present, as our own poor low and manufacturing system; and she depends for her poetry on the loveliness of her essential life, and not on that vague sweetness of fancy, and magic of time, which exhibits on one canvass, and brings under one head, feudal castle and monastery, cathedral aisle, dungeon and barbican, moat and confessional and drawbridge, mitre and Lochaber axe, as the vision of a by-gone world, and therefore pleasing because by-gone.

Father Cristoforo is a character in which this influence of the Church is very vividly represented.

'Father Cristoforo of * * * * was a man nearer sixty than fifty years of age. His shaven head, circled with a narrow

‘line of hair, like a crown, according to the fashion of the Capuchin tonsure, was raised from time to time with a movement that betrayed somewhat of disdain and disquietude, and then quickly sank again in thoughts of lowliness and humility. His long, grey beard covering his cheeks and chin, contrasted markedly with the prominent features of the upper part of his face, to which a long and habitual abstinence had rather given an air of gravity, than effaced the natural expression. His sunken eyes, usually bent on the ground, sometimes brightened up with a momentary fire, like two spirited horses, under the hand of a driver whom they know by experience they cannot overcome; yet occasionally they indulge in a few gambols and prancings, for which they are quickly repaid by a smart jerk of the bit.’

The father is a Capuchin, and friend of the poor: his order devotes him to a peculiar interest and tenderness in the concerns of the poor. His own private history takes him in the same direction. A quick sense of injustice, wherever he sees it, a public spiritedness, and anxiety to redress all grievances that go on around him, gets him into scrapes in his early life. He becomes an adversary to nobles. A street-quarrel, and an insult from one of this class, is the original occasion which leads him into the monastic life. He regards himself as under a peculiar call, in this change of life, to be the lover, and succourer, and adviser of poor people. He is at home in their cottages, enters into all their domestic plans, is asked for his advice in the family crisis, gets them out of difficulties as if they were his own children, and does it all with the tenderest feelings of intimacy and equality.

The hero and heroine, Renzo and Lucia, are spiritual and almost domestic children of his in this way; and the atrocious attempt of the libertine, Don Rodrigo, to stop their marriage, brings him as their parental counsellor to them, in which office he continues throughout the story. The movements of both in this emergency are directed by him: he gets them out of the tyrant's reach, and sends them away to distant parts. The vehicles of the district are under the command of the saintly Capuchin. Carriage, driver, and the friar stand in the moonlight at the door of the convent church to receive Lucia and her mother; and they are despatched with his blessing over the mountains, with letters to the Capuchin monastery of another town. Father Cristoforo's name is known to all the fraternity, and he has his own particular friends in the different monasteries, ready to assist in executing any of his benevolent plans. Cristoforo's Capuchin friend at Monza has now to think and plan, to know what to do with Lucia and Agnese. He soon hits on an

expedient, and lodges his charges finally in a nunnery in the place, under the especial care of an influential member of the sisterhood. Renzo is sent off with commendatory letters in the same way. The Capuchin ramifications afford a most convenient machinery for these arrangements, and furnish universal harbours and lodges for the faithful poor in such cases. A spirit of friendliness and management pervades the order; and the wide-spreading institution acts in this respect as a general benevolent society, and counterbalances the weakness of law, and the petty tyranny of the nobility.

An amusing contrast between the two classes of advisers—the lawyers and the monks—is suggested in the following scenes. The lover, in the first agonies of his disappointment, goes to a lawgiver for redress from the injuries of Don Rodrigo, not thinking in his innocence of the possibility of such a professional gentleman being under any unstatutable influence, as to the exercise of his profession, from a powerful nobleman close at hand, who possessed bravoes and gave dinners. ‘A serious case, my son,’ says Dr. Azzecca-Garbugli to Renzo. ‘There are laws to the point. You have done well to come to me. It is a clear case, recognised in a hundred proclamations,’ &c. &c. The doctor treats Renzo with amazing consideration so long as he supposes him to be a bravo, a fact which he took for granted in consequence of his business lying so much among that class; but the moment it appears that Renzo is not a bravo, but a sufferer from bravoes, and especially a complainant touching Don Rodrigo, Dr. Azzecca-Garbugli’s sympathies are changed with incredible rapidity. The dread name of Don Rodrigo, in an instant, in a moment, like a clap of thunder, convulses the Doctor, and he shoots poor Renzo out of the house like a bullet from a pistol.

“Get you gone!” quickly interrupted the Doctor, raising his eyebrows, wrinkling his red nose, and distorting his mouth, “get you gone! Why do you come here to rack my brain with these lies? Talk in this way to your companions, who don’t know the meaning of words, and don’t come and utter them to a gentleman who knows well what they are worth. Go away, go away; you don’t know what you are talking about; I don’t meddle with boys; I don’t want to hear talk of this sort: talk in the air.”

“I will take an oath . . .”

“Get you gone, I tell you; what do I care for your oaths! I won’t enter into the business; I wash my hands of it.” And he began rubbing and twirling them one over the other, as if he were really washing them. “Learn how to speak; and don’t come and take a gentleman thus by surprise.”

“But listen—but listen,” vainly repeated Renzo. The Doctor, fuming all the time, pushed him towards the door, and, on reaching it, set it wide open, called the servant, and said, “Be quick, and give this man what he brought. I want nothing, I want nothing.” The woman had never before executed a similar order all the time she had been in the Doctor’s service; but it was pronounced in so resolute a manner, that she did not hesitate to obey. So, taking the four poor birds, she gave them to Renzo, with a look of contemptuous compassion, which seemed to say, “You must indeed have made a grand blunder.” Renzo tried to be ceremonious, but the Doctor was inexorable; and the unhappy wight, astonished and bewildered, and more wrathful than ever, was compelled to take back the restored victims, and return to the country to relate the pleasing result of his expedition to Agnese and Lucia.

Now for the Church-counsellor.

Father Cristoforo stopped on the threshold, and quickly perceived, by a glance at the women, that his presentiments had not been unfounded. While raising his beard, by a slight movement of the head backwards, he said, in that interrogative tone which anticipates a mournful reply, “Well?” Lucia answered by a flood of tears. Her mother began to apologize for having dared . . . but he advanced and seated himself on a three-legged stool, and cut short all her excuses, by saying to Lucia, “Calm yourself, my poor daughter. And you,” continued he, turning to Agnese, “tell me what has happened.” The good woman related the melancholy story as well as she could, while the friar changed colour a thousand times, at one moment raising his eyes to heaven, the next, kicking his heels on the ground. At the conclusion of the recital he covered his face with his hands, and exclaimed, “Oh, blessed Lord! how long! . . .” But, without finishing the sentence, he turned again to the woman. “Poor things!” said he, “God has indeed visited you. Poor Lucia.”

“You will not forsake us, Father?” sobbed Lucia.

“Forsake you!” replied he. “Great God! with what face could I again make request to Him, if I should forsake you? You in this state! You whom He confides to me! Don’t despair: He will help you. He sees all: He can make use even of such an unworthy instrument as I am to confound a . . . Let us see: let me think what I can do for you.”

So saying, he leaned his left elbow on his knee, laid his forehead on his hand, and with the right grasped his beard and chin, as if to concentrate and hold fast all the powers of his mind. But the most attentive consideration only served to show more distinctly the urgency and intricacy of the case,

‘and how few, how uncertain, and how dangerous were the ways of meeting it. “Instill shame into Don Abbondio, and make him sensible of how much he is failing in his duty? Shame and duty are nothing to him, when overwhelmed with fear. Inspire him with fears? How can I suggest one that would overbalance the dread he already has of a musket? Inform the Cardinal-Archbishop of all, and invoke his authority? This requires time, and in the meanwhile what might not happen? And afterwards, supposing even this unhappy innocent were married, would that be a curb to such a man? . . . Who knows to what length he might proceed? And resist him? How? Ah! if I could,” thought the poor friar: “if I could but engage in this cause my brethren here and at Milan! But it is not a common affair, and I should be abandoned. Don Rodrigo pretends to be a friend to the convent, and professes himself a favourer of the Capuchins; and his followers have more than once taken refuge with us. I should find myself alone in the undertaking; I should be opposed by meddling, quarrelsome persons; and, what is worse, I should, perhaps, by an ill-timed endeavour, only render the condition of this poor girl more hopeless.” Having considered every view of the question, the best course seemed to be to confront Don Rodrigo himself, and try, by entreaties, the terrors of the life to come, and even of this world, if that were possible, to dissuade him from his infamous purpose. At least, he could by this means ascertain whether he continued obstinately bent on his wicked design, discover something more of his intentions, and act accordingly.

‘While the friar was thus engaged, Renzo, who for reasons that every one can divine, could not long absent himself, made his appearance at the door; but seeing the Father absorbed in thought, and the women beckoning to him not to interrupt him, he stood silent on the threshold. Raising his head to communicate his design to the women, the friar perceived Renzo, and saluted him with his usual affection, increased and rendered more intense by compassion.

‘“Have they told you . . . Father?” asked Renzo, in an agitated tone.

‘“Only too much: and for that reason I am here.”

‘“What do you say to the rascal?”

‘“What do you wish me to say of him? He is far away, and my words would be of no use. But I say to you, my Renzo, trust in God, and He will not forsake you.”

‘“What blessed words!” exclaimed the youth. “You are not one of those who always wrong the poor. But the Signor Curate, and that Signor Doctor . . .”

“Don't recall those scenes, Renzo, which only serve to irritate you uselessly. I am a poor friar; but I repeat what I have said to these poor women: poor as I am, I will not forsake you.”

“Ah! you are not like the world's friends! Good-for-nothing creatures that they are! You would not believe the protestations they made me in prosperity. Ha! Ha! They were ready to give their lives for me; they would have defended me against the devil. If I had had an enemy . . . I had only to let them know it, and I should have been quickly rid of him! And now, if you were to see how they draw back . . .” At this moment Renzo perceived, on raising his eyes to those of his auditor, that the good friar's face was clouded, and he felt that he had uttered something wrong. He only added to his perplexities, however, and made matters worse, by trying to remedy them: “I meant to say . . . I don't at all mean . . . that is, I meant to say . . .”

“What did you mean to say? Have you, then, begun to spoil my work before I have undertaken it? It is well for you that you have been undeceived in time. What! you went in search of friends . . . and such friends! . . . who could not have helped you, had they been willing; and you forgot to seek the only One who can and will assist you! Do you not know that God is the friend of the afflicted who put their trust in Him? Do you not know that threatening and contention gain nothing for the weak? And even if . . .” Here he forcibly grasped Renzo's arm: his countenance, without losing any of its authority, expressed a solemn contrition; he cast his eyes on the ground, and his voice became slow and almost sepulchral: Even if they did, it is a terrible gain! Renzo! will you trust to me? To me, did I say—a feeble mortal, a poor friar? No; but will you trust in God?”

Here is the genuine power of the Church we were speaking of. Renzo's inflammable spirit is for meeting Don Rodrigo with his own weapons, *i. e.* for assassinating him at once. The friar soothes, shames, and awes him. The native vehemence of the Italian peasant breaks out again and again; and as often as it breaks out, is charmed and subdued. He would do all sorts of vindictive things of himself, only he feels the Church's hold over him. The fury of peasantry is that of anger, not of pride: they are carried away, and are drawn back again: storm, and are hushed: wish, and unwish again: they yield to passion, and are not ashamed of being curbed and mastered by the spiritual hand. The influence of the Church is a friendly, protecting one, and therefore has a claim over them. Thus does she go on dealing with the poor fluctuating crowd within her fold. They

would be doing indefinite mischief were they not there ; but being there, they are kept harmless. They are simple-minded enough to accept her control. She earns, by self-sacrifice, and kindness, the right to be the mistress, and their mistress she is ; and she rides calmly over the passions of the simple multitude, and maintains a moral influence, and an empire of mind, peculiar to herself.

But it is in the instances of higher and more extraordinary minds, in the region of singularity and aspiring character, that this influence tells most strikingly. The Church's standard marks the great and the bold class of characters more particularly with its own impress, recalls them from their wanderings, closes in with them immediately, and makes them her own, by the quick appeal, and the overpowering embrace. There is an effect produced upon people's minds instinctively, by having a high spiritual standard always in sight of them : the high spirits among them, if they do turn good, think they may as well do it in right earnest, and go all lengths. A sort of eccentricity in the life spiritual, becomes a regular feature and a part of the system of the day. They are caught and carried away by the examples before their eyes. High perfection attained and going on amidst ever so much corruption, has this effect upon those within its reach : when they do turn good, it is the model which moulds their goodness. So much depends upon the model which a system offers. It is as easy, we may almost say, for a certain class of minds to be good on the bolder, as to be so on the humbler model, provided they have that model put visibly in the natural course before them ; provided it is not, according to the tone of the day, unnatural or extraordinary that they should adopt the bolder one. This is an effect of the religious system of Rome acting upon the Italian mind, which comes out strongly in Manzoni's portraits. Italian minds are specially impressible by such influence ; they do not feel those restraining motives of caution and reserve acting upon them, to the degree to which some national characters do. They have not that fear of venturing too far, and that nervousness at the thought of being singular and doing anything out of the way, that would affect an Englishman. They are *omnia magna* in their feelings and emotions. There is a hugeness and a colossal air which Manzoni throws over the religious movements of mind in his chief personages ; a pyramidal broadness and altitude in his forms of goodness, his impersonations of penitence, humility, charity. He has two magnificent penitents, who come upon the stage like two lions from the desert. Wild beasts are great beings in their way, because they belong to another sphere than our own, and do not feel the civilizing check ; they jump to the

full awful height of their animal will and power, and their demonstrations have an air of illimitableness about them. We do not mean to compare good men and spiritual heroes to wild beasts, but only to transfer the large scale and out-of-the-way shape of the latter, to the spiritual subject matter we are speaking of. The whole atmosphere of feeling in which Manzoni personages move, naturalizes these phenomena. The religious world, as it were, expects them; there are chains of precedents for them; and when men appear in such a character, they only go into the same mould where others have gone before them, and receive the large and bold impress of the system they are in.

Father Cristoforo himself is one of these characters. He figures before us in his early history, as the achiever of an act of giant humility. There is a quaint magnificence in the whole scene of his humiliation before the brother of the nobleman he has killed in the duel, which is exceedingly striking. The Italian feeling is portrayed so remarkably on both sides—the honour and fashionable sentiment of the day on one side, the religion on the other. The nobleman, proud and fussy on the prospect of seeing the enemy of his house humbled, assembles all the scions and cousins of the house, all the cavaliers with their bravoës, all the countesses and belles that can be mustered, to witness the grand triumph of an *amende honorable*, made *in propria persona*, by the perpetrator of the act, to the injured honour of the noble house. Galleries, corridors, and staircases, ante-rooms, and drawing-rooms, are swimming with the light of chandeliers; and a throng of ball-room beauty and fashion receives the corded monk, as Ludovico has now become, as he makes his solitary penitential entr  e, and walks, with deliberate downcast eye, up to the feet of the lord of the scene. The extravagant flourish of Italian vanity, and the magnificent feat of Church humility, are both equally on the large poetical scale. But we must give the passage itself.

‘ Scarcely was the ceremony of taking the religious habit completed, when the guardian told him that he must keep his novitiate at * * *, sixty miles distant, and that he must leave the next day. The novice bowed respectfully, and requested a favour of him. “ Allow me, Father,” said he, “ before I quit the city where I have shed the blood of a fellow-creature, and leave a family justly offended with me, to make what satisfaction I can by at least confessing my sorrow, begging forgiveness of the brother of the deceased, and so removing, please God, the enmity he feels towards me.” The guardian, thinking that such an act, besides being good in itself, would also serve still more to reconcile the family to the convent, instantly repaired to the offended Signor’s house, and communicated to

‘ him Friar Cristoforo’s request. The Signor, greatly surprised
‘ at so unexpected a proposal, felt a rising of anger, mingled
‘ perhaps with complacency, and after thinking a moment, “Let
‘ him come to-morrow,” said he, mentioning the hour; and the
‘ Superior returned to the monastery to acquaint the novice with
‘ the desired permission.

‘ The gentleman soon remembered that the more solemn and
‘ notorious the submission was, the more his influence and im-
‘ portance would be increased among his friends and the public;
‘ and it would also, (to use a fashionable modern expression,)
‘ make a fine page in the history of the family. He therefore
‘ hastily sent to inform all his relatives, that the next day at
‘ noon they must hold themselves engaged to come to him, for
‘ the purpose of receiving a common satisfaction. At mid-day
‘ the palace swarmed with the nobility of both sexes and of every
‘ age; occasioning a confused intermingling of large cloaks, lofty
‘ plumes, and pendent jewels; a vibrating movement of stiffened
‘ and curled ribbons, an impeded trailing of embroidered trains.
‘ The ante-rooms, court-yards, and roads overflowed with ser-
‘ vants, pages, bravoos, and inquisitive gazers. On seeing all
‘ this preparation, Friar Cristoforo guessed the motive, and felt
‘ a momentary perturbation; but he soon recovered himself, and
‘ said:—“Be it so; I committed the murder publicly, in the
‘ presence of many of his enemies; that was an injury; this is
‘ reparation.”—So, with the Father, his companion, at his side,
‘ and his eyes bent on the ground, he passed the threshold,
‘ traversed the court-yard among a crowd who eyed him with
‘ very unceremonious curiosity, ascended the stairs, and in the
‘ midst of another crowd of nobles, who gave way at his approach,
‘ was ushered, with a thousand eyes upon him, into the presence
‘ of the master of the mansion, who, surrounded by his nearest
‘ relatives, stood in the centre of the room with a downcast look,
‘ grasping in his left hand the hilt of his sword, while with the
‘ right he folded the collar of his cloak over his breast.

‘ There is sometimes in the face and behaviour of a person so
‘ direct an expression, such an effusion, so to speak, of the in-
‘ ternal soul, that in a crowd of spectators there will be but one
‘ judgment and opinion of him. So was it with Friar Cristo-
‘ foro; his face and behaviour plainly expressed to the by-
‘ standers that he had not become a friar, nor submitted to that
‘ humiliation from the fear of man; and the discovery immedi-
‘ ately conciliated all hearts. On perceiving the offended Signor,
‘ he quickened his steps, fell on his knees at his feet, crossed his
‘ hands on his breast, and bending his shaved head, said, “I am
‘ the murderer of your brother. God knows how gladly I would
‘ restore him to you at the price of my own blood, but it cannot

‘be: I can only make inefficacious and tardy excuses, and implore you to accept them for God’s sake.” All eyes were immoveably fixed upon the novice and the illustrious personage he was addressing; all ears were attentively listening: and when Friar Cristoforo ceased, there was a murmur of compassion and respect throughout the room. The gentleman, who stood in an attitude of forced condescension and restrained anger, was much moved at these words, and bending towards the supplicant, “Rise,” said he, in an altered tone. “The offence—the act certainly—but the habit you bear—not only so, but also yourself—Rise, Father—My brother—I cannot deny it—was a cavalier—was rather a—precipitate man—rather hasty. But all happens by God’s appointment. Speak of it no more But, Father, you must not remain in this posture.” And taking him by the arm, he compelled him to rise. The friar, standing with his head bowed, and his eyes fixed on the ground, replied, “I may hope then that I have your forgiveness? And if I obtain it from *you*, from whom may I not hope it? Oh! if I might hear from your lips that one word—pardon.”

“Pardon!” said the gentleman. “You no longer need it. But since you desire it, certainly . . . certainly, I pardon you with my whole heart, and all”

“All! all!” exclaimed the bystanders, with one voice. The countenance of the friar expanded with grateful joy, under which, however, might be traced an humble and deep compunction for the evil which the forgiveness of men could not repair. The gentleman, overcome by this deportment, and urged forward by the general feeling, threw his arms round Cristoforo’s neck, and gave and received the kiss of peace.

“Bravo! well done!” burst forth from all parts of the room: there was a general movement, and all gathered round the friar. Servants immediately entered, bringing abundance of refreshment. The Signor, again addressing Cristoforo, who was preparing to retire, said, “Father, let me give you some of these trifles; afford me this proof of your friendship;” and was on the point of helping him before any of the others; but he, drawing back with a kind of friendly resistance, “These things,” said he, “are no longer for me; but God forbid that I should refuse your gifts. I am about to start on my journey; allow me to take a loaf of bread, that I may be able to say I have shared your charity, eaten of your bread, and received a token of your forgiveness.” The nobleman, much affected, ordered it to be brought, and shortly a waiter entered in full dress, bearing the loaf on a silver dish, and presented it to the father, who took it with many thanks, and put it in his basket.

‘ Then, obtaining permission to depart, he bade farewell to the master of the house and those who stood nearest to him, and with difficulty made his escape as they endeavoured for a moment to impede his progress; while, in the ante-rooms, he had to struggle to free himself from the servants, and even from the bravoës, who kissed the hem of his garment, his rope and his hood. At last he reached the street, borne along as in triumph, and accompanied by a crowd of people as far as the gate of the city, from whence he commenced his pedestrian journey towards the place of his novitiate.’

But the grand penitential hero in the story, in whom the triumph of Church power over the high thoughts and stubborn will of earthly greatness is most conspicuous, is the ‘Innominato,’ the great Unnamed. This mysterious tyrant and magnificent robber potentate, is the terror of all adjacent cities, principalities, and baronies; of magistrates, nobles, and peasants. From his mountain fortresses, the secret chains of his influence extend far and wide, and oppress the whole popular mind with a notion of his ubiquity and earthly omnipotence. He is the centre of information, cabal, intrigue: all avenues are unaccountably open to his eye, all the hidden plots and manœuvres of an Italian aristocracy are bare to him as soon as they are formed. The wise take him into their confidence, and become his humble friends and servants: those who do not choose to submit to this position, are sure to suffer from him. Certain to come off best, he is in either case content, and enjoys his iron throne and murderous supremacy. A passage we have already quoted gives a description of the man. His castle is like himself.

‘ The castle of the Unnamed was commandingly situated over a dark and narrow valley, on the summit of a cliff projecting from a rugged ridge of hills, whether united to them or separated from them it is difficult to say, by a mass of crags and rocks, and by a boundary of caverns and abrupt precipices, both flanking it and on the rear. The side which overlooked the valley was the only accessible one; rather a steep acclivity, certainly, but even and unbroken: the summit was used for pasturage, while the lower grounds were cultivated, and scattered here and there with habitations. The bottom was a bed of large stones, the channel, according to the season, of either a rivulet or a noisy torrent, which at that time formed the boundary of the two states. The opposite ridges, forming, so to speak, the other wall of the valley, had a small cultivated tract, gently inclining from the base; the rest was covered with crags, stones, and abrupt risings, untrodden, and destitute of vegetation, excepting here and there a solitary bush in the interstices, or on the edges of the rocks.

‘ From the height of this castle, like an eagle from his sanguinary nest, the savage nobleman surveyed every spot around where the foot of man could tread, and heard no human sound above him. At one view he could overlook the whole vale, the declivities, the bed of the stream, and the practicable paths intersecting the valley. That which approached his terrible abode by a zigzag and serpentine course, appeared to a spectator from below, like a winding thread; while from the windows and loop-holes on the summit, the Signor could leisurely observe any one who was ascending, and a hundred times catch a view of him. With the garrison of bravoes whom he there maintained, he could even oppose a tolerable numerous troop of assailants, stretching any number of them on the ground, or hurling them to the bottom, before they could succeed in gaining the height. He was not very likely, however, to be put to the trial, since no one who was not on good terms with the owner of the castle would venture to set foot within its walls, or even in the valley or its environs. The bailiff who should have chanced to be seen there would have been treated like an enemy’s spy seized within the camp. Tragical stories were related of the last who had dared to attempt the undertaking; but they were then tales of by-gone days; and none of the village youths could remember having seen one of this race of beings, either dead or alive.’

Scenes of surpassing interest and power surround the spiritual conversion of this dreadful man. It is the centre of the most exquisite, most sweet, touching, and thrilling descriptions. The Unnamed is applied to by Don Rodrigo for assistance in his scheme of getting possession of Lucia; and he gives it. His bravoes seize her as soon as, by a manœuvre, she has been brought out of the convent walls, where she is temporarily residing, and bring her, fainting with terror, at a rapid rate to the ominous castle. Her simplicity and pathetic prayers touch the robber’s heart. He is prepared to be affected, by a vague change of mind which has been stealing over him for some time previous. He has felt indescribable sensations for some time within him—a dread of death, and a horror at himself, which were quite new, and which, though they go and return, or do not last continuously, have still undermined the solidity and strength of his wickedness. While Lucia is passing the night in agony and prayer for her deliverance, and has made a vow of perpetual virginity to the Blessed Virgin, if she will save her from present danger, a fearful movement is passing on in the mind of the Unnamed. All night long he is in a tempest of thought, with the horrible image of his past life before him; sometimes just raising himself

to a resolution of repentance, and determining to ask Lucia's forgiveness and release her, then throwing off the idea as mere foolery, and taking refuge in the thought of annihilation. He would commit suicide, but the image of his dead ghastly body rises up before him, and terrifies him. He goes on alternately snapping and unsnapping the lock of his pistol; and then—what 'if there is really another life!'—'He dropped the pistol and lay with his fingers twined among his hair, his teeth chattering, and trembling in every limb.' Suddenly Lucia's words recur to him—'God pardons so many sins for one deed of mercy.'—'And lo! about break of day, a few moments after Lucia had fallen asleep, while he was seated motionless in his bed, a floating and confused murmur reached his ear, bringing with it something joyous and festive in its sound. Assuming a listening posture he distinguished a distant chime of bells, and giving still more attention could hear the mountain echo, every now and then, languidly repeating the harmony, and mingling itself with it.' They were the rejoicings for the arrival of Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, to hold a visitation in the neighbourhood. In the morning his mind is made up; he shoulders his carbine, and walks in gloomy solitary state past groups of wondering, staring, and shuddering villagers, to present himself to the Cardinal.

Cardinal Federigo is a magnificent character. As a grand poetical portrait of a man, he stands quite at the head of all the descriptions in the book. Nobody comes near him. The genuine bishop and shepherd of souls is exhibited in him. We do not enter into the historical account of him which Manzoni gives: as every body knows, he is an historical character, and the author only draws him as he was in matter of fact. There is a splendour and brightness in his openness and largeness of heart which is absolute daylight; he comes, like the orb of day, majestically upon the scene, and earthly hearts glow and warm beneath the lofty mid-day sun that comes to shine upon them. A love of human souls is the heroic virtue of his character: a love in him which amounts to a universal positive affection. Man is the image and creature of God; he feels towards him like a lover; He clasps to his fervent longing breast all human souls, and expands with an inexhaustible open-heartedness. He is formed on the model of that divine universality which reminds us of the Psalms, the Song of Solomon, and the Epistles of St. John. Every one that he sees he can love ardently, without effort, as if it were the order of nature that he should do so, and as if, by simply encountering his mind, as objects encounter his sight, men stood in this relation to him, and dropped into, and were absorbed in the ocean of his charity.

With that boldness which is the characteristic of true love, Federigo rejoices in the occasion which brings him into contact with this hardened, terrible man. His spirit rises at the thought, and he encounters him with all the frankness and confidence of a master mind, that knows its ground, and feels its own inward strength and inspiration. Love is strength. While the crowd of assembled clergy are feeling more uncomfortable than they dare express in the presence of the dreaded man himself, who has just arrived, and while suspicious looks are thrown on the visitor, and no one knows what to do, and wonders what he wants there, the Cardinal, at the first announcement, brightens up with a humble, tender animation. What a happiness, what a privilege, for an unworthy Bishop like himself to meet a ruffian! He would have gone miles out of his way to find him out; and now he has him without seeking. The robber and ruffian is simply the lost sheep to the eye of Federigo, an object of pity, a poor outcast from the fold, that the shepherd should recall. He springs upon the task of conversion, and feels at home in a moment with the formidable animal—the wild beast whom all are shrinking from. The scene which follows is indeed one of overflowing pathos. The robber fairly subdued, and his iron heart absolutely melted and liquified, by the vivid affection of Federigo: the warmth, the eloquence, the beautiful transparency, and intense emotions of the scene, rise to a perfect climax, and are transporting, at the same time that so true and real.

It is characteristic of Manzoni that the most overpowering display of feeling that he portrays in his novel is not one of human, or chivalrous, but of simply spiritual love; not a scene between the lover and the lady, but between a Bishop and a penitent. We must be allowed a long extract.

‘The Signor went forward, entered a little court, where many priests were assembled, all of whom regarded him with surprised and doubtful looks, and saw before him an open door, which gave admission into a small hall, where there was also collected a considerable number of priests. Taking his carbine from his shoulders, he deposited it in one corner of the little court, and then entered the hall, where he was received with significant glances, murmurs, and his oft-repeated name; then all was silent. Turning to one of those who surrounded him, he asked where the Cardinal was, and said that he wished to speak to him.

“I am a stranger,” replied the priest; but hastily glancing around, he called the chaplain and cross-bearer, who, seated in a corner of the hall, was saying, in an under-tone, to his companion, “This man? this notorious character? what can he

‘have to do here? Make way!’ However, at this call, which resounded in the general silence, he was obliged to come forward; he made a low reverence to the Unnamed, listened to his inquiry, raised his eyes with uneasy curiosity towards his face, and instantly bending them on the ground, stood hesitating for a moment, and then said, or rather stammered out: “I don’t know whether his illustrious lordship . . . just now . . . is to be . . . can . . . may . . . But I will go and see him.” And he very unwillingly carried the message into the adjoining room, where the Cardinal was by himself.

‘He fixed, for a moment, on the countenance of the Unnamed, a penetrating look, long accustomed to gather from this index what was passing in the mind; and imagining he discovered, under that dark and troubled mien, something every moment more corresponding with the hope he had conceived on the first announcement of such a visit, “Oh!” cried he, in an animated voice, “what a welcome visit is this! and how thankful I ought to be to you for taking such a step, although it may convey to me a little reproof!”

“Reproof!” exclaimed the Signor, much surprised, but soothed by his words and manner, and glad that the Cardinal had broken the ice, and started some sort of conversation.

“Certainly, it conveys to me a reproof,” replied the Archbishop, “for allowing you to be beforehand with me, when so often, and for so long a time, I might and ought to have come to you myself.”

“You come to me! Do you know who I am? Did they deliver in my name rightly?”

“And the happiness I feel, and which must surely be evident in my countenance, do you think I should feel it at the announcement and visit of a stranger? It is you who make me experience it; you, I say, whom I ought to have sought; you whom I have, at least, loved and wept over, and for whom I have so often prayed; you, among all my children, for each one I love from the bottom of my heart, whom I should most have desired to receive and embrace, if I had thought I might hope for such a thing. But God alone knows how to work wonders, and supplies the weakness and tardiness of His unworthy servants.”

‘The Unnamed stood astonished at this warm reception, in language which corresponded so exactly with that which he had not yet expressed, nor, indeed, had fully determined to express; and, affected, but exceedingly surprised, he remained silent. “Well!” resumed Federigo, still more affectionately, “you have good news to tell me; and you keep me so long expecting it?”

“ Good news ! I have hell in my heart ; and can I tell you any good tidings ? Tell me, if you know, what good news you can expect from such as I am ? ”

“ That God has touched your heart, and would make you His own,” replied the Cardinal, calmly.

“ God ! God ! God ! If I could see Him ! If I could hear Him ! Where is this God ? ”

“ Do *you* ask this ? you ? And who has Him nearer than you ? Do you not feel Him in your heart, overcoming, agitating you, never leaving you at ease, and at the same time drawing you forward, presenting to your view a hope of tranquillity and consolation, a consolation which shall be full and boundless, as soon as you recognise Him, acknowledge, and implore Him ? ”

“ Oh, surely ! there is something within that oppresses, that consumes me ! But God ! If this be God, if He be such as they say, what do you suppose He can do with me ? ”

These words were uttered with an accent of despair ; but Federigo, with a solemn tone, as of calm inspiration, replied : “ What can God do with you ? What would He wish to make of you ? A token of His power and goodness : He would acquire through you a glory, such as others could not give Him. The world has long cried out against you, hundreds and thousands of voices have declared their detestation of your deeds . . . ” (The Unnamed shuddered, and felt for a moment surprised at hearing such unusual language addressed to him, and still more surprised that he felt no anger, but rather, almost a relief.) “ What glory,” pursued Federigo, “ will thus redound to God ! *They* may be voices of alarm, of self-interest ; of justice, perhaps—a justice so easy ! so natural ! Some perhaps, yea, too many, may be voices of envy of your wretched power ; of your hitherto deplorable security of heart. But when you, yourself, rise up to condemn your past life, to become your own accuser, then ! then, indeed, God will be glorified ! And you ask what God can do with you. Who am I, a poor mortal, that I can tell you what use such a Being may choose henceforth to make of you ? how He can employ your impetuous will, your unwavering perseverance, when He shall have animated and invigorated them with love, with hope, with repentance ? Who are you, weak man, that you should imagine yourself capable of devising and executing greater deeds of evil, than God can make you will and accomplish in the cause of good ? What can God do with you ? Pardon you ! save you ! finish in you the work of redemption ! Are not these things noble and worthy of Him ? Oh, just think ! if I, an humble and feeble creature, so worthless and full of

‘ myself—I, such as I am, long so ardently for your salvation, that, for its sake, I would joyfully give (and He is my witness!) the few days that still remain to me; oh, think what, and how great, must be the love of Him, who inspires me with this imperfect, but ardent affection; how must He love you, what must He desire for you, who has bid and enabled me to regard you with a charity that consumes me!’

‘ While these words fell from his lips, his face, his expression, his whole manner, evinced his deep feeling of what he uttered. The countenance of his auditor changed, from a wild and convulsive look, first to astonishment and attention, and then gradually yielded to deeper and less painful emotions; his eyes, which from infancy had been unaccustomed to weep, became suffused; and when the words ceased, he covered his face with his hands, and burst into a flood of tears. It was the only and most evident reply.

‘ “Great and good God!” exclaimed Federigo, raising his hands and eyes to heaven, “what have I ever done, an unfit servant, an idle shepherd, that Thou shouldest call me to this banquet of grace! that Thou shouldest make me worthy of being an instrument in so joyful a miracle!” So saying, he extended his hand to take that of the Unnamed.

‘ “No!” cried the penitent nobleman; “no! keep away from me: defile not that innocent and beneficent hand. You don’t know all that the one you would grasp has committed.”

‘ “Suffer me,” said Federigo, taking it with affectionate violence, “suffer me to press the hand which will repair so many wrongs, dispense so many benefits, comfort so many afflicted, and be extended, disarmed, peacefully, and humbly, to so many enemies.”

‘ “It is too much!” said the Unnamed, sobbing, “leave me, my Lord; good Federigo, leave me! A crowded assembly awaits you; so many good people, so many innocent creatures, so many come from a distance, to see you for once, to hear you: and you are staying to talk . . . with whom!”

‘ “We will leave the ninety and nine sheep,” replied the Cardinal; “they are in safety, upon the mountain: I wish to remain with that which was lost. Their minds are, perhaps, now more satisfied than if they were seeing their poor bishop. Perhaps God, who has wrought in you this miracle of mercy, is diffusing in their hearts a joy of which they know not yet the reason. These people are, perhaps, united to us without being aware of it: perchance the Spirit may be instilling into their hearts an undefined feeling of charity, a petition which He will grant for you, an offering of gratitude of which you are, as yet, the unknown object.” So saying, he threw his

'arms round the neck of the Unnamed, who, after attempting to disengage himself, and making a momentary resistance, yielded, completely overcome by this vehement expression of affection, embraced the Cardinal in his turn, and buried in his shoulder his trembling and altered face. His burning tears dropped upon the stainless purple of Federigo, while the guiltless hands of the holy bishop affectionately pressed those members, and touched that garment, which had been accustomed to hold the weapons of violence and treachery.'

The scene is over at last, and the Cardinal introduces the new convert to his clergy, and Don Abbondio among the rest. The latter is terribly afraid of the Signor still; the Cardinal sees it, and talks to the Signor, that people may see that he is really a changed man.

'He returned, therefore, to the Unnamed, and addressing him with that frank cordiality which may be met with in a new and powerful affection, as well as in an intimacy of long standing, "Don't think," said he, "that I shall be content with this visit for to-day. You will return, won't you, with this worthy clergyman?"'

"Will I return?" replied the Unnamed. "Should you refuse me, I would obstinately remain outside your door, like the beggar. I want to talk with you; I want to hear you, to see you; I deeply need you!"

'Federigo took his hand and pressed it, saying: "Do the clergyman of this village, then, and me, the favour of dining with us to-day. I shall expect you. In the meanwhile, I must go to offer up prayers and praises with the people; and you to reap the first-fruits of mercy."

'Don Abbondio, at these demonstrations, stood like a cowardly child, who watches a person boldly petting and stroking a large, surly, shaggy dog, with glaring eyes, and a notoriously bad name for biting and growling, and hears its master say that his dog is a good and very quiet beast: he looks at the owner, and neither contradicts nor assents; he looks at the animal, afraid to approach him for fear the "very gentle beast" should show his teeth, were it only from habit; and equally afraid to run away, lest he should be thought a coward; and can only utter an internal aspiration:—Would that I were safe in my own house!'

The mixture of the grave and the comic is very remarkable in Manzoni. His comic scenes play about his grave ones, and form a kind of outer world, into which the vulgar mind of the reader is not sorry to go occasionally, and enjoy the lightness of the contrast. His comic is particularly natural and genuine, easy, vivid, and well brought out; never far-fetched, or strained.

It is the comic of character, which does not say sharp things, but simply draws out a man himself as he is, and makes us see him. We laugh at the character all the time; this or that particular thing he says or does, amuses us because he does it. It is so characteristic of him; so like him, so exactly what he ought to do, being the man he is. This is a particularly taking department of the humorous. There is an effect of reduplication produced by the similarity, by the fact of the man acting like himself. We seem as if we need say no more than, How exceedingly like him!—how exactly the man!—the very man himself!—and so on, to prove the intense ridiculousness of the case. A fertile character of this sort is a treasure, either in a novel or in reality. Some definiteness, point, direction, is wanted in him; something that can make us look on him as a whole, and give an individuality to him; and then a comic character has a regular place and position, and enriches the scene wonderfully. He is a cornucopia of mirth and spirits to the circle, perpetually applied to, and never in vain. There is some one or other in most neighbourhoods and societies who kindly takes, more or less, this office, and supplies light-hearted evanescent ideas, and effervescences of spirit to the district. He is, to be sure, generally made responsible for a good deal of legendary matter, and tributary offerings flow in as soon as there is any centre to receive them. But his character moulds and colours the mythical growth around it, and imparts, in a degree, the truth of nature, though not always of fact, to the formation.

The character that performs this useful part in *I Promessi Sposi* is Don Abbondio. He is always coming in to entertain the reader in the midst of the deep pathetic scenes he has to go through. The tragic group moves off the stage, and enter Don Abbondio. This personage possesses, in the happiest and most unaffected form, the characteristic of thinking about nothing in the wide world but himself, that we ever remember meeting with, either in real life or fiction. He does it without the smallest idea that there is anything wrong or defective in this state of mind. He does it in the innocence of his heart, and in pure obedience to the dictates of nature herself. It would be impossible to him, to act on any other sentiment. He has the tenderest solicitude about his personal comfort and ease of mind and body, and an almost moral objection to see them at all interfered with. He is sentimentally alive to the first approaches, and most distant and scattered scents of coming evil. His neat parsonage, with its walled garden; his housekeeper, Perpetua, who knows all his ways and tastes, and exactly what he likes to eat and drink; his supper, when he comes home from his evening walk, and all the interior of the easy village curate's

establishment, joined to the pleasant routine of official duty, and good will of his parishioners and neighbours, whom he has never offended in his life on any occasion,—constitute a snug and peaceful whole; a small world, in which he resides with as congenial a grace as a bird does in its nest, or a snail in its shell. The only tremulous feature in the placidity of the scene is caused by that sentimental affection for himself that we speak of, which makes him apprehend danger so acutely,—that tender conscience of selfishness that he bears about him. At the first sound of rude accident, or uncomfortable collision, the sigh of self-pity arises. Why should *he* have fallen in with such a mishap? Mishaps there are in the world, of course, but the idea that one should come to him; that he, of all people in the world, should meet with this particular trouble, and not any one else. What reason is there that somebody else should not have had it instead? It is cruelty, sheer cruelty, in fortune persecuting him. Him, indeed,—why him? ‘Me, me! ah me! alas poor me!—I, I, I,—why am I, poor I?’ &c. &c. reiterates the disconsolate Don Abbondio. His pity for himself is so affecting, so genuine; his reiterated ‘poor me’ is like the bleatings of a lamb. It is so disagreeable and so unpardonable that *he* should suffer anything to make him uncomfortable. ‘These young men, who fall in love for want of something to do, *will* be married, and think nothing about other people; they do not care anything for the trouble they bring upon a poor curate. Unfortunate me! What possible business had these two frightful figures to put themselves in *my* path, and interfere with *me*? Is it I who want to be married? Why did they not rather go and talk with . . . Let me see: what a great misfortune it is that the right plan never comes into my head till it is too late! If I had but thought of suggesting to them to carry their message to . . .’

We remember hearing a remark, in conversation, which struck us, at the time, that selfishness, under certain shapes, was not an unamiable thing; we are not speaking of it as a quality in the possessor, but as an object to the beholder. There is a sort of selfishness that we can amuse ourselves with; we do not say it is morally right to do so, but only that we *can* do it. We could almost take a pleasure in encouraging a man in it, flattering, and gently exciting all the little odd characteristic symptoms of it, as if we had some tame animal playing its natural tricks before us. Real fault it may be, and is, doubtless; right and wrong are essentially different, and selfishness is wrong. Still we do not take the precise judicial view of this particular sort of selfishness; it does not excite that moral vindictiveness in us that some faults do—

conceit, for example. We can never imagine ourselves liking a regular and mature development of conceit. But selfishness is capable of a greater quietness, domesticity, simplicity, and quaintness of character, and appeals to our taste for curiosities, and to all the moral antiquarianism in our nature; and a certain shape of it amuses rather than provokes us.

Don Abbondio is one of these amusing specimens of selfishness. Poor, humble, good sort of man (if he was not so very selfish), he presents a mixture of garrulousness, amiableness, and simplicity (all centring in number one), which is really moving. He is no 'don'; he is not a 'big' man: he is as indifferent to earthly dignity as an angel; but he likes comfort. He comes in in most amusing contrast to the high characters of the story, whom he regards as a kind of divine monsters; feeling about the same terror at their movements that he would at those of fine generous wild beasts; especially as he suspects them of a design to take him along with them. The conversion of the Unnamed, and the incident about Lucia, brings him into company at which he internally trembles; and the journey he has to take, as Lucia's pastor, to fetch her from the ominous fortress which now holds her, gives him for a *tête-à-tête* companion the Inominato himself. The conversion of this latter is quite an unreal event to his mind; he reposes no confidence whatever in it. He sees his carabine, and the whole scene of the morning vanishes like a dream. The two ride on together; Don Abbondio looking askance at his companion, as if he was looking into a well. A living abyss of mystery is at his side; a black moving tower: he is within a lion's grasp, and blesses himself, every moment as it passes, that he is still sound in limb. The timid traveller who is joined on his solitary road by a large, shaggy dog of the mastiff breed, that keeps close to his heels, feels a twitching in his leg, which every moment seems to be in the act of an invisible escape from an open jaw. Don Abbondio accompanies his ominous guide with much the same feeling, which he keeps alive by a querulous internal chatter; and, Why did the Cardinal send him on such an errand? and, Ah! poor me, and, Poor I! echo through his disconsolate heart, like the complaint of Philomela.

'It is a fine thing, truly, that saints as well as sinners must have quicksilver in their compositions, and cannot be content with fussing about and busying themselves, but must also bring into the dance with them the whole world, if they can; and that the greatest busy-bodies must just come upon me, who never meddle with any body, and drag me by the hair into their affairs; me, who ask for nothing but to be left alone! That mad rascal of a Don Rodrigo! What does he want to make him the happiest man in the world, if he had but the least grain of

'judgment? He is rich, he is young, he is respected and
'courted: he is sick with too much prosperity, and must needs
'go about making trouble for himself and his neighbour. He
'might follow the ways of Saint Michael; oh, no! my gentleman
'doesn't choose: he chooses to set up the trade of molesting
'women, the most absurd, the most vile, the most insane business
'in the world: he might ride to heaven in his carriage, and
'chooses rather to walk halting to the devil's dwelling. And
'this man? And here he looked at him, as if he suspected
'he could hear his very thoughts.—This man! after turning the
'world upside down with his wickedness, now he turns it upside
'down with his conversion if it prove really so. In the
'meanwhile, it falls to me to make the trial! So it is, that
'when people are born with this madness in their veins, they
'must always be making a noise! Is it so difficult to act an
'honest part all one's life, as I have done? Oh no, my good
'sir: they must kill and quarter, play the devil oh, poor
'me! and then comes a great stir even when doing penance.
'Repentance, when there is an inclination to it, can be performed
'at home, quietly, without so much show, without giving so
'much trouble to one's neighbours. And his illustrious Lord-
'ship, instantly, instantly, with open arms, calling him his dear
'friend, his dear friend; and this man listens to all he says as if
'he had seen him work miracles; and then he must all at once
'come to a resolution, and rush into it hand and foot, one minute
'here, and the next there: we, at home, should call this precipi-
'tation. And to deliver a poor curate into his hands without
'the smallest security! this may be called playing with a man at
'great odds. A holy bishop, as he is, ought to value his curates
'as the apple of his eye. It seems to me there might be a little
'moderation, a little prudence, a little charity along with sanctity
' Supposing this should be all a mere show? Who can
'tell all the intentions of men? and particularly of such a man
'as this? To think that it is my lot to go with him, to his own
'house! There may be some underwork of the devil here: oh,
'poor me! it is best not to think about it. How is Lucia mixed
'up with all this? It is plain Don Rodrigo had some designs
'upon her: what people! and suppose it is exactly thus, how
'then has this man got her into his clutches? Who knows, I
'wonder? It is all a secret with my Lord; and to me, whom
'they are making trot about in this way, they don't tell a word.
'I don't care about knowing other people's affairs; but when I
'have to risk my skin in the matter, I have a right to know
'something. If it be only to go and fetch away this poor crea-
'ture, patience! though he could easily enough bring her straight
'away himself. And besides, if he is really converted, if he has

‘ become a holy father, what need is there of me? Oh, what a chaos! Well; it is Heaven’s will it should be thus: it will be a very great inconvenience, but patience! I shall be glad, too, for this poor Lucia: she also must have escaped some terrible issue: Heaven knows what she must have suffered: I pity her; but she was born to be my ruin At least, I wish I could look into his heart, and see what he is thinking about. Who can understand him? Just look, now; one minute he looks like Saint Antony in the desert, the next he is like Holofernes himself. Oh, poor me! poor me! Well; Heaven is under an obligation to help me, since I didn’t get myself into this danger with my own good will.”

‘ In fact, the thoughts of the Unnamed might be seen, so to say, passing over his countenance, as in a stormy day the clouds flit across the face of the sun, producing every now and then an alternation of dazzling light and gloomy shade. His soul, still quite absorbed in reflection upon Federigo’s soothing words, and, as it were, renewed and made young again with fresh life, now rose with cheerful hope at the idea of mercy, pardon, and love; and then again sank beneath the weight of the terrible past. He anxiously tried to select those deeds of iniquity which were yet reparable, and those which he could still arrest in the midst of their progress; he considered what remedies would be most certain and expeditious, how to disentangle so many knots, what to do with so many accomplices; but it was all obscurity and difficulty. In this very expedition, the easiest of execution, and so near its termination, he went with a willingness mingled with grief at the thought, that in the meanwhile the poor girl was suffering, God knew how much, and that he, while burning to liberate her, was all the while the cause of her suffering. At every turn, or fork in the road, the mule-driver looked back for direction as to the way: the Unnamed signified it with his hand, and at the same time beckoned to him to make haste.

‘ They entered the valley. How must Don Abbondio have felt then! That renowned valley, of which he had heard such black and horrible stories, to be actually within it! Those men of notorious fame, the flower of the braves of Italy, men without fear and without mercy,—to see them in flesh and blood,—to meet one, two, or three, at every turn of a corner! They bowed submissively to the Signor; but their sun-burnt visages! their rough mustachios! their large fierce eyes! they seemed to Don Abbondio’s mind to mean,—Shall we despatch that priest:—So that, in a moment of extreme consternation, the thought rushed into his mind,—Would that I had married them! worse could not befall me.’

The scene between him and the Cardinal, when the latter lectures him for his cowardly and miserable refusal to marry Renzo and Lucia, is inimitable; Don Abbondio snapping at Federigo, and Federigo wanting to confess and humble himself to Don Abbondio. The latter has, after many parries, at last been pushed into a corner, and obliged to allow that it was sheer cowardly fear of Don Rodrigo, and nothing else, which made him refuse. He then snaps:—

“It was because I myself saw those terrible faces,” escaped from Don Abbondio in reply; “I myself heard their words. Your illustrious Lordship can talk very well; but you ought to be in a poor priest’s shoes, and find yourself brought to the point.”

‘No sooner, however, had he uttered these words, than he bit his tongue with vexation; he saw that he had allowed himself to be too much carried away by petulance, and said to himself, —Now comes the storm!—But raising his eyes doubtfully, he was utterly astonished to see the countenance of that man, whom he never could succeed in divining or comprehending, pass from the solemn air of authority and rebuke, to a sorrowful and pensive gravity.

“’Tis too true!” said Federigo; “such is our miserable and terrible condition. We must rigorously exact from others what God only knows whether *we* should be ready to yield: we must judge, correct, reprove; and God knows what we ourselves should do in the same circumstances, what we actually have done in similar ones! But woe unto me, had I to take my own weakness as the measure of other people’s duties, or the rule of my own teaching! Yet I certainly ought to give a good example, as well as good instruction, to others, and not be like the Pharisees, who “lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, while they themselves touch not the burden with one of their fingers.” Well then, my son, my brother; as the errors of those in authority are often better known to others than to themselves; if you are aware of my having, from pusillanimity, or from any other motive, failed in any part of my duty, tell me of it candidly, and help me to amend; so that where example has been wanting, confession at least may supply its place. Remonstrate freely with me on my weaknesses; and then my words will acquire more value in my mouth, because you will feel more vividly that they are not mine, but are the words of Him who can give both to you and me the necessary strength to do what they prescribe.”

‘Oh, what a holy man! but what a tormenter!—thought Don Abbondio;—he doesn’t even spare himself: that I should examine, interfere with, criticise, and accuse even himself!—

‘ He then said aloud : “ Oh, my lord, you are joking with me !
‘ Who does not know the fortitude of mind, the intrepid zeal of
‘ your illustrious Lordship ? ” And in his heart he added—
‘ Even too much so.

‘ “ I did not ask you for praise, which makes me tremble,”
‘ said Federigo ; “ for God knows my failings, and what I know
‘ of them myself is enough to confound me ; but I wished that
‘ we should humble ourselves together before Him, that we might
‘ depend upon Him together.” ’

The scene of the general flight, on the approach of the German army, to the castle of the Unnamed, maintains the character of Don Abbondio perfectly. He is so disgusted at the crowds that join them, especially as they do not leave their goods behind to stay the march of the German soldiers ; he having taken good care to bring every article of his own.

‘ “ Every body is hiding, every body carries off his things !
‘ nothing’s left in the houses : so they’ll think there must be some
‘ treasures up here. They’ll surely come ! Oh poor me ! What
‘ have I embarked in ? ”

‘ “ What should they have to come here for ? ” said Perpetua :
‘ “ they are obliged to go straight on their way. And besides,
‘ I’ve always heard say, that it’s better to be a large party when
‘ there’s any danger.” ’

‘ “ A large party ? a large party ? ” replied Don Abbondio.
‘ “ Foolish woman ! Don’t you know that a single German
‘ soldier could devour a hundred of such as they ? And then,
‘ if they should take it into their heads to play any pranks, it
‘ would be a fine thing, wouldn’t it, to find ourselves in the midst
‘ of a battle ? Oh poor me ! It would have been less dangerous
‘ to have gone to the mountains. Why should every body choose
‘ to go to one place ? Tiresome folks ! ” muttered he in a
‘ still lower voice. “ All here : still coming, coming, coming ;
‘ one after the other, like sheep that have no sense.” ’

Agnes, the mother of Lucia, is thoroughly well drawn, with her innocent maternal trickery and simple-minded casuistry, which Father Cristoforo has to check, and which she abandons at the slightest bidding, and resumes the next moment. The relish with which she enters into a scheme, and takes the management of it into her hands, and begins to count resources, and puts aside difficulties, and has always an answer ready for Lucia, as soon as ever the latter begins to have conscientious scruples, are highly amusing. “ Ah, yes, the Friars ; but you know the Friars are obliged to say those things.” Then enter Cristoforo, and she has to eat her words again. She thus contrives, by gentle oscillations, to get tolerably her own way often ; and also to be the most devoted and humble servant of the Friars at the

same time. The scheme of the surprise, where the two lovers take Don Abbondio by storm, and attempt to force his ocular testimony to a *de facto* marriage, brings her out exuberantly; and her detention of Perpetua, and full command of gossip, by which she keeps the vigilant housekeeper out of the way at the time, is managed in the first style of diplomacy.

Renzo is a regular Italian peasant, quick as fire, exceedingly sentimental, loving, and furious. The most rapid alternation of ideas colours his flight to Monza from Don Rodrigo's insolent tyranny. He devotes Don Rodrigo a dozen times to death, and a dozen times recants as he kneels before the next image of the Virgin on the road. At Milan, in addition to his riotous proceedings, the author plays very free with the character of his hero. He makes him do many exceedingly questionable things, and, among the rest, drink, one night, far too much wine for poor Renzo's head. Renzo gets tipsy. But Italian tipsiness on native wine is different from English on beer. An English novelist who chose a hero from humble life, however bold he might be with him, would never picture him in a public-house exhibiting the results of several cans of strong ale. The reader's interest in him would be considerably deadened by the display. Manzoni throws poor Renzo about like a shuttlecock: he is sure to pitch right at last, though he goes fifty summersets in the air first. The Italian peasant is a light, elegant form of the peasant character, and Renzo comes out of the scene with an airy, easy leap, which shakes off the association immediately. The wine elicits a more exuberant and excited sentimentality, and an effervescence of native poetry. A curious shrewdness accompanies Renzo's vagaries, and springs up constantly from we know not what corner of his mind. And his sentiments about Lucia's vow to the Virgin are most characteristic. He does not at all relish being sent off in such a sudden, off-hand way. He thought the Madonna was a person that did kind things, and came to people's succour when they were in scrapes, and did not get people into them. Lucia throws him off with that peculiar swing of devotional spirit which regards persons as nothing; and, when she thinks of what she must give up to please the Virgin, her betrothed occurs to her simply under the aspect of a possession of hers; and she renounces her 'unfortunate betrothed' as if he were a thing: a notion which Renzo cannot enter into or appreciate the least.

Lucia is a character of great loveliness and sweetness; but she does not rise above her class. We think of her as a peasant girl throughout, and as a peasant's betrothed; and her sweetness has not those individual lines, and that deep dramatic stamp about it, which fixes or absorbs us. She is a class-

character, and hardly an individual one. There are all shades and degrees of the interesting, and beauty of character may exist in the more soft diffusive stage, or may be refined and intensified indefinitely. Lucia does not profess to be of—we mean the author does not intend her to be of—the very high dramatic mould; and we must be allowed, therefore, to say, that the scenes which she goes through are almost too highly wrought for the standard assigned to the person herself. She is hardly equal, intrinsically, to the interest which is thrown upon her from without; and we seem to have a latent inconsistency in the case somewhere. The scenes of anguish and terror which she goes through, would have created a more intense absorbing kind of pity in the reader, if she had belonged to the upper region of character. When the height, and grace, and refinement that we have there, come into contact with pain, there is an exquisiteness in the suffering, and an exquisiteness of pity in consequence, which cuts the mind like Damascus steel. And the affection of pity has, in its higher stage, not so much the greatness and external amount of the infliction itself, as the acute realization in the mind of the sufferer; that feels the pain the more in consequence of its own loftiness and refinement. The pity that goes back to the fine internal source, is stronger than the other; and this is the pity that the high departments of tragedy appeal to. Manzoni leads Lucia through agonizing scenes, that require a regular heroine to suit them; and the consequence is, we are not quite prepared with those feelings which should be ready to start out at such occasions. A regular heroine is a person, according to the high tragic rule, of which the reader should have such an impression, that anything which happens to her strikes home instantly, and appeals to a devotional and transcendental pity. Her feelings are those of a higher order of being, and therefore her wrongs have the more bitterness. We have benevolent interest in Lucia, as a most sweet person; but she is a peasant girl after all, and her simplicity appeals to a more ordinary species of sympathy. She is caught and carried off by ruffians, and faints with fright; and the interior of the castle of the Innominato, with its bravoës, almost kills her with horror; and her suppliant appeals have all the eloquence of nature in them. This is a case which appeals strongly enough to common pity, but it does not excite a higher sympathy than that; though it seems to be the author's intention that it should. And the consequence is something like disappointment, the reader finding, on comparing notes, that he has taken a less deep interest in the scenes than their agonizing character seemed to claim from him.

We have a lady, however, in the book who could have been

a heroine. The Signora in the convent at Monza has the natural rudiments of the character about her strongly. The descriptions of her state of mind, and struggles under the long course of parental tyranny, which at last made her a reluctant, distracted, and incongenial inmate of a convent, display almost greater nicety and refinement of drawing than any others in the book. The picture succeeds in creating most intense pity for her; nor does all the Signora's pride and rebellion wholly efface the first impression which she makes upon us. She is a victim from the first, and never wholly loses the interest which her fate throws over her.

But we must bring our remarks to a conclusion, and one or two general criticisms shall soon dismiss our readers. Manzoni's success and power, it will be apparent to almost any reader, lies in his scenes and characters, and not in his plot. His scenes are wonderfully vivid and stirring, come to a high climax, and bring a number of movements, and all kinds of by-play, into one field. We may instance the night of the surprise of Don Abbondio by the lovers; when that, and the attempt on Lucia having been going on at the two ends of the village at once, Don Abbondio rings the church bells, and all the medley of the scene at once breaks out in a storm. His scenes are most able—not so his plot. The plot of the book is weak. He has not the plastic power over his materials that Scott has, and he wants that centralizing, comprehensive faculty—that perspective of mind, that can draw its invisible line of narrative, and carry it through the mixed and varying crowd of incidents, persons, and characters that fill the area of the story, gathering them up as it goes along, and drawing them into form and texture. Scott has this power in a remarkable degree, and he shows it by the freedom and boldness with which he can leap into a fresh field whenever he pleases, and place the reader down anywhere at a moment's notice. A new chapter begins, and we are miles from where we were the instant before: we are in a scene where we hear people talking, and have gradually to find out what they are talking about, and guess at its relation to the story, take in hint and allusion, and follow the unwinding purpose till we are arrived at a junction with the main road. It is not saying at all too much, that this is a great faculty to possess. The power of moulding and of putting materials into form, giving them their place, working them up, and making a whole of them, is a great gift. It is real power: it is government, control, and mastery. There is a confidence created in the reader's mind, when he feels himself under such direction as this; as if all was sure to be right at last, and every step that he took in the story had its connexion with the distant climax. Every thing tells doubly

with this presentiment upon the mind. Every spot of ground is oracular, and speaks of more than itself. The mind stretches towards a horizon, and sees a gathering cloud, or brightening sun, in each passing movement, and extends the interest of the final issue over every stage. Connexion and relation have this multiplying exaggerating power over their materials of interest, and invest the story's climax with a sort of overshadowing ubiquity, by their perpetual preparation for it. System is power. Unity is strength in a story, as well as in other things. Converging incidents, ramifications that join the parent stem, connexion and form, are the charm of a story as such.

The novelist particularly wants this power, to produce illusion. Illusion is a great ingredient of success in his work. The state of mind, however it is to be described, which enters into a series of incidents as if they had really happened, suffers itself to be consciously duped, and deepens the painted surface into solid space reality and life, is an important one to gain. It makes a real difference to us in reading a work of fiction whether we have it or not. There is a decided pleasure which attends the mind's hallucination, the magical transparency, the artificial reality, of a tale of fiction. It is a pleasure of a different kind from that produced by the beauty of the characters; but it is a pleasure, and an important one. The latter is the beauty of a moral image, and remains, of course, just the same whether we fancy a real moving person before us, or only view it as a thought of the author's mind. The pleasure of illusion comes in over and above, spreads an air of actual matter of fact over the scene, and makes the whole story, while we read it, look as if it was actually taking place. A defective plot is a great hindrance to this impression. We detect intuitively the artificial introduction of any person or occurrence, and say at once to ourselves, This is not real; this is not taking place; this is only writing. We see the author's pen going, and the illusion falls. A scene hooked on, a character appearing simply because the author chooses it, and not because the story itself brings it in, spoils this particular effect. Unity and connexion, wholeness—a good plot is the historical life of a story. A good plot is not a technicality: it is a reality. It acts *bonâ fide* upon the mind, puts it into a peculiar state, touches it with a wand, magnetizes and mesmerizes it. It is a total mistake to undervalue a plot, and think good characters will do as well without it. They will not. A good plot shows them to much greater advantage than a bad one.

Manzoni's plot, as we said, is not good. He introduces characters in a forced way, and without connecting them at all adequately with the story. The Signora comes in on purpose

to be described, and for no other visible purpose on earth that we can discover. The connexion of Lucia with her is obviously a mere sham one, and not wanted in the least. The Signora's whole history is simply tacked on, and stuck on to the side, without anything like an incorporation into the main body. In the same way the Innominato himself comes on the scene on purpose to be described. There is no order of events which naturally brings him on the field. The author wants to describe him, and we are suddenly introduced to a new powerful friend of Don Rodrigo, who at Don Rodrigo's instigation sends bravoes to capture Lucia. Not a hint is given of him before he is brought all alive, his castle and all about him, on the stage, for us to look at him. Such an important character as he is, ought not to have been suddenly introduced at the beginning of the second volume. He wants full as much incorporation into the story as Don Rodrigo has, and should have had his place in it from the first. The description of the plague at Milan is awkwardly introduced, and its length converts it into a separate book within a book, instead of a mere background and prelude of unfolding incident, as such a description should legitimately be. In this way characters and scenes, most beautiful in themselves, are brought in without proper connexion, and stand at the side of the plot, and not in it. This does not of course interfere the least with their intrinsic beauty as moral images and reflections of the author's mind, but the living persons are converted into pictures by it. The Innominato, called up as he is instantaneously by the author's nod, is a sort of grand personification of penitence, and does not excite those personal individual sympathies that we should have for him, if he were more of a solid personage in the story, and less of a ghost from the shades.

And this leads us to make another remark, rather connected with what we are saying. It is the most difficult thing evidently for an author, when he gets into the upper region of characters, not to make personifications of them. We ought, by rights, to have persons and not personifications; and we often only get the latter. Southey's heroes are personifications, and so are Fouqué's. Neither of these two intends his characters to be any thing more, and therefore we do not criticise them for it: we only observe the fact. It is of course a very trying point in the flight upwards, not to lose the exact balance which keeps our character one of human and kindred flesh and mind. Inferior characters of comic or ordinary life, are sure to have personality enough in them; but not the higher ones. There the ideas and metaphysical forms of the abstract, the virtuous essences and ethereal glows, enclose a being, who does not produce and possess them, so much as simply act as their loca-

lity, and who wears them as a flag or pennon wears its colours. As soon as we rise to a height, we lose our hold of the substantial and personal, and mingle with the abstract. Shakspeare keeps the personal firmly, and never allows himself to be lifted off his legs. He never leaves the substantial human ground, the personal individual soul. He is the poet of man. He puts him before us; the being of flesh and blood, whom we feel to be one of ourselves: he derives the magnificence and richness of moral life out of the human being himself, and makes the genuine substantial soil produce its own fruits. His pen ploughs the *terra firma* of a man. The man makes the character, and not the character the man; and the solid substratum of a human heart unlocks its living stores to us. We mean, that whatever character he describes, we feel that it is a real person that is before us, and not a personification. By what art and mystery he contrives this we do not stop to inquire: it is surprising often what minute lines and touches a great effect, such as this, may often depend on; and we might analyze a play over and over again, before we caught the real strokes which did it in each case. But this great effect he does produce; and not only his common world, but the very highest world of character, has the real and absolute human substance in it. The genuine man is felt, and operates on us like a touchstone. We bring in the instance of Shakspeare simply to explain what we mean. We think Manzoni's great *Innominato* wants some touches here and there,—*where* we do not say or know, but somewhere,—to make him more living and human than he is. A very little, a few delicate strokes, might have done it perhaps; but as it is, there is a defect in this head. And with a strong admiration for so grand a phenomenon, we could have wished him less of a ghost and a personification than he is.

These remarks of course do not affect the great splendour of Manzoni's characters as drawings; and in noticing either the want of plot or the other defect, we only mean to give either the place they cover. Manzoni's characters are images that cannot easily leave the mind that has once gazed on them. A true Catholic genius develops itself in 'I Promessi Sposi.' We breathe an air in it we do not get elsewhere. There Poetry leaves its old sphere of nature, and enters into that of grace. Catholic feeling, and the affections of regenerate nature, Christian heroism, Gospel love, the inspired graces of the new dispensation, are impersonated there, as the virtues of nature are in ordinary poetry. The spiritual is Manzoni's field; and he brings out man's spiritual powers and gifts, and makes them the subject matter of poetry, as heathen poetry celebrates natural heroism. He writes as a Christian, and puts his whole mind, not only as

nature, but as Christianity has endowed it, into his work. Christians have a way of separating themselves into two parts when they write; and they *are* Christians, and *write* from mere natural genius. Books come out into the world, and from noble minds too, and there is really nothing in them to make us say, A Christian must have written this. There may be very much splendid feeling in what they write, but there is nothing to show in them the distinct positive element which Christianity has brought out in our nature: there is nothing to show the Christian type underneath. The fundamental forms of feeling in them are not distinctively Christian; their beauty does not go through the particular mould which Christianity has made. It has been even doubted whether the spiritual is poetical, and whether, as soon as ever we get into the sphere of grace, we do not thereby leave that of poetry. Manzoni has given a bold answer to such a theory, and has directly and distinctly adopted the moral type of the new law, the impress of grace. Love and penitence are absolutely impersonated in Borromeo and the Unnamed. He has made that particular mould and image of character, which is the last gift of revelation to us, and the true development of man, his pattern; and has taken the Church for his guide and inspirer, his genius, and muse.

ART. IV.—*Parochialia; or, Church, School, and Parish. The Church System and Services practically considered.* By JOHN SANDFORD, M.A. Vicar of Dunchurch, &c. London: Longman & Co. 1845.

IF it be true that almost every part of man is the subject of some directly systematic and scientific treatment, the most important part of him, his soul, ought certainly not to be the only exception. The soul requires a systematic and scientific treatment, but does our present parochial system furnish such? We shall attempt a few remarks on this subject in the present paper.

If there is one thing more difficult than another, it is, perhaps, the knowledge of human character, the way to deal with it, the mode of drawing it out, and applying discipline to it; and yet this most important and difficult work is committed to men who, very often professedly, have less ability than other members of their own family; and who look on the care of souls as a kind of sinecure, because the necessary work which it involves in the eyes of the world is so small.

The Priestly office is the one which, of all others, has most connexion with the real things of man. All other intercourse which men have with each other is comparatively trifling;—it concerns their estates or their bodily condition. The Priest's intercourse is with the deepest things of man—the state of his soul and the direction of his character. It is his work to draw out feelings which, placed in him by God for holy objects, often lie dormant and unused till death, unless exercised by God's Priest. It is his work to teach men to 'know themselves'—the hardest of all knowledge—to apply discipline, and to discriminate in the cases where encouragement should be given and where it should be withheld. The very mode of carrying on this intercourse is as difficult and exalted as the knowledge required for it—the highest consistency of life, the greatest retirement from the world, study, and self-denial. And, to fill a position like this, who do we find are the men sent forth? Sometimes, as we have said, men of the least ability and the most undisciplined minds, selected to undertake a work for which they are in the lowest degree unqualified. The consequence is, that, finding the *whole* work infinitely beyond their reach, without an effort, they consider the matter hopeless, and settle themselves down under the comfortable conclusion, that their highest work is to make a dinner-party respectable, or to give a certain tone of gravity to scenes of unlicensed gaiety.

But there are men who go forth to this work infinitely higher in ability and holier in purpose than those we have described, willing to devote their lives to the task they have undertaken.

They feel the want which they are intended to supply, and they are willing to sacrifice life to supply it, but they are untrained and untaught. They have been bred in no school of human character, and they begin systems and leave them off; they work out schemes and plans which they find practically insufficient, and which leave those over whom they have been exercised worse than they were before—the victims of ignorance and irregularity; while other men, seeing the abuse, attempt to avoid it by merely attending to the secular business of a parish, and leave the wants of men to find their supply from any accidental source within their reach.

The more energetic of those we have described have, in a now passing age, been in many cases the offspring of a school, which has done its own good; these, as a school, are now melting away, and having been, in their day, the witnesses of reality and devotion, call our attention to their mode of teaching. While, in many cases, nothing could be more devoted and persevering than their efforts in Parochial life, nothing, at the same time, can well have been more shallow than their mode of applying discipline and instruction, and few men more ignorant of the real nature of the work they were called to. Naturally enough—for they deny the Apostolic Succession, doubt as to the grace and authority of the Priesthood, hesitate about the power of the Sacraments, depreciate Baptism by denying Regeneration, and the Lord's Supper by repudiating the doctrine of the Real Presence. These facts are enough: of course, they fail in their system of operation. They have laid aside the nerves of their whole work, and attempt to grapple, unarmed, with difficulties which are insuperable, without the arms provided for them by God. The consequence is, they feel the want which they have themselves helped to perpetuate, and attempt substitutions: Preaching takes the rank of Sacraments, constant talking on most unfit occasions displaces confession, and efforts at popularity are used to fill up the vacuum which the grace and authority of the Priesthood was intended to occupy. However energetic, of course they fail; and the very contrary result is brought about to what was needed. Preaching, the substitute for Sacraments, produces excitement, which the Holy Sacraments were given to allay; religious talking brings on boldness and shamelessness, while delicacy and humility were the objects of confession, and the solicited admiration of parishioners invests them with a power of '*Veto*' on all that advice and discipline, which the power of the Priest should have exercised without a dispute. We do not deny their zeal, but it is their very zeal which has tended to perpetuate the evils of their system. They are impelled by right desires, and seek

right objects, but they seek them by false means, and when they have missed their true object they are not prepared to see their error. They feel strongly that the salvation of souls is the work of God's Priest; that the constant wiles of Satan, and the deceitfulness of man's heart, make it needful for them to be continually and unceasingly working a counteracting influence. They feel that they are willing, and that it is their duty, to devote their whole soul and body to carry out this work; consequently they are never satisfied unless they are bringing themselves personally into contact with it. Their teaching becomes a continual thrusting forward *directly* of certain truths. They have not had the advantage of seeing the right system of the Church in operation, and they do not understand how it can achieve its work. Without using or understanding her system, they imagine that they, individually, and at their own discretion, are to achieve that which only the Church's machinery can perform. They have been taught to suspect all systems, and the Church system in particular. They have been led to view the work of the cure of souls as one very much of individual exertion. The whole tendency of low schools is to individualize, to put forward the individual, to produce individual consciousness. This is the view they take; and of course, the work being one which only the Church with all her machinery could perform, they fail. They have attempted what is beyond their strength, and to aid them in which they cannot expect God's grace to act miraculously. They place *themselves* in the room of Sacraments, of the support of daily Prayer in public, and of formalized confession. They feel that when these are in use, the individual minister is nearly lost sight of. True, as a man he is; but that is exactly what the Church aims at; and surely, thank God, it is the most merciful protection which the Church can give against the pride and conceit of our hearts.

In attacking their system we shall be supposed, in the minds of many, the most candid and fair of their school, to be levelling a blow at all zeal in the spiritual part of a parochial life, and they will consider the attack one which is intended to be made against all devotion and earnestness. It is peculiarly their inclination to attach all reality in religion to certain ways of talking and modes of action, and they so bind them together that they make the line of their own peculiarity the barrier between truth and falsehood, religion and worldliness. There is some excuse for them. They were once attacked by schools which were hollow and unreal, and which offered nothing in the place of what they condemned, which could deserve the name of truth or zeal. Naturally enough, the attacked party looked on themselves as martyrs, and, with the modes proposed by their enemies, they

mentally associated, as inseparable, the laxity of the actual working of the opposite system, and the looseness of the lives of those who in theory adopted it. But that state of things has passed away. We renounce as cordially as they can the cold, lax school of the 'High-churchmen' of fifty years ago. We speak of them as a school. There was a hidden stream of theology throughout those times, to which we owe much, and which we gladly recognize.

But while we disclaim sympathy with this class of High-churchmen, we are boldly prepared to condemn the mode of carrying on the spiritual cure of their flocks, adopted by the Low-churchmen of this day; and though in doing so we seem to join in common cause with their and our enemies, we must run the risk, trusting to our own sincerity.

What is the history of parochial work? God has given man a moral nature which requires guidance, discipline, and instruction. The world we are in is one suited to keep us in a state of probation, and certain broad rules of religion would be gathered from the general teaching of the state of things in which we are placed. But this is not enough; we want something more. God has given us means of grace, and direct instruction and discipline, and He has given these to the keeping and dispensing of the Church. She, then, through her ministers, becomes the controller and guide of our moral nature. Of course, a work so vast soon began to need systematizing and defining, and this state of things brings before us the parochial and diocesan systems. But it is plain from this that whatever divisions of her labour she might make, the *whole* of her general system of discipline was to be brought to bear through *each* line she had struck out to reach the wants of man. Here was a perfect system, *the system* which alone could do the work, though broken up and divided in its operation. The first division was into dioceses. This was the most ancient and apostolic arrangement for bringing the system of the Church to bear on man. The diocese was arranged according to the civil division of the Roman Empire. For the first three centuries parishes and dioceses were of the same importance, denoting not what we now call a parish, but a city with its adjacent country region and towns. The decrees of the council of Arles, held in the beginning of the fourth century, writing to the Bishop of Rome, say, that he '*Majores Dioceses tenere*,' which refers to the parishes in his diocese. In the fourth and fifth centuries we find both names promiscuously given as well to country parishes as episcopal or city churches. The lesser divisions of dioceses began to be called '*parœciæ*,' distinctively at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, which decreed that in every church such country parishes, ἀγροίκαὶ παροι-

κλαι, as belonged to any bishop of old time, should continue in his possession without molestation. And in the council of Vaison, 442, a decree was made that country parishes should have presbyters 'to preach in them as well as the city churches; 'and so the word "*parochia*" is often used by St. Jerome and Theodoret. So on the other hand 'parish churches' are sometimes called, '*dioceses*.' These churches were a kind of smaller dioceses, and were afterwards called 'diocesan churches,' and the presbyters residing in them were called '*country presbyters*.' Parish churches were called '*Tituli*,' in distinction to the *Bishop's Church*, being such churches as had particular presbyters and deacons assigned them, who, on this account, are said to have '*a title*.' This brings us to the origin of parish churches. They were of necessity established for the convenience of celebrating Christian offices and holding Christian communion with greater ease; and when the multitude of believers increased in large and populous cities so much, that one church could not contain them, there was a necessity for dividing the assembly, and erecting other churches, where the solemnities of Christian worship, and the usual offices of divine service, might be performed, as well as in the mother church, in order to answer the apostolic ordinance of holding Christian communion one with another, which was according to what we read, Acts ii., that 'men should continue steadfastly in the apostolic doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers.' We find in very early writings that several of the Roman '*Tituli*,' or parish churches, were erected for the 'conveniency of 'baptizing great multitudes that were converted from paganism, 'and for burying the martyrs.' Now the necessity of parishes and parish churches for these things will surely imply the necessity of them for all other spiritual uses; for in those days the whole body of the Christian church was used to communicate weekly at least; and it being impossible that one church should suffice in large cities for this purpose, there was a necessity for building more, that Christians might live in communion with one another; so parish churches were exactly coincident with the increased spiritual wants, and the application of spiritual supply to the people. Indeed there is high probability that in some cities there were several churches, even from the days of the apostles; and this is to be gathered from many passages in the Acts and in St. Paul's Epistles. Before the end of the third century there were more than thirty churches in Rome. Some smaller cities had country parishes attached to them; and there are many instances on record of such country regions having churches of their own, and presbyters and deacons residing in them. Thus parish churches had their

origin in city and country, as the wants of the people required it,—of which the Bishop was always the proper and fit judge. We find country parishes spoken of in France in the beginning of the fifth century. In England we have not so early an account of them; the records which we have remaining of the ancient British Church have no mention of parishes; and after the Saxon conversions began, it was some time before our dioceses were divided into parishes; and longer still before they had appropriated incomes settled upon them. The division into parishes in England seems to have taken place in the archbishopric of Theodore, A.D. 673.

Ina, king of the West Saxons, in the council of Beccancelde settled the arrangement into parishes, by building churches and fixing presbyters in them, and settling incomes on them. These parish churches were served not by particular priests, but by the Clergy of the Bishop's church. They were sent out from the cathedral church for the day and returned. Settled presbyters were fixed in country churches much earlier than in town churches. The being settled in a parish, however, did not immediately entitle a presbyter to the income arising from his cure, whether in tithes, or oblations, or in any other kind; for anciently all Church incomes were delivered into the common stock of the Bishop's church, whence, by the direction and approbation of the Bishop, who was the chief administrator of the incomes of his diocese, a monthly or annual division was made among the Clergy under his jurisdiction. In the Western Church, until the sixth century, the Bishops and city Clergy had still all their incomes from a common fund, which was divided into four parts,—one for the Bishop, another for the Clergy, a third for the fabric and lights of the church, a fourth for the relief of the poor, to be dispensed by the Archdeacon, with the Bishop's approbation. Very soon after this the revenues of country churches were appropriated solely to themselves, with only an honorary acknowledgment to the Bishop.

To St. Augustine of Canterbury, desiring directions from Gregory the Great how the bishops ought to manage themselves with respect to their clergy, and particularly what distribution ought to be made of the effects and revenues of the Church, the Pope returns this answer,—That they were to be divided into four portions, one of which was to be distributed for the maintenance of the inferior clergy; who, as it appears from Bede, lived together with the bishop at the cathedral church. The bishops and clergy living in this manner in common was the custom of the Scotch clergy, no less than of the Roman; and thus, Aidan, bishop of the Northumbrians, lived with his clergy.

To these churches the converts, who lived remote from the

cathedral, repaired, and made their offerings. Those who were sent by the bishop to preach in the remoter parts of the diocese, were obliged, at their return, to bring the offerings made at the auxiliary churches, and put them into the bishop's hands; for at this time, as we have said, there were none but itinerant preachers, or priests, sent by the bishop from the cathedral, to administer the offices of religion in the country churches. These priests, when they had executed their commission, returned to the bishop, who sent others to perform the same functions when he thought it convenient. That the Church was thus governed, and the instruction of the people thus provided for, towards the latter end of the seventh century, is sufficiently evident from Bede, who tells us that, when a clergyman happened to come into a village, the people gathered about him immediately, to hear him preach: for, as this historian goes on, the clergy had no other business for travelling to any village excepting to preach and baptize, and discharge the functions of their character. And that the same custom was practised, at least in the northern dioceses of England, in the beginning of the eighth century, is plain from several places of the historian above-mentioned.

Thus we see the bishops had then their clergy about them, whom they sent abroad, as they saw cause, to those places where they had the best prospect of success; but as yet there was no such thing as fixed cures or titles, all the first titles being nothing else than an entry of the clergy upon the bishop's register; and when the priest stood upon the record, and the relation was thus fixed, he had not the liberty of discharging himself, and removing to another diocese, without the bishop's consent.

The rural churches in England were not thrown into any parochial distinction for some time, but served only for the convenience of the neighbouring converts, who lived at too great a distance from the cathedral. To speak strictly, therefore, these country churches were no more than chapels-of-ease to the cathedral church. We may observe, further, that, in the first foundations of bishoprics among the Saxons, the dioceses, excepting in Kent, had the same limits with the kingdoms. As kings founded cathedrals for the benefit of their whole dominions, so, afterwards, great men founded parochial churches for the convenience of themselves and their dependents; for at that time the great men held large proportions in the country, within the compass of which the bulk of the people were little better than their servants. Upon the spreading of Christianity, therefore, many laymen of great estates provided for the constant residence of some priest among them; that, by this means, the devotion of the neighbourhood might be encouraged, and them-

selves and their tenants assisted. To this purpose chapels and churches were erected, and a maintenance settled for the incumbent; the bounds of the parochial division being commonly the same with those of the founder's jurisdiction. Some foundations of this kind were as early as Justinian. They are likewise mentioned by Bede about the year 700. The distinction of parishes, as they now stand, appears to have been settled before the Norman conquest; for, in several charters of the latter Saxon kings, the villages of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, &c., are set down under the same names by which they go at present, in Domesday Book.

This historical sketch of parishes and their arrangements will, perhaps, show this fact, that the whole parochial arrangement was made simply to expedite the intercourse of the Bishop or Priest with the people; that as this became difficult, from the spread of the Church, or the increased population of dioceses, parishes were formed; and that where parishes were not formed till later, it was only because the people were still in connexion with the Bishop and a cathedral church. This was the case in England until a very late date, as we find that for very long in this country, the Bishop's cathedral was the only church in a diocese, from whence itinerant preachers were sent to convert the country people, who for some time resorted to the cathedral for divine worship. Private oratories were first built for the convenience of those who could not reach the cathedral; but these were within parish bounds.

All this brings before us strongly the fact, that the position of a Priest placed in a parish, with respect to the Catholic Church, is that of one who has a mission to carry out effectually the spiritual discipline of the Church; that the parochial arrangement is merely one accidentally resorted to by the Church to effect more easily this discipline, and that the secular business of parishes, in which Priests become often wholly absorbed, is not their high and paramount duty; and that when they view themselves in the light of men chiefly called to make secular arrangements, they are untrue to their high and holy office, and unfaithful to the call and commission of the Church, whose Priests they are. Many now-a-days really seem to look at the position of a Priest in a parish as that of a man who is to attend and manage a parish vestry, and that his highest office lies in being a sharp ready chairman of various committees and institutions. How little is it remembered, that the application of the discipline of the Church, calling men to confession and preparation for Holy Communion, are the works to which the Priest is called, and for which the parochial arrangement was made; in fact, the carrying out, by a certain number of

individuals, the arrangement and discipline of the Church universal. The fact is, that now men either wholly lose sight of the strictly spiritual calling of the Priesthood in a parish, or they seek to fulfil it by means which are uncatholic and untrue; while, still more perversely, others consider their highest spiritual calling to be to men beyond the limits of their flock, and while the very smallest number which may be committed to their parochial charge are, alas! too many for them to find time and strength to subdue to the full teaching and treatment of the Church; satisfied with having given them a dry statement of doctrine, they seek on some distant platform or pulpit, to bring the same hollow system to bear on others. All this is bad. Man has a moral nature, which requires a close and intricate management. The discipline and treatment of that nature is the work which the Church is commissioned to undertake, and she has willingly done so. For ease and convenience she has appointed her people to different shepherds, and this work to which she has called and ordained them is the work of their lives—the one absorbing point and object of their existence. There are wants in man which her system can meet; wants which are known to exist by any Clergyman who watches with the slightest degree of interest the people committed to his charge: but men will adopt systems of their own, and not that of the Church,—and the wants are not supplied.

A Clergyman enters on a parish, and finds a number of souls gathered into a community employed in different works and trades, and he sees too plainly that though baptized and instructed to a certain degree in religious truth, they are forgetful, and are living for this world, and, in some respects, are leading lives as careless as heathens. He sees it with pain. It is a fearful state of things. He feels that he is the shepherd to whom their souls are committed, and that he must give account of their state; that he is responsible for their condition to a great degree, or at least that he is bound to do his best to bring them out of it. What is to be done? He begins the work perhaps by preaching earnest and lively sermons to arouse them: at first the work seems to succeed, and numbers come to listen. But it does not tell in the end. The novelty wears away. The same spirit of worldliness exists; and, by degrees, he finds that those who fall under the constant influence of this mode of teaching, are not those who require rousing. What is to be done? He resorts to individual teaching, to reading, and direct instruction in high and holy truths, equally for those who are inclined for it, as for those who are not,—and presses these means continually upon them,—by the mere force of repetition calling back forgotten truths, and striving to arouse the almost dead con-

science, by repeated and earnest appeals. Of course it fails; nay, more, it does positive harm: men get callous. The constantly reminding them of known truths gives those truths the feeling of an oft-told tale, which soon loses its point, and the conscience being constantly stirred, at length, to save itself trouble, is satisfied to expect external stimulants without making any effort itself, and, by degrees, dies out. Men cannot bear the treatment; they are not so made: it is not true to their nature. They were made to do much for themselves; and, in the nature of things, if everything is done for them, the object will not be gained. In men who adopt this plan, it is a sincere intention which leads them on, but a mistaken judgment.

The system to which the Church would lead us is wholly different. She deals in an entirely different manner with her people: she leaves them to their own hearts; she has nothing to do with them, until they seek her for themselves. Nay, more, she rather forbids them—makes them feel that full communion with her is a privilege so high, that she imparts it but with care and caution. Still she sees the need men have of being reminded, and she meets it. She calls them to daily prayer; she will not let them be forgetful of their souls for one season, morning or evening. But the mode of reminding them is not direct, it is general. The individual conscience is left to its own work and to itself; it is reminded, but not relieved, of individual responsibility. It is roused, alarmed, and stirred up, but not taken off its own energies and resources. It is kept in a keen, living state; and the man is made to feel that there is something terrible in his situation, from the fact of being passed by and cut off from present communion.

There is a power in goodness to compel men, who will most scoff at it, still to fear it, and to long after its approbation. There is always a struggle in a bad man's mind with respect to good external to himself. He must either repress it, and compel it to yield, or he must get its approval. If he cannot succeed in either of these, he is unhappy. The fact of constantly pressing truths on men *directly* gives the object of the attack a feeling of superiority. It is inherent in the nature of things that it should be so, and this is one great reason of the inefficacy of modes of teaching such as we have described. If men would but see that there is sufficient strength in truth itself,—that there is sufficient life in the conscience of the baptized person, to go after and respect that truth—if men have but the patience and faith to believe and wait for this, much more would be done than we usually find is accomplished, and the Church would have a fairer scope for working her system. She carries on her work in a high and independent sphere of action, in the consciousness of

perfect rectitude and truth; and her witness in a parish, through the facts of Daily service and often Communion, do more to remind men of truth, than the most *direct* appeals to the individual conscience could ever do.

There is another feeling with which a man may have to struggle on entering on his spiritual connexion with his people. He feels an earnest desire to devote his own time and life to the cause to which he is called; and this system of reserve which we have described may seem to give him but little opportunity, apparently, for such devotion. We may say two things in answer to this. Let a man work out the Church system thoroughly; let him allow her to do the work we have described, through him her minister; let him use Daily service and often Communion, and he will find abundant opportunity for the devotion of life and soul; and he will at length feel that he is fulfilling his calling in a higher and more independent manner, than he ever could do by a more importunate personal intercourse. Again: this mode of treatment shows him the force of his own example, and compels him to lead a life more high and holy than those who are around him. We do not say it unkindly; but it is true, that very often a life of energy seems to be considered as a compensation and excuse for a less holy and strict private walk. Let a man feel that he is to make his own life the standard for his people; that he is to go before them in every work of self-denial and devotion, and he will find quite sufficient on which to devote the most ardent zeal and energy which he can possess.

The ministers of the Church have far too much lost sight of the efficacy and duty that lies in their own mode of living.—To feel that the highest part of their office is to order their lives for their people's example, is itself irksome and awful to many. It is much easier and much more satisfactory to most men to lead a life of untiring energy and activity, than one of self-denial and holiness. Men prefer the former, and they adopt it. We cannot wonder at this state of things; it is a part of the spirit of the age we live in—activity in everything; restlessness and energy are the moving powers of the moral as well as of the physical world; but when applied to what we have been speaking of, all this is very sad. Holiness of life in the Minister being the especial part of his office, is to most men, as a theory, too trifling and easy, and in practice, far too high and severe: men try to despise it, and to think that it underates the ministerial life to say that raising a daily example to the people is its highest work; they affect to despise this, they do not really. The want of scope for the devotion of zeal and

energy in the life of reserve is supplied, then, by the abundant work enjoined by the Church in carrying out her system, and in the severity of the holy life of denial.

But we have spoken of the parochial life with reference to the great mass of the careless: the earnest-minded, the devoted and real among our people are a still more interesting and important part of parochial cure. Of course the size of this class will vary, but there will always be some belonging to it, and its constituents will be of every shade and degree of character. They require management, they need the most systematic teaching; the smallest number of them are too much for the energies and devotion of any Priest. How slightly and carelessly, how unsystematically is the work done! no distinction made of character! all classed and treated together! Men of the most different stages and degrees of holiness—the most contrary traits of character—are all treated with the same method, and have the same medicine administered, although what is life to the one is positive poison to another; and all this is done with a recklessness and an inconsiderateness of which the meanest empiric in the lowest grade of human science would be ashamed. And here is a subject-matter which unquestionably and undeniably is the very highest and most difficult to which scientific arrangement can be applied—the moral nature of man! The plan frequently adopted is, to preach one style of sermons which only suit one class out of the fifty who are present, and that class, perhaps, the smallest, to whose ‘experience’ the sermons are addressed. But feeling this to be inadequate to all that is wanted, the next step taken, in default of any better, is to collect persons of this description to a cottage-meeting, where the same indiscriminate system is carried on, by which means presumption takes the place of shame, and vain-confidence rules where distrust alone is fitting. The same system is pursued in visits to a cottage, where the deep and inmost feelings of the soul, which should never be allowed an exit, save under rigid and systematic rule, are made the subjects of familiar and general conversation; nay, to so monstrous a degree has this system crept on, that we have seen annals of parish teaching put forth by men of eminence in a certain school, which unblushingly recommend the encouragement of letters of advice being written from the members of the flock to their spiritual pastor, as to the way in which he should pass his life and instruct his people: in which letters every species of self-commendation and obtrusion of personal feeling is encouraged. What must be the result of this system? A perfect chaos must be produced where the traits of character and natural disposition are unheeded; and every

tendency of nature, however various and contradictory, cut by one rule and judged by one standard.

Ὡ φύσις ἀνθρώποισιν ὥς μέγ' εἰ κάκον,
Σωτήριον τε τοῖς κάλως κεκτήμενοις.

What system would the Church recommend in place of this ? The *want* which this system is intended to remedy is a real one—the effort to remedy that want is right. But what is the true remedy ? Be it remembered, we are but saying now that the means used are false—not the object aimed at. True, men of earnestness and reality do want more than the external means of grace. There is a duty which the Priest has to fulfil to them, which a close personal intercourse on his part alone can do. He feels aright when he feels uneasy at knowing nothing of them, beyond his sight of them at church. He judges right when he feels he will have to answer for having no closer knowledge : and that they will suffer for the neglect. Some shape or other of Confession is the only true remedy for this want, and that in immediate connexion with Holy Communion, as our Church contemplates. In opening the heart, traits of character and disposition of course come out, and the advice of the Priest can be given exactly proportioned to the case requiring it. Severity can be used where it is needed—encouragement need not be misplaced—difficulties may be removed and answered. It is not needful to dwell on what must be manifest to all—the infinite advantage this mode of intercourse must give to the minister with his people. Here and almost here alone he can fully realize his position of spiritual Pastor of his people. He is the shepherd of each individual of his flock, and is able to discover and discriminate exactly for each case which comes before him. He emphatically *knows* his people. We do not now speak of the other advantages of this habit. The object that this intercourse offers to strong inward yearnings, which will have their way, and which will vent themselves on bad objects if we do not give them true ones ; the assistance it gives to self-examination and self-knowledge, which cannot be thoroughly gained without it ; the calling out feelings of shame and compunction for sin ; —all these and many others are advantages of confession we are not speaking of here ; we simply speak of it as being the proper and appropriate way of such systematic intercourse between the Priest and his people, as will tend to prevent their reverent and uncertain discussion and display of religious feelings and truths on all occasions ; a habit fallen into very naturally, and formed by the wish to fulfil what is really a duty—the closer inter-

course with our people, and their intimate recognition of the Priest as their spiritual pastor.

But not to pursue this subject, the desire for closer and more personal intercourse with our people is satisfied by attention to other systematic plans of the Church, which men too much neglect. Why should not ministers make more point of seeing and preparing communicants for Holy Communion?—a line plainly suggested by our own Church. What a constant intercourse this would give with our people, and that of the most useful nature! and from the fact of the Holy Communion being a *definite* ostensible point, the danger of irreverence which indefinite intercourse produces would be avoided. The same work might be carried on, and the same point gained by the preparation of sponsors for Holy Baptism, thus heightening the reverence for the Sacrament itself—clearing away the very false notions men have about sponsorship, and at the same time increasing our knowledge of souls individually. These modes, which are surely the modes the Church would herself suggest, and in the purest spirit of Catholicity, would prevent the uncertain, indefinite intercourse we have spoken of above. They would be systematic: they would come with all the weight of law and system, working independently of the man who uses them, and would give men what they so much aim at—a closer personal knowledge of their people.

There is an untold power in *system*. Many would shrink from these methods merely because they are systematic. There is, in some men, a dread of system in things to do with religion. When each thing has its own proper place and time, the work itself seems curtailed, and the apparent necessity of neither doing more nor less than their system, leads men to imagine that their usefulness is impaired. The *power of action* does not seem commensurate with the *action marked out*, when men see the one unmeasured by the other. As long as they do not see them measured by settled rule, they think (and they are too willing to think it) that their powers are infinite, and the scenery of action illimitable—a great mistake! Such men really *do* infinitely less. It is proverbial that none find so much time to do things as those who have most to do, simply because they probably work by system. The dread of system is chiefly founded on the curb it seems to give to the unknown powers of a man; “a man cannot do more than he can,” and to know *how much* he can *do*, does not limit or enfeeble that power to do it. In parochial matters, some especially feel this; they feel their work is infinite in importance: so it is. They feel that to define their labour is almost to narrow the importance of the truth itself, and too much to narrow their responsibility. But

let them try system. They little know how much they will do under it; and what an expanded degree of knowledge of men's souls, and intercourse with them, the working of the Church's plans will give them, as contrasted with the most indefinite and seemingly infinite exertions of their own. It is strange how easily men shut their eyes to the failure of unsystematic work. They think these very failures are the result of an unbounded energy; that they are matters of praise rather than blame, whereas they never see that the man who is working on system is doing the very same things they are doing, and much more besides.

But again. Most men set over a parish must feel the difficulties thrown in their way by the utter ignorance of the adults of a certain age among their people. The fact which Lord Ashley brought forward lately, as existing in many of the manufacturing districts, is but too true of many of our own people in the most secluded agricultural parishes, where every attention is paid to the people, and every facility given to the exertions of the Priest. Many of our older people could scarce tell the name of the Saviour Who has redeemed them. It is a startling, but true case. The knowledge of the great principles of our faith—the Articles of the Creed—the rules of Christian practice, are truths of which a large proportion of our adult population are in utter ignorance. Very few could bear the slightest questioning on the points of the Christian faith; and this is the case in parishes where the most devoted men not only are, but have been at work for years. The existence of the Catholic Church—the meaning of Communion of Saints—the mode of the Forgiveness of Sins—the need of the life-giving Spirit—are points on which they are in as utter ignorance as the heathen themselves. The reason of this dearth of deep knowledge in holy things, is not the want of zeal and devotion in the Clergy—not the want of earnest-minded men in the coldest day. There were many such when the aged adults, to whom we refer, were themselves the children of their time. The fault lay in the *system*; the uncatholic custom, and inefficacious system which the religious men of the day used, and which has more or less been in use since the Reformation; viz. the system of teaching by exhortation—the merely telling and reminding men of truths—the giving up and disuse of the catechetical mode of instruction. The catechetical method is the method of the Church; it is the only method which is philosophically sound for instructing men. It draws out a man's own powers, and teaches him to rely on them and exert them. Other systems save him trouble, and every one will be saved trouble if he can. We are so made, that our powers are strengthened and forced into play when we are compelled to exert them.

The Church of Rome, with her usual wisdom, has learnt this lesson, and works on it. She adopts the catechetical system; and the very poorest, most ignorant, unlettered peasant among her children, could give a better account of the faith that is in him, than many of the so-called enlightened men of our own middling classes. It is matter of fact and experience. The poorest peasant in Ireland, under the teaching of the Church of Rome, will tell you what he believes as a Christian—will have a definite idea of his duties—and of the Christian life, as far as he has been taught it; and will give decided proof that he is not a heathen. There is something *real* in his profession. Amongst us, we may say it safely, there would be many, between whom and the heathen it would be hard to distinguish; nay more, who scarcely distinguish it themselves. There is a want of reality about our system—a want of character and depth. We do not lay hold of our people: they are not *ours*; all we can say is, they belong to no one else. Our system is unreal. We have no system. Of course, we have not spoken of anything beyond the *system* adopted by Rome. We say nothing of the truths which members of that communion hold, considered in themselves; as far as they know, they have a clear, definite idea of what they hold, and what they are; our people generally have not. Their system is one which shows their people not only as not heathen and not Mahomedans, but as Catholics; ours may suffice to show they are not the former, but would leave men in considerable doubt about the latter. It is a negative method only. More than half the points which Anglicans are conversant with are held controversially, and relate to other Christians whom they are not to agree with.

How is a Priest to prevent this difficulty? He naturally longs to do so; it stares him in the face. He goes to a man of fifty, who is sick, and finds him unable to give a clear answer to one question as to the faith that is in him. What is to be done? He feels that if this is the case in a small agricultural population where he may be, what is the fearful responsibility which the ministry are incurring! Of course, the first thing to do, is to work on the children and the young; instruct them catechetically, and thoroughly bring them up as Catholics and as Christians. This is clear. But what shall be done with the adults?

And this reminds us of another point which bears strongly on what we have said. We have found fault with the teaching of the last few years; but we find occasionally some among our own flocks who are relics of a long past day of education—men who benefited by the instruction of schools anterior to the low tone which sprung up sixty years since; and who still had a tinge, or rather had not lost a tone, however faint, of

Catholicity. We find such persons among many of our aged people, still loving the Church's lessons, and minding her holy days; this shows us how much more the system they were brought up under laid hold of them, than the superficial instruction of later days has of the generation which has come under its influence.

The best course to adopt with adults, surely, in this state of things, is to bring religious truths as much as possible before their minds. Actual instruction seems, at their age, nearly hopeless. But, surely, Daily-service will for such persons do the work of the Church. It will bring constantly before them great truths, the expression of which will be put into their own lips. It will place before them daily the Articles of the Christian faith; and there is a tendency in deep religious truths to sink into the mind—to lay hold of the understanding and affections by their repetition. Perhaps this would be the most effectual means we could suggest for remedying the almost heathen darkness in which many Englishmen are living, while brought up in the midst of unnumbered blessings and privileges. Mere exhortation and announcement of truth will not do. The remedy just suggested, to a certain degree, compels a man to act for himself, and draws out his own powers and energies. He himself confesses and enunciates truth.

Of course, to lead men to Holy Communion still more effects this purpose. But while we find it difficult to remedy so deep-rooted an evil in the minds of adults who have suffered from a lax and superficial method of teaching, our great care should be over children, that their instruction may be real and catechetical, founded on the basis of Catholic and dogmatic truth with which that mode of teaching is peculiarly bound up. It is not our work now to discuss the question of methods of teaching, and their minute details. Much, indeed, might be said, but it is a matter of its own.

Another sadly-neglected line of parish work, already alluded to, is the preparation of sponsors, and the manner in which holy Baptism is administered. So lax have been the customs in many parishes with respect to these points, that the poor constantly consider it a hardship if they may not stand as sponsors to their own children; or, if they do not, they will bring persons of really infamous character to answer for them. We shall often find that a child will be brought to church, with its two parents offering themselves for sureties, and some one for the third whom they have met in the road as they came along, and whom they have persuaded to do a neighbourly act by standing for the child, or perhaps for no higher motive than that he will have something to drink after service. What a fearful contrast this

shows with the intention and order of the Church, that only communicants shall stand in the place of sponsors; and yet it is to be feared that the practice we have referred to is very common, tending, as it must, to bring the holy Sacrament itself into disrepute, and destroy the respect for it which the tendency of schools in the last century has been considerably to lessen. How much this actual evil would be remedied if attention to sponsors, and preparation of them for their office, were made a regular part of parochial work! Besides the good done in the case itself, it would, as we have said, afford opportunity for a closer intercourse with a large number of our people on matters of high and holy moment, carried on under the rule of system, and in a truly Catholic manner. The mere fact of erroneous conception, as to the office itself, makes this important. Many wholly mistake the work to which they are called. It is a very common thing to find that the surety thinks himself responsible for the sins of the child; or views the whole as a formal arrangement, without meaning or intention at all. These and many kindred errors would be cleared away by making the preparation of sponsors a part of parochial work.

But another important benefit arising from all these modes of carrying into effect parochial training, is the line which they tend to draw between the good and bad in a parish:—the line is marked distinctly and decidedly, and yet *indirectly*. Men are left to draw their own conclusions, and discover themselves to be what they are, from their own conviction, rather than from direct announcement of the fact. As we have said before, the more men are left to themselves the better: and, perhaps, one great benefit of a Priest's residence among his people is the fact that his life and example lead them to form certain conclusions with regard to themselves, although he may be doing nothing else towards personal intercourse with them.

By carrying out plans such as we have referred to, the distinction of character must become more and more definite. Thus, the Priest, in his frequent intercourse with the communicants of his flock, and not with others, makes a separation. Again, he repels certain men when they offer themselves for the office of sponsors, while he always accepts others—this tends still more to make the division wide; and men by degrees feel themselves cut off from all such offices, which, even the worst, have sufficient moral sense left to know and feel are the signs of goodness, and sufficient conscience, perhaps, left to approve and desire to fill. Daily service has the same effect. It tends to stir men up. When they see others going on quietly and regularly attending to a religious duty of this kind, to which the world is compelled to give way; when employments which they have looked

upon as of paramount importance, are made to yield to an arrangement which they affect to despise, then the very regularity and independence of Daily service must, against their will, compel them to feel their own neglect. Its mere repetition forms a constant witness against them in the parish where they reside. By close attention to systems of this kind a strength of indirect reproof is brought to act upon the careless and lax living, which no direct reproof can equal in the effect produced.

And this reminds us of another point in the parochial life : that amount of visiting the poor at their own homes, which is plainly a duty, but which is very difficult to arrange well, so as to avoid abuse. Indiscriminate visiting, and the use of indiscriminate instruction in such visits, has been already condemned, and the remedy suggested. But there is still a high duty connected with it. The Clergyman should, without doubt, be well known in the houses of his people ; the sick and bed-ridden are, manifestly, the cases which most require this attention, and with these it should be in a more systematic way of duty than we generally find in use. If the Visitation Service were regularly used, it would tend to give great point and system to this branch of parochial visiting : another assistance towards regularity in this duty would be the stated administration of the Lord's Supper to those communicants who are necessarily confined to their homes. The use of the Visitation Service, the practice of administering the Holy Communion regularly to the old and infirm, the due preparation of such for it, and reading to them at other times—all these things would very much define and extend the rounds of parochial teaching, and bring it under strict system. But still, after this, a large number of persons will be left, who will not fall under these heads ; for instance, those in health, whose characters are good, and of whose daily lives we are unwilling to be ignorant ; of course anything like a system of instruction in the main points of religion, carried on at their houses, will involve all the harm of which we have been speaking ; it will, to their eyes, become a substitute for attendance at church and other ordinances of paramount importance. This is the result, and always has been found to be so, of this mode of instruction. We need not stop to blame it. Perhaps, if any advice could be given on this point, it would be, that such visiting should be more for the purpose of seeing after their temporal estate, or giving them an opportunity of gaining advice on any point which they may need, and from which they may be cut off through any other channel. But no doubt this branch of visiting must be left, in a great degree, to the discretion of the individual minister ; and must, to a certain point, be determined by circumstances, for

which no general rules can be given: but in the case of men of careless, or decidedly irregular lives, the difficulty is greater.

It has been too common a practice to pay frequent visits to persons of this description, for the purpose of reproving them, and urging them to some duty. As we have shown, this must do harm; it weakens the power of conscience by saving it trouble, and by preventing its being called into practice; it makes religion an oft-told tale to an unheeding ear, and blunts the edge of truth, so as to prevent its being felt when the mind would be open to its force; it produces irreverence of feeling towards it, and leads men to imagine that holy things are at their disposal.

We are so made that the mere fact of being obliged to seek a benefit and finding it hard of access, tends to increase our respect, and gives us a higher estimation for it; and so it will be especially with the things of God and the soul. Having them placed within our reach when we are in an unfit state for them, makes us slight them. Besides this, be the *effect* what it may, it is wrong in itself. The holy things of God are deep mysteries, hidden save to the earnest seeker. It is a sin to treat them easily. We might say more on all these, but we forbear at present. We have no reason to expect God will work miracles for us, and if we will not use the means placed in our way, and conform ourselves to His moral system over men, whatever latent power there may be in the letter of Scripture, or in the grace of Ordination, we have no right to expect they will work on us so as to arouse our slothful energies and dead consciences, if we, by sinful neglect, have let them fall asleep. With such persons, the manifest course is invariably to pass them by in going our parish rounds,—to make a point systematically of visiting the well-regulated, and always passing by the doors of the bad. The doing this regularly, and on system, so that they cannot mistake the fact of our intentional omission, will do more than anything else to arouse their consciences and to make them feel rebuked. The systematic neglect will do more than the most persevering open reproof or advice: the latter they think they may repel and despise if they will; the other they know to be a marked censure indirectly given, at which every man, even the most depraved, will be stung. The fact is, they are left to judge themselves and to condemn themselves; they are not saved the trouble by its being done for them, and the energy which would be spent in throwing off a direct reproof, is now spent in feeling the indirect one. There is always a desire in every man for superiority, and one of the first feelings in many on meeting another is to get the better of him. When a man is passed by, and no opportunity given for the struggle, the mere silent neglect implies the inward

consciousness of superiority in the other party—other feelings and powers are called into play. Of course, such a system as this requires much on the part of the Priest: he must himself be regular in his plan, even to the smallest minutiae of conduct; he must keep up with the utmost exactness the merest shell of his parochial plans; he must have a particular definite scheme of operation for the very smallest point of his parochial management; he must be as strict in not visiting too much as in not doing it too little; he must visit those who less need it (and that with a carefulness of judgment which is wearisome) in order to have effect on those he does not visit; in fact, he must visit as much for the sake of those he is willing to see, as for those he will not see. The least deviation or error in judgment may be most fatal in its effects: he will be obliged to make much of what seems the most trivial conversation of three minutes with any of his people: he must suit each word and sentence to individual character, disposition, and circumstance. His life and conversation will be one of constant effort of judgment and discrimination; but he is called to it, and sufficient grace is given. Nothing is trifling which a Clergyman does—nothing is indifferent; every word and each action must be weighed, as they are all closely watched, and he is called to bring them all into subjection to his holy calling.

He may seem to be doing little, while, in fact, he is doing much, since the very things he does not do are of hidden yet more real effect, and are taking their part in his general scheme of operation. His omissions must be intentional, and his very silence ought to have a depth of meaning, of which only himself is conscious, and others are left to guess at. Judgment—plan—system—due observation—discrimination of character,—these are the points he should aim at rather than activity or zeal, which lie on the surface. Of course, first and foremost, personal holiness and instant prayer. No opinion must be expressed at hazard, even on minutest points. Everything said and done must form part of his Parochial system. This is not easy. What are called activity and zeal are easier, and have more tangible, ostensible compensation. The one leaves men very much to work out their own inward sense of right and wrong—the other saves them trouble; the former may seem to give less to the Priest to do—but we have shown how false this is; it makes every action of consequence, and his continual presence among his people needful, to act on their minds and consciences.

Of course, this is a long subject to enter on, and we could find much to say. We want some authoritative guidance in the matter, and we have next to none. What light the Professor of Pastoral Divinity may throw on it, we have yet to see. The in-

stitution of the Professorship was evidently the desire to fill up a want which all must see exists; but whether that institution will in any considerable degree meet it, remains to be proved: we have our doubts. It wants a more thorough authoritative guidance than a Professor is able to give, half of whose life has been spent in the university, and only the remainder in the new and strange scenery of Parochial life. How is he to understand the working of human nature among our agricultural and manufacturing poor; and to dive into the depths of a science, the most intricate and difficult; from the subject-matter of which he has been cut off during the greater part of his life? There is no science so high, no subject-matter so important, as that of human nature and human character, and yet men are sent out to work on them utterly uninstructed; and to spend their whole lives in a sphere of labour without ever having discovered that they were called to that work at all. It is fearful to think that a common saying, however trite, is yet true, that the weakest in mind and general capacity are sent forth to the high and holy task we have referred to. Of course, fearful consequences are the result. The priestly office is but too often debased to the grade of the merest secularity; and the position of an agreeable companion or entertaining guest becomes the highest post occupied in a parish by the Priest of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, who is commissioned with the souls of Christ's redeemed, for which awful trust he must give account at a day which is near at hand. Where are the energies of the Church? Where are the powers she once exercised? Where the voice of the rulers to whom she has delegated authority? Why are her teachers unheeded? Why are not sinners still excommunicated? Why are the Priests of the Church stolen from her by the world, and looked upon as the instruments of parochial secularities, instead of the channels of Holy Ordination Grace?—her Catholicity merged in her establishment? her spirituality forgotten in her temporal estate? Why are not yearning hearts satisfied, by being admitted to confession of some kind or other, and impenitent sinners made to feel that they must seek with earnest prayer and tears to hold communion with Christ's people and Christ's commissioned ministers? Why do not the ministers of the Church move through the earth, in a sphere far beyond the breath of worldliness, with an independence which must at last compel all other powers to yield; a firmness and zeal in the cause of Christ which will meet death without shrinking, and endure life without impatience? Why does not the Church approve herself the only immovable thing existing in the changeable structure of society, unchanged amid the shocks of political revolutions and national convulsions, a bar of iron running through a hill of sand,—a type and resemblance of the sameness of eternity?

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22. *Drops for the Cup of Uniformity, Unity, and Peace, &c. By the Rev. G. C. HODGKINSON, M. A. London: Rivingtons. 1845.*
23. *Order and Uniformity in the public Services of the Church. The Substance of a Charge by EDWARD, Bishop of Newfoundland, &c. St. John's: M'Coubrey. 1844.*
24. *Reasons why we should not Revise the Liturgy; in answer to 'Revise the Liturgy. By a Peer.' By the Hon. and Rev. S. BEST, &c. London: Cleaver. 1845.*

It is a trite thought, but whatever the subject be, we seem afraid of facts. Facts, says the proverb, are stubborn things,—hard to get over, hard to get at, but hardest of all to use. Even they whose chief avowed pursuit is the discovery of facts, the physical philosophers, have now and then been biassed in their selection by the irresistible influences of some theory, to the very existence of which they would be loath to plead; some theory which, like other secret enchantresses, is powerful in proportion to its concealment. But, in moral subjects, to know how to use facts fairly, is the very rarest of gifts. Indeed it does require superhuman coolness not to suppress those little, awkward, knotty, unmanageable, incompressible, irreducible facts, which spoil a whole induction,—which break the line of a whole array of precedents, and distort the symmetry of an analogy. Nor is this all: even though we do not warp and wrench facts to suit the private pet theory, yet truths turn up multiform—they are so polygonal—that, like the spider's eyes, which are said to be cut into a thousand planes, we do not know their real and intentional aspect when we first come across them. The present difficulty about rubrical matters in the Church of England seems an especial example of the unmanageableness of a fact. There is no school or party among us—and their name is legion—who

will quite agree as to the peculiar value and bearing of the fact—not the causes, or the remedies, or the right, or the wrong of it, but the fact itself—of a dislocated and unauthoritative, and if so be, illegal ceremonial, or absence of ceremonial, whichever way it is viewed. None of us seem to know what to make of the present state of things; it will not fit in and dovetail correctly, as far as we see, with any of the sensible, precise, definite, cut-and-dry theories, and lines, which are in vogue. And thus we all seem disposed to bend the fact, and gloss it over, to meet some preconceived theory, rather than consent to let the various abstract views yield to the irresistible and inflexible fact.

The great fact, then, that we ought steadily to keep in sight, meet it manfully, and admit it, is this:—

That admitting that the Church of England has authority and ‘power to decree rites and ceremonies;’ that it has so decreed; that it has availed itself, on more than one occasion, of the civil power to enforce uniformity in such things, and this with a view, of course, to spiritual edification; and all this apart from any consideration of the abstract nature of the things, which are owned to be in themselves indifferent, but solely as a symbol of authority, and a test of obedience, in matters to refuse which is to ‘offend against the common order of the Church, and hurt the authority of the [spiritual] magistrate;’ that it has fenced this test of obedience by canons, by rubrics, by oaths at ordination, institution, and induction; that, in the most stringent way, it has claimed by every sanction of law, ecclesiastical and civil, as well as by moral obligation, the most strict and literal compliance with such ceremonial, order, and external uniformity; yet still that at no period of our history has the Church of England ever exacted, or if exacted, compelled, anything like such uniformity.

This, we say, is the stern invincible fact. On the one hand the writers of that most remarkable compilation, the *Hierurgia Anglicana*, neither prove, nor pretend to prove, that compliance with the literal laws of the Church ever was universal; they might find it hard to show that it was ever general: nor, on the other hand, can Mr. Robertson, and writers of his class, show that the Church ever attempted to forego the right, or, in theory, ever seemed to doubt the propriety, of enjoining and aiming at such obedience. On the contrary rather, on each occasion that it did synodically speak, the Church seems to have redoubled its anxiety on this very point; never did it seem to relax one hair’s breadth: even in the most licentious times a ceremonial and orderly form of religion was its aim and expressed spirit.

And there are various ways in which this fact must be estimated. Some claim this undeniable discrepancy, now of three

centuries' standing, between profession and practice, as a strong argument against the reality of the avowed principles. Never could the Church of England, it is said, have meant much, if any thing, by the high-sounding averment of authority in indifferent things; or care would have been taken to enforce obedience. And to such a view ritual nonconformity is made to bear a strong evidence to the awkward impression, that the Church of England is only a voluntary and human association, in which authority neither resided, nor was affected to reside. And we are not sure that this is not a tolerably natural use of the fact. Let it not be thought, however, that all who would acquiesce in this as the moral value of the fact, are at all agreed in their estimate of its propriety. Some—we must abstain from particularizing lines of thought by individual names—in this practical abeyance of authority, would with sorrow discover the most convincing proof that ours was only a Church in name. Such ought not to be in a true Church, they would say, but such has been, and is, in the Anglican communion; and—but the inference is obvious. Others, again, would cheerfully recognise, in the very same admitted fact, a clear proof of the practical embodiment in the *de facto* Anglican system of the common Protestant and voluntary notion of a Church being only an accidental congeries of individuals held together by the tie of accidental and fluctuating agreement in teaching; a body, that is, in which external order was unessential and not enjoined.

Either way, these opposite conclusions would be alike unpalatable to the rigid and technical school of High Churchmen. It is no wonder, then, that from them emanated, and in them have been most conspicuous and persevering, the attempts to compel what has been called 'Chinese exactness' in ritual. With them the question was one of life or death. Laud's line, the most inflexibly and consistently Anglican among us, was most strongly developed in this particular direction, and reasonably so. The true *via media* ceases to be such at the very slightest deflection; that is, if in any real and intelligible sense it becomes a kind of Lesbian rule, collapsing from, or protruding against, opposite assaults or tendencies. Hence it comes naturally that the most formal school among us lays much stress upon the present rubrical controversy. Minds which can conceive nothing more perfect than the abstract Anglican theory, which surrender themselves implicitly to the stern repulsive teaching of the early canons in the code of 1604,—which will admit and conceive neither development nor variation from the compound system of Prayer-book and Articles and Homilies, reconciled into one consistent whole,—regard, and consistently enough, in ceremonial uniformity the most indisputable triumph of *their*

theory. To say, therefore, that the rubricians are Popishly disposed, is to show the most complete ignorance, both of men and principles. If any one struggle can be more Anti-Roman than another, it is that embarked in by the Bishop of Exeter.

Again, apart from all these consistent schools, and in various ways there is a compact consistency belonging to them all, remains another body of thinkers, who claim some indulgence, and a more candid estimate than they seem likely to receive; and as we desire to treat this subject historically, and at the same time tentatively, it is but fair to give as unbiassed a view of the various parties in our present divisions as is possible. We preclude ourselves from settling claims: it will be useful rather to state the more hidden sources of action. Such are the men who cannot live upon abstract principles, and who desire something more congenial to daily and present duties than inapplicable theories. It is not all men that can see what ought to be in what is. Inferior to none in devotion, and allegiance, and reverence to the Catholic Ideal, still such cannot help feeling that their duties are with the tangled and dislocated Present, not with the glorious Past, or with the solemn vision of a still more glorious Future. Ours, they would say, is to take the Church, not to make it; still less is it our duty to pretend to see in the Church that which it is not. For first, say what we will,—account for it as we can,—still the Church, is not the Nation, of England; the two rules are no longer harmonious expressions under opposite relations of one and the same Heavenly Government. Every hour is snapping thread after thread, which tied Church and State together. Each seems drawing back into its original attitude of mutual distrust. Under such a condition of society it does seem little short of mockery to act as though that formal and technical Elizabethan system had life in any sense. Take for example, 'Every parishioner SHALL communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one:' or if not, then the whole round of presentation, excommunication, and the rest. Now let any person of the commonest sense take but this one single rubric, and all the consequences that flow from it, and if the favourite phrases of 'carrying out the Church system,' and 'obeying the Prayer-book,' have a meaning, to what tremendous conflicts and duties do they tie us all! It is not that they disparage ceremonial religion,—the very opposite; it is not again that they undervalue the great blessing of external uniformity as a most engaging help towards spiritual unity; this is not the difficulty which many feel; but it is because such uniformity seems unreal, as things are, that such cannot sympathize with those excellent persons who lay so much stress upon it. As things are, we repeat;—as they ought to be, as the Church

assumes throughout her services, as in a healthy state of things they would be,—these are not our present conditions of duty and judgment; but, as things are, what would come of universal rubrical uniformity, even if it were practicable? Would the most accurate obedience to the letter of the service-book make England that which, for whatever reason, and under whatever compulsion, it was, or perhaps assumed to be, three hundred years ago, when every man and woman went, or were supposed to go, to their parish Church every Sunday, and to communion duly at Easter? It is from a strong feeling of the inconsistency between promise and performance,—between undeniable facts and a somewhat visionary abstraction,—that many, whose views we are trying to bring out, doubt whether canonical uniformity, were it possible, should be our present primary aim.

Again, they look at the past in some such way as this: Ritual observances they deem but the formal exponents of the hidden mind of the Church; and chiefly the visible shape in which actual doctrine approves itself before God and to man. In the English Church of the last three centuries history shows the existence of at least two main elements,—the Catholic and Protestant,—each with its strong points, its partial successes, its symbolical standards. And from the fact of the varying and constant collisions between these opposite principles, they can account for the very discordant way in which ritual has practically, among us, displayed itself. Unable to assent to the dogmatizing proofs of such writers as Wheatly, that there can be but one unvarying type of the Anglican ceremonial, and for the most part careless of such praiseworthy, but unsuccessful, attempts to reduce facts into anything like historical unity and harmony, they expect to find much variety. They can account for such varieties as the legitimate results of our chequered doctrine. It seems just as natural that some should have differed in excess, as that some should differ in defect from the Anglican ritual. It is quite in keeping, it may be argued, that we should find as much above as below the letter of the rubrical law. Knowing what our doctrine and grasp of antiquity and Catholic truth has been at different periods, they find no difficulty in admitting that Andrewes used incense, and the tricanale for the mixed chalice, and adoration to the altar, and that Laud employed exorcism at consecrations, and that Overall transposed the prayers in the communion office: all this on the one hand, and on the other that Hooper scrupled at the surplice; that fonts have been superseded by white basins, and that a picture exists in which a priest, ministering at the altar, is vested in a black gown. Upon such a view the existence of stone altars, which whether the Church prescribes or permits—and we hold a very strong opinion that

they are permitted by the Church—it is unquestionable that the diffused temper of the Church has been against, is not a whit less or more remarkable than the absence of copes, which it is equally undeniable the law of the Church has enjoined. Rubrical inconsistency, whether above or below the written orders, is exactly what we should expect in a fluctuating and unsettled state of doctrine. The form aptly expresses the spirit. And until the most important and paramount matters of doctrinal unity is secured, they think it hopeless, if not inpolitic, to seek for a general measure of ceremonial uniformity. Till the Church has settled the doctrine of the sacraments, albe or surplice seems but an unprofitable speculation. Before episcopal authority is defined, it seems a waste of time to settle the terms of a Pontifical; and while there is an uncertain voice about such fundamentals of the Christian life as justification and regeneration, some variety may be looked for in candlesticks, and giving out the Psalms. It may be borne with, as one burden among many; submitted to, and endured, rather than welcomed and approved: to say which is by no means to disparage the intrinsic importance of such inquiries. It is their relative, not their positive value, about which doubts are felt.

Once more: supposing that the whole Church of England, in its fifteen thousand Churches, could, by any possibility, return to the strict Anglican ceremonial in all its details, with the most unyielding and uncompromising identity, what could be the positive gain? Would it not be something grotesque, almost to absurdity, for those who deny the Real Presence, to figure in chasuble and tunicle? and for those who confine the Bread of Life to sermons upon Ultra-Lutheran justification, to be forced to offer the daily Matins and Evensong? It does seem something akin to whitening dead men's sepulchres in external splendour and decency, before we have cleansed the bones and rottenness within. To be Catholic in vesture and guise before we are Catholic in spirit and teaching, ought not to be wished for. So, at least, many, and those not the least earnest, argue.

All this, however, it must be observed, only addresses itself to the general question—viz., how far, under present circumstances, it is desirable to wish for a sweeping measure which shall compel a general return, in every parish of England, to the ascertained or ascertainable laws of the Church—the written laws, that is,—making no allowance for the actual spirit and temper of the Church at the present day. At this stage of the argument we may pass over what that law is, and the conflicting claims of positive engagements on the part of the clergy, and what practically is said to amount to a tacit dispensation from canonical vows on the part of the ordinary authority. And here

certainly the results of the Exeter Injunctions are most noticeable. That they have, in a sense, failed, is precisely what some, and they anything but Puritans, must have wished: because, by compliance with them, the Church would have assumed a most unreal appearance.

A very different inquiry remains as to the duty of an individual clergyman, in reviving or retaining the lapsed observances. On this point we shall say something in the sequel. Whether he is bound scrupulously to follow the letter of the Prayer-book, under every possible condition of his congregation, and with such degree of historical knowledge on every disputed point as falls to the lot of an ordinary parish priest, must, as it seems, depend very much upon the individual conscience. If we are ignorant of a law, we cannot be said, except by an abuse of terms, to violate its legal obligations: technically, we may err and offend the law, but, morally, we do no sin. This distinction must go far to exonerate the past generation. To us, fresh from the study of Articles of Inquiry, Injunctions, Canons, Rubrics, Advertisements, Conferences, and Collations, it may be quite incredible that our fathers knew nothing of these things. Yet the fact remains that they were ignorant of them, and, for whatever cause being ignorant, we are loath to charge them with wilful, that is, sinful disobedience to Church authority. It is a very serious thing to lay against the whole Church of a century and a half, the accusation of deliberate treachery to their solemn oaths. The State in all cases of written law, cannot, it is true, entertain the question of positive and total ignorance of its enactments: it is compelled to assume that every man, woman, and child, in England, is acquainted with the whole body of the Statutes at Large: it is forced never to recognise the plea of ignorance. But the Church is not bound by this rigid canon of punishment. In moral questions, invincible ignorance is a fair extenuation for neglect. Of course, it is quite true that the state of the Church must have been debased in the extreme, when ignorance of its positive laws was so general: we are not apologizing for such a condition of things. But still it was a fact. We will venture to state it as an incontrovertible truth that there was not one clergyman in a thousand, twenty years ago, who ever dreamed that it was his duty to say, daily and without intermission, the offices of Matins and Evensong: or that, by his ordination vows, he had tied himself to this palpable obligation. And much may be urged in extenuation of the existence of such ignorance; though this is not our present inquiry.

Now, however, the case is altered: ignorance no longer exists; the conscience is enlightened; the law has made its formal appeal

and claim for obedience. Every clergyman now knows his legal responsibilities: can he, any longer, refuse compliance? Certainly not on the plea of ignorance, nor on the absence of a legitimate injunction from the proper authority. It must be admitted that when the Bishops have once solemnly declared, 'that we are no more at liberty to *vary* the mode of performing 'ANY part of public worship, than we are to preach doctrines at 'variance with the Articles of Religion,' a very serious responsibility indeed is laid upon our consciences. With an interpretation so strict, it seems, at first, that the abatements of time, and prudence, and measure, are quite beside the question. Ritual nonconformity and heresy are placed in the very same category. To disobey a rubric is announced to be of the same nature as a deadly sin. If this be so, we have no sympathy whatever with Mr. Benson, who deplores the waste of 'time, 'the study, the legal inquiries, and antiquarian researches, 'which the rubrical controversy entails upon the whole body of 'the Clergy.' In a subject of such vast importance there is no expenditure of industry which is not a positive duty. Either then the alternative is not so fatal to the individual conscience, or the Church is bound, now that it has spoken, to compel instant and complete obedience.

At the very first announcement of this strict duty of unswerving obedience, however, certain limitations were announced, which, to most minds, must have neutralized its apparent harshness; or, indeed, must have done more, must have left things exactly where they stood. The question was put on grounds of policy rather than obedience; it moved out of the region of passionless law into that of practical expediency. The voice of the law to convicted offenders is,—You are a thief, but I cannot ask you to eradicate evil habits by a course of moral training. I will not prescribe to you to cure drunkenness by gradual forbearance, but I must act once and for all. I must punish for the past, and for the very first slip, however trifling, I must punish again. Rubrical obedience might have been enforced by similar sanctions. The Bishops might have instituted proceedings for the most minute variation in ritual. Every one will agree that it is very well that they did not. But, certainly, by adopting a more Christian and politic line of duty, the question is no longer one of positive obedience. To combine policy with strict obedience abates much of the austere duty towards the latter.

As soon as the Bishop of London coupled with the former assertion of a strict principle, the 'duty in particular cases of 'exercising a sound discretion as to the time and mode of bringing 'about an entire conformity to the strict letter of the law,' directly the Bishop of Exeter admitted that the cope was the

proper legal vestment for the sermon, (we are not assenting to this dictum,) and yet on grounds of policy enjoined the surplice, the dispute was practically at an end, as regarded legal and formal obligation. Henceforth it must range upon a lower base, and must involve more perplexing personal responsibilities; just as questions of casuistry are more difficult than those of statutory prohibitions. There can, we think, be little doubt, that for all practical purposes, the rubrical dispute cannot be argued out to a decision upon any broad and general principles: each case of difficulty must be settled upon its own contingent merits. It does not seem that they all have a common subject-matter. Or if any individual clergyman is prepared to rest his accurate conformity, in this instance, upon the other and higher motive, let him bear in mind to what he ties himself, by announcing and acceding to this duty of inflexible obedience to written Church-law. He cannot stand still with rubrical obedience. Acting upon this line he must ascertain, if he can, in the most minute particulars the law of the Church in every thing: in doctrine, in discipline, in its various relations to his brethren, to the State, to himself, to other Churches, and so on. Unless he is prepared to do this consistently and thoroughly, it seems almost nugatory to profess legal obedience in one class of duties, and to refuse its claims equally stringent in another.

This thought will account for the general success which at first attended the raising of the question of ceremonial conformity. Like all other principles, that of obedience to positive law was very taking when promulgated, as it would be, boldly and definitely. It seemed so simple; it cut through a world of conflicting doubts and hesitations, and reluctances, and scruples. It was grand and striking from its massive plainness; it stood out clear and sharp in outline against the clouds and fogs of indecision, and wavering, and compromise. It was a good answer to silence awkward objections. Say that a clergyman found it needful to revive this or that observance; such, for example, as making the oblation of the sacramental elements himself. What reply so easy to the charge of innovation as "To the law and to the testimony." "I act upon rubric and vows?"—"Then apply this to every other obligation," was the natural rejoinder.—"So I will," adds the clergyman. Hence the confident appeal to authority, which is not to be violated nor exceeded, neither added to nor diminished in the slightest particular.

Now, God forbid that we should seek to disparage, or to cast a slight upon this high moral tone. We have lived so long without any recognition of conscience and duty, and the sacredness of law, and the awful majesty of authority, and the duty of

individual obedience at whatever cost of peace and popularity, that we cannot but augur well from the bare enunciation of a principle so lofty, if we will but be true to it. Men cannot assume this dignity without rising in the scale of morality; that is, if we be sincere in declaring our earnest conviction of such a duty as obedience like this. Ceremonial conformity is not quite the sort of subject, however, to which, could we have ruled the matter, we should, *in the first instance*, have wished a reference to be made to the great abstract duty of ecclesiastical obedience; ritual being in its own nature indifferent, and only binding because of positive and variable injunction, we should have liked the *first* appeal to obedience in matters of eternal and immutable obligation—the sacred truths, and higher mysteries, and great Catholic dogmas and verities of the Faith. Besides, in many cases this appeal to authority looks rather like a make-weight and second thought. Love of imposing and solemn formalities for their own sake—skill in archæological inquiries—taste in propriety and order,—these may have been the first, though not avowed, motives, to which succeeded the perilous invocation of authority on all matters of prescription.

We must not be misunderstood: personally, we hold very strong views, indeed, of the value of ritual observances; but, in treating their attempted revival as, what it also is, a question of history, we are bound to examine the latent causes which have checked it. What the Church of England wants is a revival of spiritual authority; unquestionably. Rubrical uniformity is a subject of authority,—it is no indifferent thing because enjoined,—we admit this to the full. The problem then, the thing to be done, is to compel obedience to such authority. Was the ritual question the most likely ground upon which to enforce a successful claim? We own our doubts; not because the experiment has failed; not because one great event in our own history, the Caroline struggle, clouded the prospect with an inauspicious precedent; but from the nature of the thing itself. It seems like beginning at the wrong end to prefer external uniformity to internal unity. Truly the Church should be arrayed 'in raiment of needlework, in a vesture of gold wrought about with divers colours,' but she must first be 'all glorious within.' Purity of doctrine is a condition and prerequisite of external symmetry. If we could hazard, under present circumstances, to take our stand on the instant duty of reclaiming any treasure once committed to us, which we had lost, or buried unprofitably, we should, in the spirit of faith, have counted upon success, if a Bishop had announced his formal injunctions to compel the doctrine of baptismal regeneration to be preached, rather than a surplice to be worn, in every pulpit of

his diocese. Not that we would venture to cast the slightest reflection on the high-minded Bishop of Exeter,—the single fact that he took the synodical advice and judgment of his Chapter before issuing his advertisements, alone is an undying testimony to the soundness of his judgment, and the vigour of his principles;—but it is the application of authority to this particular subject of difference that we hold to have been premature. The people of England have been tried: in the words of Mr. Henry Drummond—

‘It was known that the Evangelical clergy had departed from much truth, which had survived the shock of the Reformation, and had adopted the errors of the Presbyterians and Independents; but the attempt by the Tractarians to return to Church principles has been the cause of showing into what a mass of error the English clergy have fallen, denying the foundation of the Church, priesthood, Sacraments, and every holy rite, as things ordained by God, and resolving the whole into a question of the extent that each one in his own private judgment considers to be appropriate; so that Bishops counsel the Clergy to practise things, not according to what is right, but according to what the Laity will tolerate. This witness is probably the last, for now the Laity have risen up in a body against their Clergy and Bishops; and, as is seen in Devonshire, whilst, on the one hand, with hypocritical mockery, they petition the Bishops to settle the questions which they cannot comprehend—such as a black or white gown to preach in, a stone or wooden altar or table, a weekly or monthly collection for the poor,—they peremptorily refuse on the other to be ruled by their Bishop, who, with infinite pains and ability, has analyzed all these topics for them . . . No sooner had the Bishop of Exeter done so, than their asserted deference for episcopal regulation was proved to be a false pretence, and the *soi-disant* zealous churchmen were shown to have as fixed a contempt for a Bishop’s decision as the most acrimonious dissenter. Thus an irrefragable proof has been afforded that the Church of England, as a system ruled by Bishops, is at an end: an anonymous newspaper has more weight with any Church of England congregation than both their pastor and Bishop together: the congregation judge and excommunicate their minister and Bishop; raise a riot in God’s house, as indecent as when Cromwell stabled his horses there, and create a mob in the streets to insult their pastor . . . The more trivial the occasion, the more fully does it establish the point here contended for, which is, that obedience to authority, the first element of corporate existence, has departed from the Church of England, and that it has become, in essence, though not in

'name, merely a congeries of mob-ruled independencies.'—*Abstract Principles of Revealed Religion*, pp. 339, 344.

It was exactly because the circumstance was in itself apparently trivial that we regret its issue being staked on the high and commanding ground of authority: we would have reserved such an appeal for an occasion more dignified and vital. Such would not have failed to present itself. As it is, the game was scarcely worth its candles. Not that we are disposed to acquiesce in Mr. Drummond's gloomy view of the actual results of the late contest. As we have claimed some sympathy for the judicial blindness which obscured plain duty to the Clergy of a past day, so we think considerable allowance must be made for the laity of our own generation. To use the words of a recent sermon—

'I do very deeply sympathize with the perplexities which are occasioned by changes in modes of worship. Abating from the present tumult all that is merely venal and worldly; making allowance for those who swell the cry only because they, consistently enough, hate whatever, assuming even to aim at a religious walk, casts reflection upon their own corrupt and selfish lives; deducting all the mass of Sectarians and infidels, who are now admitted, by the cheap accident of being inhabitant householders, to have a voice in dictating the mode of conducting the Holy Christian Mysteries,—I say, separating off all these most miserable elements in the present popular outbreak, there yet remains, I am glad to think, somewhat, and I would hope, much, of real religious earnestness in those, my brethren of the laity, who look back, when they see the storm lowering, to days which were at least peaceful, and to practices which, at least, caused no dissension. I gladly admit that I sympathize, which is more than to make allowances; because, as I have said, I know the force of early associations and habits. Besides, the practice of our lives, short as they are, becomes a religious tradition to us: and this surely cannot be otherwise than a sacred thing to an earnest mind. If we have never known any other than a debased mode of conducting public worship, and if we have neither a call, nor leisure, nor other helps, to institute an historical inquiry, and to weigh the force of conflicting evidence, then, whatever the mode of Service to which we have been accustomed in itself is, still its change must, and ought to, excite our suspicions. The length of time for which any given practice has obtained is, in fact, unimportant. Anything looks, and must look, like an innovation if it is new to us. And, practically, it is of little use going into a detailed proof, that all that is called innovation is, in truth, but restoration; because the majority of people are governed, and, in a sense, properly, rather by temper than by elaborate proof.

'I own, then, that there is a strong antecedent objection and prejudice to the revival of obedience to the laws of the Church; because any change must look like innovation; and, as far as it goes, this really is a Christian and Church-like feeling.'—*Scott's Sermon*, pp. 27, 28.

Taking, then, the present outbreak at the very worst, what

does it amount to? A convincing proof that the laity of the Church of England, as a body—that is to say, the mass of people who attend such and such a church, without receiving the sacraments, and only as a piece of once-a-week decency—are ignorant of the first principles of the Christian religion; and that such among them as are in earnest are rabid fanatics. It has come out that ignorance and false doctrine make up the mass of so-called religion in most of the congregations of our parishes, suburban alike and rural. Well: supposing all this proved—no sensible person ever doubted it; none, that is, but that very unwise class who are in the habit of talking about apostolical succession after dinner, and preaching glibly of the spread of Church principles, because they can get an antependium embroidered, or because old Goody Jones, at the Curate's earnest solicitations, has cut the meeting-house: very good results these, in their way, both the frontal and the old dame's conformity, but still absurdly unfair tests of the tremendous amount of sin and evil festering and corrupting and blistering the proud, hard hearts of those who, by a frightful energy of language, are known as 'the masses.' Could we doubt that, as a country, England was apostate; that, as a Church, spiritual authority and obedience only existed in books, and regrets, and in young men's dreams? We are not at all of those who could never have foreseen the events of December 1844: to say the truth, we are not much surprised that the Clergy are hunted, and that even a cathedral city yells from all its alleys upon a provocation so trumpery as the sight of a surplice in the pulpit. Somehow the national conscience began to suspect that a vigorous assault was making in some direction on the national character; and it was right. The Church and the world must come into direct conflict sooner or later; and the little accidents and *πάρεργα* of a system, which offertories and surplices, rating them at the highest, are, present precisely the salient points upon which to fasten a vigorous complaint of Popish innovations. It is the very cry which has always found the readiest echo in an English breast; on the *odisse quem ignoras* principle. Now surplices and offertories every body can understand—*seignius irritant*, &c.—and every body can make a grievance of; prudence, therefore, we think would have reserved these things; at least, would not have enjoined them as *general* observances. It was hardly worth while to raise the storm on such a subject; it was assaulting England in its tenderest point; it was telling the people that they had been miserably selfish and miserably ignorant for the last century. Now, however true such a charge may be, it is by no means pleasant for an irreligious man to be told that he is irreligious; for a mean, covetous man to be told that he has been grasping

and self-indulgent all his life. And that England is irreligious, and that this charge was the meaning of the proposed weekly offertory and amended ritual, there can be no question. 'What, am I to be told openly that I never said my prayers properly?' is the indignant question of 'the father of a family.' 'Anyhow, I'll show these Puseyites that I won't say my prayers their way. I am not sure that I'll say them at all; just to spite the parson.' But this feeling is so well expressed by a bystander, a clever infidel writer of the present day—for it would be a slander upon Mr. W. J. Fox to call him even a Socinian—that we avail ourselves of a most brilliant sketch of the actual state of practical Church-of-Englandism.

'John Bull is occasionally apt to forget that he is a Churchman in the recollection that he is an Englishman; upholding the feelings of his nature and the tendencies of habit, in opposition to his religious profession. When alterations are made in the form of worship to which he is accustomed, and especially the introduction, though it may be in fact only the revival, of such a custom as the offertory,—yet as it becomes a money-question, it is the very thing to rouse his antagonism. At sight of the Clergyman in his surplice, and the churchwardens with their basins, coming to each pew to collect money, his blood is immediately up. No; he will not stand that sort of thing. He resents the affront to his dignity, and the design upon his pocket. Why should he be taxed in this way? It is true, he is easily caught, as the man who held the plate at Marylebone church the other day well knew, putting three sovereigns into the plate (intending to take two of them back again after the collection), as decoy-ducks to draw larger contributions from those who went out. Resistance to forced alms-deeds is a principle of John Bull's nature; * * * attempt to get money from him by compulsion, and he instantly buttons his breeches pocket and says he will not be humbugged. Nay, he declares (the language has been literally used) that not only will he not give, but none of his family shall; no, not any person connected with his household: he will search his wife and daughters before they go to church, and take care that they have not a sixpence about them to contribute to this abominable offertory. He will have a placard posted on his pew door, "No alms given here!" The Clergyman puts on a surplice; why, a parson in a gown preached to his father; most respectable people have been admonished in gowns; and if a gown was good enough for his father's Clergyman, it is good enough for his own Clergyman. He will not be lectured in white—not he—when he and his ancestors have always been used to black. The "communion-table" was a table in his father's time, and it shall not be an altar in his days. And, then, as to catechising or baptizing children during service-time, that is "too bad." He does his duty in going to church; he sets an example to the parish; he calls himself a "miserable sinner" with the rest of his neighbours; it is quite sufficient for him to do that: he is not going to listen, in addition, to the crying of sprinkled infants, or to hear all those dirty children repeat the ten

commandments. Is his dinner to be kept back for that? Not it, indeed. So as soon as anything of the sort is going forward, out he marches in the offended dignity of Anglican Protestantism, goes home, and there sits sulky, "nursing his wrath, to keep it warm," by reading the correspondence of the *Times* newspaper. Nay, more; he positively writes to the editor himself: you may know him at once by his style. Here is a letter which the *Times* only yesterday put into its large type:—

“*To the Editor of the Times.*

“‘How is it then, brethren? when ye come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation.’—1 *Cor.* xiv. 26.

“‘Sir,—It is too clear that the above is the unhappy representation of the two dioceses of London and Exeter. I shall not trouble you much. Is this to be borne by the people of England generally? My own opinion, and that of many others with whom I have conversed, is, that the two bishops, the authors of these mischiefs, ought to retire, or, infallibly, episcopacy will have received its death-blow from their hands. What conscientious parent will suffer either of them to confirm their children? None. There is, therefore, an end of one of the indispensable offices of our Church in those dioceses. They now, I perceive, pretend to *permit* those of the Clergy whose consciences will allow them to withdraw the obnoxious innovations. Sir, did they consult or ask the Clergy anything about their consciences when they ‘enjoined,’ ‘authoritatively commanded,’ the innovations? Are they not, then, as powerful to command a return to the old practice as to command the violation of it? Eh?

“‘Sir, the people of England expect their retirement.

“‘I am, Sir, &c.

“‘VINDICATOR.”’

Lectures to the Working Classes, by W. J. Fox. Lect. viii. 120—122.

Indeed, the mistake, if such it be, seems to have been this: Ritual and ceremonial are aids to devotion; they are sacramental, it is said; they are means to grace, they are helps for men to become religious. Quite true; they are so; but only to those who are already religious in some degree. In themselves, besides their use to our edification, they are for God's glory: they are of the nature of a sacrifice; they are rather part of the Church's offering and incense to Heaven; they are her reverent voice and lowly gesture to her Lord, the anointing of His sacred feet and the wiping of them with all that we hold beautiful and precious. If, therefore, it was supposed that England could be converted by generally restoring rubrical observances, this thought, wherever it exists, shows a fundamental ignorance of the final cause of worship, especially in its richer and more splendid development. For such as the majority of our congrega-

tions even to be present at the celebration of the mysteries is unspeakably dangerous; and if to bring out the symbolical and more sacred idea of all our services were the object of the revival and restoration of neglected beauty and forgotten propriety, then, in proportion as they assumed a sacramental bearing, and taught with a sacramental purpose, did they become unfitted for such as we have about us. *Ne mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos*; but surely, if the pearls are already dim, and dull and defiled, the irreverence is not so dangerous in trampling upon them, as when displayed in their full lustre; then the danger of causing offences may be infinitely increased. When, therefore, we said that the revival was premature, we might have added that it was incomplete; that is, as a general measure. All along we are speaking of a compulsory restoration, not of the value of ritual in particular congregations. It was incomplete, because other things ought to have accompanied it. If the Bishops and Clergy were prepared at one blow to forbid one-half of our congregations *ab ingressu Ecclesiæ*; if they were ready to preach in the very streets a crusade and never-ceasing appeal against all our popular sins; if they were prepared with a measure for carrying out a system of confession and discipline; if they were equally earnest to restore the canonical election of Bishops, and, with a compulsory restoration of ritual, were as zealous for a compulsory restoration of Catholic doctrine, then no rubrical conformity would be too strict for a Church so reformed; no ritual would be too precise or dignified for such as would then remain the Church's elect children, the sons ever with her.

Indeed, as a Church, we may as well make the confession openly; we have no right whatever to liturgical development, for which some among us seem so anxious; nor yet for a ceremonial ritual as such, to a great, or even to a moderate degree of dignity; nor can we have a right, *i. e.* as a Church, whatever individual congregations may claim, to that modicum of beauty and significant grace which even the laws of our own Church prescribe or permit. Let us take these things as parts of our burden. For an isolated Church, a solitary speech and a confined range of thought and expression, seem not only most natural, but most becoming. For a national Church which makes but a faint appeal against general national corruption, surely other than soiled garments and an unjewelled front would be scarcely fitting. And for a divided Church—split into factions, and burning with suspicions and hatred, as well as actually uncertain about its own laws and authoritative witness,—what so significant with a melancholy appropriateness as the fact of a Prayer-book in so many Churches mangled and distorted to suit prevailing heretical fancies and faithlessness? No: let us be assured that we

shall have the one Voice when we have recovered the one Faith: we shall be one in attitude when we are one in heart. All these things are part of our calamity; or rather, the one calamity of our state of separation reproducing itself under various forms. It seems but pettish to quarrel with this or that particular link, while we are rather proud than otherwise of the whole chain.

Finally, if it be said, that the whole Church has an undoubted right to reappropriate in its integrity whatever of sacred pomp and holy forms the convulsion of the sixteenth century spared, we apply the same parallel case of doctrine to this argument. It may be quite true, that we can cull from the history of the Reformed Church many noble and beautiful relics of symbolism and hierurgical splendour. But as things have been since the Reformation, these things are but scattered and fragmentary: they have never occurred in unison: they have never combined into one perfect and consistent whole. It is just like the different cathedral services of the present day: each one perhaps possesses its own characteristic propriety; together they might form a grand whole, but singly they are very ineffective. If we could take from one cathedral its Litany chanted by two Priests; from another its custom of bowing to the altar; from another its processions; from another its separation of Matins, Litany, and Communion; from Durham its copes; the intonation of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, from one; a lectern from this; sedilia from another; plate and hangings from another; it would be quite true that all these separate Catholic practices in combination would form a cathedral service Catholic in tone, and dignified in details,—one which the Church of Reformation never has witnessed. So is it with the parish churches: altar candlesticks may be found at S. Mary-le-Strand and Allhallows Barking; tapestry hangings may remain at Merton Chapel; wafer bread might have been consecrated, more or less, up to the time of the Rebellion; Andrewes and Laud might have used water for washing the hands before consecration; incense might have been burned; and yet we cannot say that these things were other than exceptions to a very much more debased and slovenly ritual aspect of the general Church. And these things no more fully express the ordinary bearing of the Church than was its ordinary doctrine adequately represented by the teaching of Andrewes, Montague, Thorndike, Bramhall, Cosin, and Johnson, or its ordinary sanctity by Hammond and Ferrar. The real value of the testimonies which, with so much diligence, have been collected, as to the fact of certain observances not having been forbidden—but rather, used—by the greatest divines among us, is more in the way of protection for individuals who think proper, on private responsibility, to revive them, than of general

imitation for the whole Church of England. While we cannot rebut the fact, that high Catholic doctrine has rather been the exception than the rule, we may well admit that we have, as a Church, fallen short of the rule of external obedience to prescribed laws in exact proportion to our general unfaithfulness to the spirit of our service-books. It is a matter of prayer to recover both; but facts go far to show that we have been a Church of individual, not of corporate, life; and if this seem contradictory, it will better express an anomaly.

We turn now to the duty of individuals; having suggested hitherto cautions as to the right, to say nothing of the expediency, of general and stringent rules about rubrical conformity, as emanating from Episcopal authority, in the actual state of the Church of England, and this, we trust, with due respect to such rule.

At the first view of the question it seems that nothing short of the most accurate compliance with the Rubric can satisfy an enlightened conscience. There are, as has been said, the vows at ordination and at institution, and these publicly repeated at reading-in: there are the State enactments. From all these obligations there is no attainable dispensation, at least, none is sought for from the ordinary, though it is questionable whether even he can formally dispense with them. Whether the Bishop fails in, or discharges, his duty in not enforcing compliance seems hardly to affect the real question; and the excuse of the tacit consent of the whole Church, which is a much stronger reason for irregularity, no longer exists, when compliance or non-compliance is debated in every parish with acuteness almost amounting to ferocity. Few people can now say they never heard of rubrical obedience. Nor has the Church appended an *Epinomis* to the Prayer-book or Canons for the benefit of tender consciences, after the fashion of that very curious document, of most significantly perplexed Latinity, which is subjoined to the Oxford *Corpus Statutorum*. We have already said that this view of strict compliance upon positive and legal responsibilities found favour in many quarters, because it offers the readiest solution of acknowledged and pressing difficulties. It is the symbol of a very large and, we believe, growing body, especially among High Churchmen of a precise and accurately defined type. Mr. Benson, though of a different school, admits it to the very full; nay, he seems to take something like a malicious delight in exaggerating the force, and in tightening the stringency, of the bonds of individual clerical conformity to the whole Book of Common Prayer. The Master of the Temple has an aim in all this; the tighter he can pull the knots, the greater chance of the cord bursting; if the patient's eyes begin

to start, his struggles may crack the bowstring; and, as Mr. Benson's curious object is to get rid of all conformity to the Prayer-book, perhaps he is a witness, not altogether unprejudiced, as to the force of its existing necessity. His conclusion is—

‘It consequently follows, that every individual member of that body—Bishop, Priest, or Deacon—is bound to a compliance, not only in the fullest extent, but from the very day in which the declaration required of him by the statute is made. He is bound to this in point of conscience, as well as law; and from the duty,—as it respects his conscience, and as he understood it when he entered into the promise,—no official interference can release him, so long as the Common Prayer-book remains sanctioned by law. The conclusion of the whole matter is, that the immediate observance of all the Rubrics is both a legal and a moral obligation.’—*Rubrics and Canons, &c. considered*, p. 17.

‘Not only,’ says Mr. Benson, with a sly chuckle, ‘not only are you bound to comply, to the very letter, but you must begin to-morrow morning, if you ever mean to sleep on an easy pillow again.’ The Church, as the successor of Hooker thinks proper to draw it, is a very Jew in Venice: its, or rather his, language is—

‘An oath, an oath, I have an oath in heaven :
Shall I lay perjury upon my soul ?
No, not for Venice—I stay here on my bond.’

Whether Mr. Benson himself recognises, and acts upon, this extreme view of moral obligation, flowing from his ‘sacred and voluntary promise,’ we are not aware. If he does not, it might be worth a little pains to discover why he is so anxious and stiff about the matter. Mr. Benson, perhaps, has a real though concealed dislike of this view of moral obligation; and it may be he thinks that the surest way to get it into discredit is to take it up himself; whether he is right or not we are not called upon to say.

But we are not aware that we have seen this view of moral obligation in the individual conscience fairly grappled with. Mr. Oakeley, for example, by far the cleverest writer against universal conformity to the Rubric, in a well-known letter published in the ‘English Churchman,’ (No. 104,) does not meet it. Why we cannot say, unless it be that by assuming the *imponens* of the obligation to exist in the *de facto* ‘executive of the existing Church,’ *i. e.* ‘his own Bishop,’ to each individual Clergyman, he thought that he had sufficiently obviated the difficulty flowing from personal responsibility.

Now we own that we can by no means follow this statement; the obligation to ritual observances does not reside in the fact

that we have made a promise to an individual Bishop. If it did, the circumstance of his not enjoining compliance with his own imposition of duty would go far, though not completely, to exonerate one who had incurred such an obligation. But the Bishop's power is neither discretionary, nor, as it seems, dispensing, but only ministrative and interpretative in doubtful points; and here, as his interpretation may be wrong, his decision seems liable to be remodelled by subsequent information, and perhaps by the ecclesiastical law courts. For example, were the doubt about the gown and surplice referred to the Bishop of Exeter, and he were to decide in favour of the surplice, and under the same circumstances were the Bishop of Worcester to decide in favour of the gown, we conceive that there exists authority somewhere in the Church of England to set aside one of these conflicting judgments. This practical difficulty leads us to conclude that the *imponens* of individual clerical obligation is not the single Bishop; whether, therefore, he withholds sanction or inhibition of particular observances, his silence does not lessen the strictness of personal obligation, if that obligation, as we argue, arises from a different source. That source we think to be the mind of the Convocation which imposed uniformity; and that mind is to be ascertained by the courts in Doctors' Commons, like all other ecclesiastical questions of fact among us. The existing Church, it is true, as administered by the Bishop of the diocese, does carry on, and concur with, and exhibit, and present to the individual clergyman the original obligation, but the Bishop does not himself originate it. If he did, the question would be a very simple one; each Bishop would be the measure of obligation, and when he did not enforce compliance, it might be reasonably enough assumed that he dispensed with it.

But, by throwing back the authority to a more distant functionary, we may perhaps arrive at something like Mr. Oakeley's conclusion, though upon separate grounds; that is, we may venture to construe with some liberality the alleged duty of compliance as it affects a single conscience. The object of the Church in prescribing strict obedience to positive directions was to *keep* uniformity,—a point supposed to be already adequately secured,—not to *gain* it. Now, however, owing to an obvious change in the circumstances of the Church,—no longer commensurate and coincident with the whole people,—a double duty is laid upon its ministers: as before to maintain uniformity, which was then its only object, but now, in addition to this, to win back apostates and doubtful members. Formerly its office was simply edification for an individual flock; now it has a missionary office also, and this, miserable as such a state is, to its own nominal members. If, therefore, there be any clergyman who is so

enamoured of the old theory of the Church of England, as in any real sense to believe that his whole flock are *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, good and consistent Churchmen, in such a case, his duty is most plain, to follow out the Rubric fully and unconditionally; no other source is left open to him; he has no call to look to other duties than edification of his own, and those, in every sense, the Church's own: their edification will be best consulted by complete obedience. But if, on the contrary, a clergyman finds that a majority of his flock are in truth members of the Church only by a falsification of terms, the final cause of ritual conformity scarcely exists to him, and his obligations to discharge it are very materially lessened, if not impaired. His office is almost reduced to a missionary function; and whether strict ceremonial compliance with the directions of the Prayer-book is the best means to this a totally new end, must be settled upon different grounds. It is certain that to convert souls is a different object from retaining them: to win obedience to authority is not the same thing as to assert it. The Church, it is true, still recognises its first purpose, that of the sanctuary ministrations being confined to the faithful; but when this purpose is clearly unattainable, we must attribute so much to the implied and inherent faith of the Church as to believe that had the present state of things been foreseen, it would have modified its system to meet such an emergency.

Some, indeed, may for the most part, accept this statement; and will argue that even for purposes of conversion—for to this it comes practically—full and unvarying compliance with the written laws of the Church is, after all, the best means. In such a line we cannot concur. Modest reserve and the rules of the Church will teach us the duty, under certain circumstances, of keeping back truths, and if truths then their practical expression in ritual and ceremonial, from those who are not fit for them. There is a deep and chary economy by which the Church must adapt her teaching to those whom she has to instruct. With the holy she will be holy; but with the froward she must stoop to learn frowardness. If men declare themselves unfit for blessings they must not be forced upon an unwilling acceptance. While *volenti non fit injuria* is a received maxim of the law, *volenti vix fit jus* seems equally true. Privileges are in no sense withheld when men obstinately refuse them. To illustrate this, suppose that a clergyman has ascertained that the law of the Church is to celebrate a weekly offertory: shall he persist in this when his flock, one and all, refuse to give of their substance? We think not: he will but be following the mind and primary purpose of the Church, which connected with the offer of this privilege, 'the willing

mind,' by foregoing its offer. It is the people who are in fault, not the pastor; and his conscience need not be harassed by the fears of neglecting an obligation which his people, for whose use, not for whose destruction, it was imposed, will not suffer him to fulfil. So, too, of preaching in the surplice: this, in principle, is also a privilege: it presupposes that those to whom the sermon so delivered is addressed are faithful men. If, by their abhorrence and rejection of this privilege, they own themselves unworthy of it, should it, much to its degradation and insult, be forced upon them? Under such circumstances, we would suggest, that a clergyman should apply to his Bishop for licence to deliver his sermon after the Litany, and then in a black gown, or in no gown, as a simple missionary to the obstinate and self-excommunicated. Then the difficulty would be obviated of preaching in the most solemn service to those who despised it, and of using reproofs by no means suitable to the Christian mysteries. And yet more, the dangers of the spiritual state would be most forcibly realized to the congregation; admitting themselves to be unfit for the vestments of the faith, they should also be excluded from the chief service of the faith. And though a sermon is ordered in the communion office, this does not preclude the delivery of one of a totally different character at another time: as the practice unsanctioned by Rubric, of delivering a sermon after evensong clearly shows. In this way, the rejection of the surplice would prove that the people were wilfully incurring a loss. This distinction of sermons, and exclusion of the irreligious and unthankful from any part of the communion, would be a great step towards reviving discipline. Losing one sermon, they would voluntarily choose another much more fitted to their peculiar needs.

To take another, and less painful, case. Suppose that a congregation is more or less divided. Some, with a glad heart, value and claim the full and more perfect services of the Church: others disparage and reject them. Under such circumstances, we can quite understand that a pastor's *first* duty is towards those who are the Church's 'joy and crown:' for the sake of the unfaithful we must not deprive the children of their heritage. If the better portion of his congregation—better not so much in numbers, as in the practical fruits of the Christian walk—demand their portion of meat in due season, their good must be first concluded. Though, even in this case, some such division of the services as we have suggested, and, perhaps, an early celebration of the Eucharist, might enable a judicious clergyman to provide for, and to meet, the opposite necessities of the two classes.

Rising yet higher,—for Christian prudence, we think, would

decide each case on its own separate and varying grounds of expediency, thus 'becoming all things to all men,'—we can quite understand that there may be, we know that there are, congregations in which no such cases of conscientious difficulty arise. These are in which the original purpose of the Church in prescribing exact compliance with its laws, still has ample room for its fulfilment. Such we mean in which all, or by far the largest number of the people, are still in full communion with the Church, and walking in all its ordinances, prize them to their souls' health; who value its Creeds and doctrines, and see in its more perfect ceremonial only their due and legitimate expression. Here no difficulty can be entertained, for no objections are urged. And as it will be the pleasure, so it must be the bounden duty of a clergyman under such happier circumstances to make 'full proof of his ministry;' to withhold nothing from those who desire all that the Church can give; to be precise in ritual, to be full in the proffer of all the means of grace; to be unshrinking and unhesitating in doctrine; careless altogether of the cavils and objections of those who are without, and who can have no experience of the blessedness of a system which they refuse to try. And it will be obvious, that such cases deserve what, indeed, we are glad to think that they receive, from our rulers, not a mere cold permission to go on in 'the more excellent way,' but hearty protection and a zealous and frank cooperation and sympathy. Of the remarkable value in present difficulties, of some churches where a solemn and ceremonial religion is observed in the services, as a bar against solicitations and leanings Romewards, it is superfluous to speak.

Much that we have been arguing for may be comprised in a statement like this.—We do not ask for the imposition of a fixed and unvarying standard of ritual observances, which cannot be suited for every case. As the Church of England is at present constituted, it would be highly injurious to recall it at one bound to a standard for which it is undeniable its members are by no means sufficiently prepared; it would be unspeakably dreadful again, on the other hand, to commit all its congregations to a debased rule in ritual matters. We cannot afford to accept, still less to invite, a synodical decision—were it now practicable, which, perhaps, happily it is not—which should forbid services, and observances, and ornaments, which have been either enjoined or sanctioned or permitted at various periods since the Reformation. Either way, we advocate no force. We ask neither to be screwed up nor to be let down. We are quite content with present freedom and flexibility. What we want is a forbearance, varying according to varying emergencies, and a candid and large estimate of present facts: the day of abstract theories, all must admit, is

gone by, and we ought to be most concerned with pressing and immediate duties. Particular cases, however, must be of constant occurrence, which do not at once fall under the loose and popular classes which we have sketched. Such are those Churches in which the changes are introduced, without any or much opposition or reluctance at the time. Here we think the observances ought at all hazards to be retained. The laity cannot, without gross hypocrisy, plead religious scruples about matters to which they have once assented: the old tradition is already effaced. When recent disputes encourage the noisy and irreligious to clamour, and when even quiet persons are carried away by the torrent, it is the duty of a pastor to resist this spirit, a most irreligious and anarchical one, to the very death. The question resolves itself into one of simple authority. Is the Church to be ruled by a self-elected conclave of lay elders, or by him who is the shepherd of the flock? Is his commission to feed the sheep, or to suffer them to feed or starve themselves? Here the path of duty is so plain, that it would be a waste of words to enlarge upon it. However difficult it may be to form a right judgment as to the duty or expediency of *introducing* an improved order of public service, we can scarcely anticipate a case in which it shall be right to *abandon* it.

Indeed, if anything could make us utterly despair of the Church of England—if the most convincing proof were required that it is a tree which God has not planted, such would be found in the miserably insufficient—the utterly immoral—the paltry and contemptible grounds upon which observances are now relinquished by many who found or made no difficulty in adopting them. Because there is a riot in Exeter, I will anticipate the storm. I will bow before the tempest breaks in London. I will not even wait for clamour. I will not even try whether the changes will be attended with edification. I will prove that I adopted them from caprice, rather than principle. I will abandon them for fear of contingent difficulties. I will show that my only rule of action is to sail with the stream, to secure pew-rents, and to please the newspapers. We cannot translate into more decorous language certain facts which are too palpable to be misunderstood, or misinterpreted; comments on them would be superfluous. We can only express our bitter regret that the improved services were ever adopted in quarters where so little of heart and stability were embarked in the matter. Such temporary adhesion to the order of the Prayer-book has done infinitely more harm to the Church, and to religion itself, than would a consistent, explicit, and intelligible opposition from the first. The one course would have showed a principle—we believe a bad, certainly a mistaken, one; the other proves the utter absence of all principle.

Indeed, view it as we will, the present is a most awful juncture for the Church. We have already expressed sentiments which will be, in many 'High-Church' quarters, unpalatable, as to the original propriety of making so strenuous a point of rubrical conformity: we have taken the liberty to doubt whether to force it were our first duty. But this matter is already settled. We cannot undo what has been done: and done too, with, generally speaking, a good intention. We yield, however, to none in fears of the ultimate issue to the Church of the growing success which seems to attend parochial opposition to the 'innovations,' as they are called. As things are managed, there is not a single religious element in such opposition. The victory will be that of mob agitation: the defeat will be that of authority, however injudiciously claimed. The contest is strictly between the world and the Church, and the Church is beaten back throughout its whole line. Indeed, the more respectable of the Low-Church writers admit the fatal effects of that successful policy which they themselves were the first to evoke against the Rubricians. Chancellor Raikes was ready enough to appeal to the Churchwardens, by way of a blow at Tractarianism: but we trust that even that most injudicious person has the decency to be annoyed, when his mischievous little pamphlet is sent by the post as a challenge to the sectarians and infidels of a whole parish to rise in open rebellion against the minister who is 'set over them in the Lord.' The 'Christian Observer,' with that honesty which is generally to be found in the better principled Evangelicals, owns—

'A document meets our eyes, which we have perused, with much pain and alarm, when we consider all that it involves. We allude to the letter of the Rev. J. Symonds, Curate of Falmouth, to the Churchwardens of his parish, dated Feb. 20. The Churchwardens say that "Mr. Symonds, under the authority of the Rector, has ceded every point stipulated for by us in our official capacity." This is very remarkable language. The Churchwardens "*stipulate*," the Rector and his Curate "*cede*:" and they "*cede* every point *stipulated* for." And what are these points? Mr. Symonds says, "I purpose to discontinue (1) the chanting of the Psalms; (2) the turning towards the Communion-table by the Priest whilst the Creed is being read; (3) the use of the surplice in the pulpit; (4) the omission of the Collect and the Lord's Prayer immediately before the sermon; (5) and the reading of the Prayers of the * Communion Service when there is no Communion." Here are five points "*stipulated* for," and "*ceded*." Is this what any Clergyman—any Churchman—can think a good state of things? There is not one of these "*ceded*" points which is contrary to the doctrines or discipline of the Church of

* We find, however, that the Bishop of Exeter has expressly commanded this 'ceding' Curate not to relinquish this Prayer for the Church Militant, when there is no communion: and with a tolerably significant hint as to this cession.—*Ed. C. R.*

England, except turning to the east, and that only tacitly ; and being an old custom, and by many persons esteemed decent, we cannot see that one man has a right to interfere with another's personal liberty in the matter.'—*Christian Observer*, March, pp. 190, 191.

This is all very well, this palinode, but if the 'Christian Observer' will bear in mind that the clergy of Islington were the first to set this example of an appeal to the ignorance of the laity, the party must not be alarmed at a Frankenstein of their own creation. It is but the old story of Vortigern inviting the Saxons ; and this the Evangelicals are beginning to find out : the wishes of the parishioners are much too wide for Calvinism. Some affect to think that Mr. Daniel Wilson and his curates must be a very learned and formidable body, if such results have attended any course of action which they thought proper to pursue. But where a theological air-pump has been at work for a good many years, the Church of England, especially in such places as Islington, is like an exhausted receiver, in which the guinea and the feather have precisely the same momentum and weight. It is not that this clerical body has the slightest intrinsic force : but levity itself becomes an important agent, when the resisting medium of sound doctrine is completely sucked out.

Now that the question is to be settled by popular clamour,* we can look the thing fairly in the face. And there is one aspect of the struggle which must present it under very encouraging auspices. It is just simple folly now, to believe that there is the slightest religious spirit in the present opponents of rubrics and surplices. The better part of the Evangelicals own that they have called up a devil which is not to be laid by their puny Establishmentism. And this state of things of course has its bright side. It cannot but be cheering that the enemies of the Church, under any form, are showing what they are. It is well for peers who write pamphlets such as, 'Revise the Liturgy,' to display themselves. Their aim is not the 'services to which their fathers were accustomed,' but no services at all. We like the Closes and the Raikeses better under their pure character as undisguised Puritans and fanatics. Puritans ! it is an insult to the memory of the Prynnes and Cartwrights and Baxters of history, to class their gaunt, starched, amiable absurdities, their folio polemics, and early exercises three hours long, with the unutterable meanness of those who, in these days of unreality, caricature them. These men railed against the bigotry of the Church, only to instal the bigotry of the Conventicle—fierce to

* The most absurd instance of 'religious scruples' occurs, characteristically, in Ireland, where among those who express their opinion of 'alarming changes in the mode of conducting divine service at Hillsborough,' we find two 'Presbyterian Ministers.' Surely *Churchmen* must see whose game they are playing.

the death against the Pope, they were equally rancorous for that holy man John Calvin: there was something earnest and true in all this; there was religion in it: bad, false religion; but still a sense of responsibility and judgment to come: they made sacrifices and endured the cross for what they believed to be the truth. When their time came to harry the parsons, they harried them with a smack of triumph: but they lost their own ears, and never blenched at the branding-iron, and bore the scoff and contumely right cheerfully, when they were the losing side. But now we find *religious* men, ministers of the Gospel, monopolists of evangelical teaching, calling upon churchwardens and vestries—and this with a peculiar official knowledge of what English churchwardens and vestries, especially in large towns, have come to be—to vindicate the rights of the laity, by refusing to collect alms for the poor! As soon as we are told that ‘the ends of ‘charity are more directly moved by a faithful exhibition of the ‘Gospel, than by a continued exhortation to the duty,’ (Chancellor Raikes)—a statement of the most practical Antinomian bearing—we can quite understand how far this person is responsible for the vestry meetings at St. George’s in the East and Shoreditch. If the rights of the laity mean that they will not give money for the relief of the poor, and that they think the daily service antichristian, and that they much prefer hearing about faith to being told to practise it—be it so! Only let this be called by some other name than religious scruples.

In a word: Whatever difficulties we may have felt about stirring this rubrical question, as to the propriety of conformity on a general scale, however much we may regret that the great Church revival has taken this merely external form, we cannot but think that the very deadliest blow which has yet happened to the Church of England will be the probable fact, that not one of its ministers can bear up against the *cicium ardor prava jubentium*. Surely they who introduced these changes, are bound to show that they are not mere formalists; that they had a real religious object at heart; that they did feel that these things were truths without which they had found their sermons and other teaching powerless, and mutilated and halting: and this they can only do by consistency; by firmness tempered with discretion, but still by consistency. Every possible reason for abstaining from improved ritual observances we could have acquiesced in before the tumults of Exeter: but *now* we cannot accept a single apology for yielding.

It may be expected of us to say something about the specific points which are now subjects of dispute. It is an inquiry which does not, as we have shown, especially interest us; for we think the question rather moral than historical, and, if we

are so to call it, ecclesiological: yet we have formed opinions—decided opinions—upon the controverted matters of Rubric, and we may as well relieve a disquisition which has hitherto only touched upon abstract views of duty with **some facts.**

1. As to the prayer for the Church Militant when there is no communion. It really does puzzle us how any person of common sense can doubt what the directions of our Prayer-book are on the subject. Whether it is right, and whether it has the slightest sanction of primitive antiquity, to collect alms from those who are not communicants, some of whom have, perhaps, not been baptized, and some of whom are most probably schismatics and heretics, every Sunday, and to dedicate such alms from such persons upon the altar, and to offer them with the oblation of bread and wine, those more skilled than ourselves in the Canons of the Church must decide. We own to having a very strong opinion on this point. But that the Church of England does require this practice, and does enjoin this prayer of oblation to be read every Sunday, we make no doubt. Mr. Benson—and his bias would certainly not be in this direction—has taken, as we think, superfluous pains to clear this question; and when we cannot recall any higher literary authority for the opposite interpretation than the Bishop of Worcester, we do think an elaborate statement upon it thrown away. We think it right, however, to extract Mr. Benson's most convincing proof, because it applies so clearly to a pamphlet mentioned in our heading, by Mr. Wickham.

‘But the Bishop of Worcester* asserts that “upon this point the Rubrics are certainly inconsistent.” This opinion has been readily embraced by many individuals, in their anxiety to get rid of a part of the Communion service, which has, in some places, proved so offensive to the Laity, both in its own nature, and, still more, because of the illegal mode in which the collections then made were employed. I confess, however, that I cannot, upon mature consideration, satisfy my own mind that any real inconsistency is to be found. Let us consider the four Rubrics which relate to this subject. The first of these immediately precedes the Offertory sentences in the Communion service, and directs that, after the sermon, “then shall the Priest return to the Lord's Table, and begin the Offertory, saying one or more of the sentences following.”

‘The second immediately follows the Offertory sentences, and says: “Whilst these sentences are in reading, the.....Churchwardensshall receive the alms for the poor, and other devotions of the people in a decent bason.....and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy Table.”

‘Hence it is clear, that every Sunday, after the sermon, some of the

* See his Charge to Candidates, 1844, p. 9.

sentences are to be read, alms to be collected, and the product of the collection in due form to be placed upon the Communion Table.

'The third Rubric is consecutive to the last-mentioned, and is expressed in these terms: "And when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then place upon the Table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient. After which done, the Priest shall say" the prayer for the Church Militant.

'Taking this last injunction into consideration in connexion with the two former ones, and with those alone, the conclusion would naturally be, that as the bread and wine are to be placed on the holy Table only when there is a Communion, so, only when there is a Communion is the prayer for the Church Militant to be read. But I have said that there is a fourth Rubric relating to this matter. It is placed at the very end of the Communion service, because it refers not only to the Offertory, but also to the concluding Collects of that service. It runs thus: "Upon the Sundays and other Holydays, if there be no Communion, shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, until the end of the general prayer (for the whole state of Christ's Church Militant here in earth), together with one or more of these Collects last before rehearsed, concluding with the Blessing."

'From this it is as evident as words can make it, that the prayer for the Church Militant, as well as some of the Offertory sentences, is to be read on Sundays, even "when there is no Communion." But how is this to be reconciled with the former Rubric, which seems to require the prayer to be read only when there is a Communion? Simply and easily, by first saying, and then showing, that it only *seems* to require this, there being in fact no real inconsistency between the two. For the Rubric, which I have placed the third in order, does not merely specify that, after the alms have been collected and placed upon the Table, the Priest shall, when there is a Communion, read the prayer for the Church Militant. Had it said no more than this, I admit that it would have been hard to reconcile it with the language of the fourth Rubric. But it says more than this. It enjoins that after the alms have been placed on the Table, "then the Priest shall, when there is a Communion, place upon the Table so much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient. After which done," and consequently not until then, he is to go on and say the accustomed Prayer for the Church Militant. Let us, then, keep this remark in view, and changing, for the sake of illustrating the argument, the order in which these two Rubrics stand in the Communion service, see whether they may not be made most entirely to harmonize. The one, which I have numbered as the 4th, requires the Offertory sentences and Prayer for the Church Militant to be read on Sundays, though there be no Communion. This being admitted, then comes the other, which I have numbered the 3rd, and tells the Minister what he would not otherwise have known, and that is, *at what time*, when there is a Communion, he is to put the necessary bread and wine on the Table,—namely, before he reads the above-mentioned prayer. The objects of the two Rubrics are in fact different, and had they been placed together in our Prayer-book, as I

have placed them here, had that which requires the Church Militant prayer to be read on Sundays, though there be no Communion, stood the first in order, and then that which instructs us as to the time of putting the bread and wine on the Table, no one would ever have been betrayed into a supposition of their being irreconcilable with each other.

‘From what has been said, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that, every Sunday morning, after the sermon, the Rubric requires the Offertory sentences and the Prayer for the Church Militant to be read. This may be an unwelcome conclusion to many, but I firmly believe it to be inevitable and incontrovertible.’—*Rubrics and Canons of the Church of England considered*, pp. 50—52.

2. The surplice question is by no means so easy; and it was, doubtless, with especial reference to it, that the Archbishop alluded when he spoke of the difficulty of ‘determining the intention of the Church with absolute certainty from the records of early practice.’ There is one consideration—the preliminary one—to which we have not seen due weight attributed. It is this:—

The reason that many things are not clearly defined in our present Rubric is, because, in framing technical and formal directions for the external conduct of Divine worship, the revisers of the services had both in their minds and before their eyes, a practical system already at work: much of this, as they acknowledge, they intended to preserve. Many things, therefore, they called no attention to, because they foresaw no doubt nor difficulty in the matter. They supposed that all things would go on much in their existing course, except where they ordered a change; and this on the unbroken strength of the old tradition. The reformed Rubrics naturally assumed many things as too plain and too palpable to require formal injunctions and directions. Where the old principles and practices required no change, they thought it superfluous to re-enact them. The revisers of the services in Edward’s time did not foresee the Puritan opposition. The only danger which they contemplated was on the ultra-ceremonial side. With these feelings, they were called upon only to prescribe in those cases where they wished a change, and this, of course, in the less formal direction. Nothing, therefore, can be argued from the silence of the Rubrics, any more than it can—we desire the parallel to be taken with reverence—from the silence of Scripture. In either case an existing practice is pre-supposed and assumed. Orders are given where doubts might be anticipated: but, on matters which presented no difficulty, enactment seems superfluous. Let us illustrate this.

It is quite conceivable that the first Book of Edward VI. might have remained in use without the miserable interferences of Bucer: there can be no question,—we assume this for the sake

of the morality of the parties concerned,—that the compilers of the Book of 1549 intended it to remain in use, at least when they put it forth. Now in this book there is no direction whatever for the covering of the altar; not a word is there about white linen, or carpet, or silk, or anything else. Now would any person in his senses, knowing what the then practice of the Church in 1549 was, say that because the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. said nothing about the white linen cloth, therefore it was prohibited by that book? Other circumstances occurred; the Book was revised; and then this linen cloth was mentioned. But it is quite conceivable that the first Book might have come down unchanged to the present day, without one single word about this white cloth; because the compilers of the service never anticipated perplexity or hesitation about it. They found the white cloth in use; they intended it to remain in use; and *therefore* they said nothing about it.

Take another case, the bearing of which shall be the other way, but in which the force of the argument, from the silence of the Rubric, or the absence of direct orders, is equally strong. In the second Book of Edward VI., (1552,) the recitation of the Decalogue, with the responses in the Communion office, was first introduced. As at present, the Lord's Prayer and Collect were ordered to be said by 'the priest standing at the north side of the Table,' (1552); but no position is ordered for the saying of the Ten Commandments. The present Rubric, 'turning to the people,' for the Decalogue, was added at 1662; and the subsequent one, prefixed to the prayer for the King, 'standing as before,' *i. e.* at the north side, was also added at 1662. But in the book of 1552 this latter Rubric was, 'the Priest standing up and saying.' No position whatever, in the interval between 1552 and 1662, was enjoined for the 'distinct rehearsing' of the Ten Commandments, only the Priest was ordered to 'stand up' after it. Supposing, from this remarkable omission, and for the equally superfluous direction to 'stand up' at the Collect for the King, that some precisian was to have argued, that as the Rubric said nothing about 'standing up' at the Decalogue, it was to be rehearsed *kneeling*. How would common sense have answered this, but by appealing to the fact that the Lessons were ordered to be said standing, and turning to the people, and that the Decalogue, being of the nature of a lesson, must follow this universal practice and custom?

Both these are cases in which the silence of the Rubric proves no inhibition, although express directions were subsequently introduced; because, in either case, the implied tradition was supposed to be sufficiently strong to rule the order. Unless, indeed, any of those who are to make so much of the silence of the

Rubrics are prepared to argue that, for the three years before 1552, there was no white cloth upon the altar; and for the 110 years before the Restoration the Decalogue was said by the Priest kneeling.

Again, until 1662, there was no direction about the number of godfathers and godmothers for a single child. The Rubric only speaks of 'children' to be baptized, in the plural, and therefore of 'godfathers and godmothers.' From the entire absence of any prescribed number of sponsors, before the Restoration, with what show of justice might it have been argued, from the silence or ambiguity of the Rubric, that one godfather for a male, or one godmother for a female, would have been deemed sufficient before 1662?

Nothing, therefore, can be concluded from the silence of Rubrics, especially when the custom was supposed to be sufficiently settled from the practice of the unreformed Church without a specific direction. Some things, therefore, have descended to us by unbroken tradition without any rubrical authority; such as the thanksgiving at the Gospel. Some things were at the first revision assumed to be sufficiently fixed, which afterwards were expressly ordered, when the Puritan controversy had caused them to be partly abandoned; such as the bowing at the name of Jesus, by the canons of 1604, and the oblation of the elements to be made by the Priest himself, and the covering of the consecrated bread and wine with the veil, by the Rubrics of 1662. And some things we know to have been practised after 1552, and which have been more or less preserved or lost, but which were neither enjoined nor forbidden by the Rubrics, but solely on the unwritten law of the Church's custom descending from the ante-reformation Church by tradition only; such as the custom of washing the hands before consecration, the mixed chalice, bowing to the altar, rood-screens, stone-altars, (as we believe,) caps, stoles, pictures in churches, and the like.

And as the Reformers could not have foreseen all the Puritan controversy, and therefore could not have intended virtually to forbid whatever they did not expressly enjoin, so neither could they have anticipated an interval of twenty years, the period of the Great Rebellion and Usurpation, in which the offices of the Church were entirely suspended. And we can approximate to an estimate of how many unwritten practices were actually lost at that time, by recalling the fact, that the whole Plain-Song of the Church, which had hitherto existed simply by tradition, was with the greatest possible difficulty recovered at the Restoration. A very brief period of disuse is enough to obliterate ceremonies and uses for which there is no express form in existence, however general and recognised their previous observance, and however

implied their previous permission and authority. Rather than draw a general canon by saying that the Church of the Reformation intended virtually to abrogate whatever it did not enjoin, we might with more fairness take its principle to have been to permit whatever it did not forbid, provided that the particular observance was in general use before its silence in the Reformed Service-book.

A clear grasp of this principle will help us in the surplice question; and by adopting it, we shall be led to the practice of the ante-reformation Church, as forming, at least, a tolerable presumption of the mind and intention of the reformed services. Bearing this general rule of order in mind, to be applied as occasion offers, we shall ask attention to the distinction of sermons, which has not been sufficiently attended to. Sermons are, and always have been, of two kinds, *ad populum*, and *ad fideles*—for edification to those in full communion, and for warning and conversion to the imperfect members of the body. The two classes of sermon differ in theory and in their final cause. At the time of the Reformation it was thought that the people wanted instruction in the rudiments of the faith; and, consequently, great encouragement was given to preachers, especially as itinerant messengers of a new set of opinions. They were sent about from parish to parish, to preach on the week-days, and as they could get congregations. Hence the petitions of the people for a known preacher to 'bestow a sermon' upon some place, supposed to be particularly destitute of the Church's prophetic office. Hence the class of 'licensed preachers,'—hence the sermons in market-places, at Paul's cross, and the like; instances of which are too familiar to be quoted.

But with all this abnormal and merely occasional preaching, the Reformers did not altogether deprive the sermon of its other and equally, perhaps more, important character. It is true that they encouraged even to exaggeration the office of the Doctor, but the Priest's place was still indicated. This class, and it was only a class, of preaching resembled in kind what is known as a 'mission' on the continent. At the time of the Reformation its peculiar doctrines were propagated in the same way that S. Charles Borromeo reclaimed his diocese, and in which the brethren of S. Vincent of Paul and S. Alphonsus Liguori, preach in Italian villages,—that true way which we might have adopted in the case of Wesley, and of which sectarian revivals are the counterfeit. Now this office, though strictly belonging to the Church, is not a sacerdotal function in any sense. It is the work of an evangelist. The other sermon is the duty of the pastor—when he feeds his flock. And therefore this sermon accompanies the highest mysteries of the faith. Originally the

sermon* in the public services belonged especially to the Bishop's office; a trace of which remains in the continental practice of the preachers kneeling before the Bishop when present, and even among ourselves in the nomination of Lent preachers in the diocese of London. Of the various classes of sermons (and others might be named) these are the chief:—The missionary sermon to the heathen; the missionary sermon to apostate Christians; both of which might be delivered in the open air, at crosses and the like, or at which if preached in the churches the heathen might be, as they often were, present; catechetical sermons to the candidates for baptism, or the class of hearers; homilies or scriptural exposition to the Church at large; and more particularly the sermon during the Liturgy.

It is obvious that the theory of this latter species of sermon is distinct from that of the others. Its object is different and higher. Its place is either after the Creed or the Gospel; a distinction which, as far as the faithful are concerned, is unimportant, since the Creed is as it were the comment on the Gospel, and the sermon is but a continuation of the same comment by the voice of Faith. The same gift of the Holy Spirit, as the witness to the one faith in the Creed, is appealed to in the sermon; and its position in this place was designed to bring out this. The Roman custom, as is well known, *when a sermon is preached during mass*, (the exception in practice rather the rule,) is to preach it after the Gospel. In the 'Rubricæ Generales,' tit. vi. § 6, *Ritus servandus in celebratione Missæ*:

'Si autem sit prædicandum Concionator finito evangelio prædicat, et sermone sive concione expletâ, dicatur *Credo*, vel si non sit dicendum, cantetur offertorium.'

Cardinal Bona, however, states distinctly:

'Hic mos nunquam, interruptâ serie ab initio ecclesiæ, usque ad nostra tempora servatus est, ut proxime post evangelium sermo sive homilia vel tractatus ad populum habentur.'—*Rerum Liturg.* lib. ii. 7. vol. iii. p. 159.

Our present practice to preach after the Creed has the sanction of the Apostolical Constitutions; viii. 4. Mr. Maskell, in his recent work, p. 111, reminds us from the same authority that, formerly, the Bishop, or rather the Presbyters and Bishop, preached in turn on the same occasion; a practice

* The most systematic treatise on preaching is 'Ferrarius de ritu sacrarum Ecclesiæ veteris concionum.' Bingham, whose account of Sermons is very confused, has borrowed from it largely. In this work are contained the most curious particulars, among other matters, of popular preaching in the early Church: the loud cheers and applause, and clapping of hands, and stamping of feet which a favourite orator met with, remind us strongly of Exeter-hall. One mode of testifying satisfaction was something like the wreaths and bouquets of the Opera House.

which seems to have the Apostolic authority of 1 Cor. xiv. 27 ; although, since in the early Church, the catechumens and heathen were allowed to be present at the sermon and lessons, it must be borne in mind that the sermon in that case was before the Creed, as ordered in the present Roman Rubric in the Missal. It is quite certain that none but the faithful recited the Creed : either, then, the sermon must have preceded it, or it was not *this* sermon, viz. the sermon during the Liturgy, (we use the word in its strict sense), at which the inferior classes were present.

It is not a little remarkable, then, that the English Reformed Church changed the position of the sermon. In the Sarum Missal it was ordered after the Gospel ; and Le Brun says that it was the custom in England and Germany that the sermon should follow the Gospel. So that, if anything were wanted especially to bring out the sacred character of that sermon which occurs in our present Liturgy, and which alone is ordered in divine service, it would be the fact that the Creed, ' the further ' test of the orthodoxy of those who remained after the dismissal ' of the catechumens, and infidels, and professed to be faithful,'* precedes the sermon among us.

We arrive, then, at this dilemma : either the Reformers, by postponing the sermon to the Creed, did intend to invest the sermon with peculiar sanctity, as especially addressed *ad fideles*, or they must have ignorantly run counter to the whole practice of Catholic antiquity, by permitting the Constantinopolitan Creed to be recited before the profane. We incline to the first and most creditable alternative of the difficulty.

The character of this sermon is further evinced by the place from which it was delivered. Anciently, when the Bishop preached, he delivered his sermon from the steps of the altar, or from his throne, sitting. Consequently the ambo, or pulpit, was placed on the north, or gospel side of the altar ; because the sermon, as the Tractatus, or Postil on the Gospel was the Church's authoritative commentary on it. On the Rúbric, ' Si ' autem sit prædicandum,' Gavantus notes : ' Hoc loco concionandum est ex ordine Romano, ut concionator sit quasi interpres ' Evangelii : sed antiquiores post Symbolum concionabantur.' The question as to the right side of the pulpit in parochial churches is thus settled by a consideration of this principle. It varied, however, in cathedral churches, because there, if the Bishop preached, he would preach from his throne ; but if any other person preached, he would deliver his sermon from the pulpit placed opposite the Bishop's throne, as it is in our English

* Palmer, Origines Liturgicæ, chap. iv. § 6, vol. 2, p. 55.

cathedrals. This we learn from Prudentius, who, after speaking of the Episcopal cathedra, adds—

‘Fronte sub adversa gradibus sublime tribunal
Tollitur, antistes prædicat unde Deum.’

In cathedral churches the position of the Bishop's throne rules the position of the pulpit in the quire; in parochial churches it ought always to be on the Gospel side. The primitive practice of preaching from the altar steps is preserved, at least on some occasions, in the church of Milan, which has never received the Gregorian services, either in their arrangement or in Plain-song.

There is nothing, we conceive, to prevent the Church of England from recurring to this practice; one essentially varying from the Roman custom. And we know few things, as we have already hinted, which would more satisfactorily dispose of the present dispute than for the Liturgical sermon to be delivered from the altar in a surplice, and for another sermon to be ordered, after the Litany, in the pulpit, which is now generally in the nave.* The services would consequently be divided according to their original intention; and the Communion Office, with its characteristic sermon, would be reserved for the communicants only.

From this view of the purpose and place of the Liturgical sermon, we are now enabled to understand the question of its appropriate vestment.

Gavantus, on the Roman Rubric, already quoted, remarks,—

‘Si *celebrans* concionari velit sedeat super scamno nudo, in ‘cornu evangelii, capite tecto, aut sine casulâ in pulpito—orator
‘Romæ non utitur stolâ super *cottam*, ob reverentiam Papæ qui
‘extra sacramenta stolâ utitur.’—*Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, Pars ii. tit. vi. vol. i. p. 130.

Upon this, Merati's note is very full:—

‘Si vero *celebrans* concionetur ad pulpitem *sine casulâ* ducetur
‘a cæremonario. Præpositi et alii Episcopo inferiores ut faci-

* ‘The black gown is not an ecclesiastical, but an academical vestment. It is fit for the preacher or evangelist, but not for the pastor. It is a presumption in any one but a member of an University to wear it; and no one who is not, ought to wear it any more than he should wear a military or naval uniform. The office of the evangelist is to convert men by reasoning with those who have fallen away from their baptismal vows, and are no longer obedient to the voice of their pastor. He therefore wears the dress of the *doctor*—the learned reasoner. The pastor, however, addresses only those who know the shepherd's voice, and are obedient thereto; and as he speaks the voice of the Church to faith, he wears the dress the Church gives him. The difference of the dress marks the difference of the thing to be done: but since the Clergy now are ignorant of that difference, and under the term “sermon,” confound things wholly dissimilar in their nature, it would be extraordinary if they did not exhibit a corresponding ignorance respecting the vestment in which it is to be performed. Verily, the people need the preaching of the gown.”—*Henry Drummond. Abstract Principles of Revealed Religion*, p. 342.

‘lius audiantur, depositâ planetâ et manipulo, si velint, procedant ad pulpitum, et finitâ concione ea resumant.

‘Si vero alius a celebrante concionari debuerit, antequam pulpitum ascendat, si sit clericus, superpelliceo indui debet; et cum stolâ si sit sacerdos (extra urbem tamen, v. s.); si vero concionator sit regularis remanet indutus solo habitu suo regulari: si canonicus vel dignitas cum cappa vel almutia super rochetum: si vero sit Episcopus, et non solemniter celebret, habitu ordinario indutus, videlicet rochetto et mozzettâ, additâ stolâ: qui si solemniter celebret Pontificalibus indumentis cum mitrâ, &c. Si vero Episcopus extra suum Diaecesim concionetur, non quidem mozzettam sed mantelletam habebit.’

Bauldryus, Manuale Cæremoniarum. Veneti. 1778.

Caput x. p. 19.

‘Sermocinaturus antequam pulpitum ascendat cottâ indui debet si sit clericus, cum stolâ si sit sacerdos (extra civitatem [sc. Romæ] tamen, et si sit consuetudo): si vero regularis [ut supra, in Gavantus] ‘si canonicus canonicali, et si episcopus celebret, canonicus ipse pluviali debet esse paratus. Si episcopus concionem habeat, et non celebret, rochetto, mozzettâ* et stolâ utitur, aut etiam pluviali, et tunc mitrâ utitur cum baculo.’

Quarti on the Rubric says the same.

‘Concionator prædicabit si sit clericus superpelliceo indutus, et supra eum stola.’

And then he observes the distinction about the stole at Rome, as a peculiar custom of that Church.

The conclusion, then, is clear. Our Reformers in this matter, according to a principle already laid down at large, adopted, or rather preserved, the practice which they found in use, and which still, according to these great ritualists, (to whom might be added Castaldus, *In Praxi Cæremon* lib. ii. sect. 2, cap. 6,) is the law of the Western Church. If the preacher of the sermon, during the Liturgy, be the celebrant he preaches in his eucharistic vestment, taking off the chasuble, and laying aside the manipule. If the preacher be not the celebrant he preaches in the vestment which he wears during the celebration. But the Anglican vestment required for the celebrant is the albe or surplice, and during the celebration a vestment (*i. e.* a chasuble) or cope: therefore if an Anglican celebrant preaches, he should lay aside the vestment or cope, and preach in his albe or *surplice*: and if one who is not the celebrant, ‘a priest or deacon, who is ready to help the priest in the ministration,’ preaches, he would be vested during the celebration with ‘the vesture appointed for his mini-

* Mozzetta, Birrus, Laccerna (idem) indicat jurisdictionem: so we find from the Index to Gavantus.

stration, that is to say, an albe with tunicle: consequently he, following the same rule, would lay aside his tunicle, and preach in the albe, or, as we shall presently show, the *surplice*. If any other clergyman preaches, who is neither the principal minister, who still wears his vestment, nor one of those assisting at the Communion, who still wear their tunicles, he would preach in that vestment which he ordinarily wears in the quire, *i. e.* the *surplice*.

Of all the writers who in

‘The one weak, washy, everlasting flood,’

which has been poured out upon this most tiresome subject, the vestment proper for the sermon, Mr. Benson is the fairest and nearest to the truth. In the others we are bound to say, that there has been very little research in the proper quarter; and they have repeated each other *ad nauseam*. The fact may be candidly admitted, that whatever the law was, and whatever its intention was, the illegal use of the gown, in preaching the sermon during the Communion, arose from the encouragement given to the licensed and ambulatory preachers, whose proper dress in which to preach their sermons was a gown or priest's cloak. They were the cleverest people, and the most in favour with congregations; and so the humble parish priest thought it a useful thing to adopt their dress, and, as far as possible, to identify himself with them. That they did wear the gown requires no proof; and it is for this reason, that they are delivered by *preachers*, that the University sermons are preached in academical gowns; and, curiously enough, at the only Cathedral in which the sermon is delivered in the black gown, St. Paul's, the morning sermon is that which was formerly preached at Paul's Cross, and the preacher is the sole lineal representative of the licensed preacher of the Reformation. That the Cathedrals are the standard of all other Churches, and that in *them* the sermon during Communion is preached in the surplice, few are prepared to deny.

One question alone remains; for while Mr. Benson and Mr. Robertson, though with considerable reluctance, both admit that the Rubrics of Edward the First's book are still in force, it is quite superfluous to go into that argument: yet, as though to throw discredit upon the surplice, and by a side-wind to attract some favour for the black gown, as being at least not less illegal than the surplice, both Mr. Benson and Mr. Robertson argue that the albe is the only legal vestment for the sermon. The Bishop of Exeter seems to admit this. Mr. Benson, though he does not own it, would perhaps think, that if it be admitted that the cope is the proper vestment for the celebrant in the Communion Service, and also that the sermon is in our service-book restricted to the Liturgy, that the sermon ought to be preached, if by the celebrant, in a cope. We have shown, by

facts, that the cope, or chasuble, is always taken off at the sermon; and our Rubric, by restricting its use to 'ministrations at the altar,' sufficiently excludes it from the pulpit. The sermon might be preached in the cope, if it were delivered from the altar, but only, we think, in that case. The only question now is, whether the surplice and albe are sufficiently identified so as to allow the ministers in the Communion Service to use either indifferently. Mr. Robertson ('How to Conform,' &c., 2d edition, p. 105, note,) says, 'The alternative of a surplice appears to be excluded by the fact, that the albe is the under-vesture prescribed for *all* the clergy at communion.' We think that there is not so much an *alternative* given by the Rubric, but an absolute identification of them, or if you will, a complete confusion between the surplice and albe; or, it may be, a feeling that the two vestments were so nearly alike, that it was hardly worth while to make a distinction between them.

Suppose that the Reformers confounded the two, albe and surplice, or admitted an alternative: this is not a whit less remarkable and strange than that they should have permitted an alternative between cope and vestment for the Communion Office,—the cope, the most unmanageable, and awkward, and inconvenient vestment conceivable for the celebrant; and the vestment, or chasuble, the very contrary. And yet, by that strange perplexity which has attended us, the cope is hardly lost; and of the chasuble there is, we believe, no instance whatever since the Reformation. There was no ancient authority whatever for the use of the cope by the celebrant: it was exactly that vestment which he could *not* wear. The cope is a processional vestment, worn by all orders of the clergy; scarcely a sacerdotal dress at all: most properly used in processions, and out of doors, as one of its names signifies, *pluviale*; and as the term cope, in coping-stones, has come to mean among us. And yet a choice was left between this and the most suitable of all vestments, the chasuble,* (*casula* or *planeta*,) which leaves the arms entirely free. Such alternative between vestments so totally dissimilar, will reconcile us to a permission being left between albe and surplice, where there is very little difference indeed. And that there is such an alternative, we argue from the terms of the Rubrics.

'The Priest that shall execute the holy ministry shall put upon him the vesture appointed for the ministration; that is to say, a white albe plain, [*i. e.* without apparels,] with a vestment or cope.

* If Mr. Palmer is right, (*Origines Liturgicæ*,) in assigning a common type, viz., the ancient *pænula*, to both chasuble and cope, it is quite clear that the one was restricted to, and the other excluded from, the use of the celebrant, on the ground of utility. But we are not aware of any authority for a common origin of two vestments,

‘ Though there be none to communicate with the Priest, yet those days, the Priest shall put on him a plain albe or surplice, and say all things at the altar, (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord’s Supper,) until after the Offertory; and then shall add, &c.

‘ And the same order shall be used all other days, whensoever the people be customably assembled to pray, and none disposed to communicate with the Priest.’

We quite follow Mr. Benson, who argues, p. 44,

‘ Sundays and other holydays are days when “the people be customably assembled to pray.” On those days, therefore, whether there be any or “none disposed to communicate with the Priest,” it appears, from the two Rubrics taken in conjunction, that the Priest is to “put on him a plain albe or surplice, with a cope,” not only for the celebration of the Lord’s Supper itself, but in order to “say all things at the altar, (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord’s Supper,) until after the Offertory,” which includes the prayer for the Church Militant. It seems tolerably clear, that if the sermon be a part of the Communion Service, and if the same garb ought to be worn by the minister throughout, an albe with a cope is the proper vestment to preach in, and not the surplice alone.’

In which statement we certainly coincide, with the exception of reading ‘an albe or a surplice:’ conceiving that the identification of them in the second rubric governs the interpretation of the other, just as the choice is left between the cope, and vestment or chasuble.

And that there is, strictly speaking, very little practical difference between albe and surplice, is obvious to those who have investigated them. ‘The surplice,’ we are told in Mr. Pugin’s Glossary, ‘like the rochet and cotta, is a declension from the ‘albe, which was the original vestment used by all who ministered at the altar.’ ‘The difference between rochet and surplice is, that the rochet has close sleeves, and sometimes no ‘sleeves.’ We suspect that the surplice, *linea*, was the original garment from which albe and rochet are alike variations. The albe is only the surplice—made as many surplices now are, with only an opening to pass over the head, and not open from top to bottom—girded with a cingulum, and with sleeves, not fastened at the wrist but, free like those of a cassock. Perhaps the worst of our vestments is the episcopal rochet, of which the sleeves, which should not be full, are generally separate: and the rochet itself, instead of being close in front, is fastened up the side. There is ancient authority for what our rubric prescribes for the bishop’s albe and rochet; which though similar, are not more so than the dalmatic* or tunicle, with the chasuble, which are both

one of which is nothing but a cloak, fastened in front; and the other, an oval vestment, with a circular aperture to pass over the head.

* Wheatley makes a curious error in calling the tunicle ordered in our rubric, ‘a sky-coloured cloak.’ It may be of any colour, and it resembles a cope with sleeves.

episcopal vestments. The most unintelligible vestment is the episcopal chimere, as at present made. It was after the Reformation scarlet. Mr. Palmer thinks it the same as 'mantelletum, a sort of cope, with apertures for the arms to pass through.' If so, it answers to what is mentioned in Gavantus, Bauldry, and Ducange, as the mozzetta, an episcopal vestment.

To return for one moment to the supposed difficulty raised by Mr. Benson, that the albe or surplice cannot be worn in the pulpit, because the 'communion service and sermon have different places assigned to them: the one is delivered in the pulpit, which stands in the body of the church; the other is read at the sacramental board in the chancel.' Admitting that the liturgical sermon is obliged to be delivered in the pulpit, of which we have our doubts, the pulpit as a fact is not in the nave in cathedrals: nor in such places, many examples of which occur in Somersetshire, where the rood-pulpit* remains: and it is quite clear that this difficulty did not exist when Edward's First Book was published, when the rood-lofts were not taken down. Besides the custom on the continent remains for the preacher of the sermon, during mass, to preach in albe and stole, even when the pulpit is not in the quire. As to the discovery made by writers in the newspapers, that the sermon abroad is often preached in other dress than an albe or surplice, this applies either to the case of a monk preaching, or when the sermon, as is usually the case, is not in the ordinary of the mass. For our evening sermon we think the gown the best dress, unless, as in some cathedrals, it is introduced after the third collect.

Our readers will be enabled to connect this vestiary argument with the principles of expediency which we laid down in the outset. It is one thing to ascertain the law of the Church: another to apply it under existing emergencies. Only let us be guarded from this imputation, that we are suggesting the immediate revival of albe, cope and tunicle. Our aim is rather to vindicate truth, than to ask a premature development of ceremonial, for which we are in every way unworthy.

opened from the bottom at each side. It is also a royal robe, and was correctly made for, and worn by, George IV. at his coronation.

* Mr. Palmer is certainly wrong in supposing that 'the Gospel was read from the pulpit in various places where there were several clergy. This was also customary in the English Church, and it is recognised in the injunctions of Edward VI., i.e. if he supposes it to be the present pulpit. The passage to which he alludes is, 'in the time of high mass, he that saith or singeth, shall read or cause to be read, the Epistle and Gospel of that mass in English and not in Latin, in the pulpit.'—*Cardwell's Documentary Annals*, i. 13. The pulpit—a word meaning any high place—here alluded to, is the rood-loft; which seems very reluctantly to have given way to the present pulpit. There are no Elizabethan pulpits: and even Grindal only issues injunctions to alter, not to destroy, the rood-lofts.

- ART. VI.—1. *Considerations on the New Religious Test. A Circular.* Oxford: Baxter.
2. *The Proposed Degradation and Declaration. Considered in a Letter addressed to the Rev. the Master of Balliol College. By GEORGE MOBERLEY, D. C. L., Head Master of Winchester College, and formerly Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College.* London: Rivingtons.
 3. *An Earnest Appeal to the Members of the Oxford Convocation, on the proposed Assumption of Ecclesiastical Powers by the University. By HENRY ARTHUR WOODGATE, B. D., Rector of Belbroughton, late Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College.* London: Burns.
 4. *Heads of Consideration on the Case of Mr. Ward. By the Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M. A., late Fellow of Oriel College.* London: Parker and Rivingtons.
 5. *Reasons for Voting against the Measures to be proposed in Convocation at Oxford, on February 13, 1845.* London: Burns.
 6. *The Proposed Oxford Statute. A Letter in the "British Churchman." By M. A., of Magdalen College, Oxford.*
 7. *Mr. Ward and the New Test; or, Plain Reasons why those who censure Mr. Ward should not Vote for the New Statute, which limits the Thirty-nine Articles.*
 8. *Observations on the Propositions to be submitted to Convocation, on February 13.* Oxford: Baxter.
 9. *The Month of January, Oxford. By WILLIAM WINSTANLEY HULL, M. A., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, late Fellow of Brazenose College.* London: Seeleys.
 10. *A Letter to the Members of the Venerable House of Convocation in the University of Oxford. By RICHARD CLARKE SEWELL, D. C. L., Barrister-at-Law, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.* London: Richards.
 11. *Some Observations on the Jurisdiction of the House of Convocation. By JOHN P. NORMAN, M. A., of the Inner Temple, Special Pleader.* Oxford: Vincent.
 12. *A Letter from Mr. PALMER, of Worcester, to the Churchman's Newspaper, in Justification of the New Test.*
 13. *The University, the Church, and the New Test. A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Chichester. By the Rev. J. GARBETT, Prebendary of Chichester, and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford.* London: Hatchard.

14. *Case as to the Proposed Degradation and Declaration in the Statute of February 13. Submitted to Sir J. Dodson, Knight, Queen's Advocate; and R. Bethell, Esq., Queen's Counsel; with their Opinion on its decided Illegality. Accompanied with Notes on the History and Nature of Academical Degrees, and on the History of Subscription in the University of Oxford.* Oxford: Macpherson. London: Pickering.
15. *A Letter to the Hebdomadal Board on Mr. Ward's Case, and the New Test. By the Rev. WILLIAM BRUDENELL BARTER, Rector of Burghclere and Highclere, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* London: Burns.
16. *A Letter to the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, on the Measures intended to be proposed to Convocation on the 13th of February. By A. C. TAIT, D. C. L., Head Master of Rugby School, late Fellow of Balliol College.* Edinburgh: Blackwood.
17. *The New Statute and Mr. Ward. A Letter to a Non-resident Member of Convocation. By the Rev. FREDERIC D. MAURICE, Chaplain of Guy's Hospital, and Professor of English Literature in King's College, London.* London: Parker; and Rivingtons.
18. *Thoughts on the Rule of Conscientious Subscription, on the Purpose of the Thirty-nine Articles, and on our present Perils from the Romish System. In a Second Letter to a Non-resident Member of Convocation. By the Rev. FREDERIC D. MAURICE.* London: Parker; and Rivingtons.
19. *The Subject of Tract XC. Historically considered, &c. Second Edition. With a Preface relating to the Measure, about to be submitted to the Oxford Convocation. By the Rev. F. OAKELEY, M. A., Fellow of Balliol College.* London: Toovey.
20. *An Address to Members of Convocation in Protest against the Proposed Statute. By the Rev. W. G. WARD, M. A., Fellow of Balliol College.* London: Toovey.
21. *A Reply to some Part of Mr. Ward's Defence, justifying certain Parties in recording their Votes against him. By the Rev. E. M. GOULBURN, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Perpetual Curate of Holywell.* Oxford: Graham.
22. *The Oxford Crisis. A Word to the Wise. By a Member of Magdalen College, Oxford.* London: Ridgway.
23. *A Defence of Voting against the Propositions to be submitted to Convocation on February 13, 1845. By W. F. DONKIN, M. A., Savilian Professor of Astronomy.* London: Parker.

24. *Reasons for Voting upon the Third Question to be proposed in Convocation on the 13th instant.* By ROBERT HUSSEY, B. D., *Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History.* London: Parker; and Rivingtons.
25. *A Short Appeal to Members of Convocation upon the proposed Censure of No. XC.* By FREDERIC ROGERS, *Fellow of Oriel.* London: Burns.
26. *The proposed Decree on the Subject of No. XC.* Oxford: Baxter.
27. *A Letter in the "Times" of February.* By J. R. HOPE, Esq.
28. *A Letter to the Bishop of Oxford.* By the Rev. C. P. EDEN.
29. *Some Answer to the Question, "How did you Vote on the 13th?" in a Letter to a Friend.* By a Junior M. A., one of the 386. Oxford: Graham.
30. *A Letter to the Vice-Chancellor (February 13).* By the Rev. W. G. WARD.
31. *A Letter to the Vice-Chancellor (February 14).* By the Rev. F. OAKELEY.
32. *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London, on a Subject connected with the recent Proceedings at Oxford.* By the Rev. F. OAKELEY.
33. *Various Papers and Circulars.*

THE prefixed list of pamphlets and papers is a sufficient memento, if any were wanted, of the important and rousing character of those attempts of which the University of Oxford has, during the last three months, been the stage. The proposal for the abolition of subscription to the Articles in 1834, and the censure of Dr. Hampden in 1836, each called forth its body of pamphlets: the Hebdomadal Board's declaration against No. XC. in 1841, the Hampden question revived of 1842, the suspension of Dr. Pusey in 1843, and the Theological Statute of 1844, all produced their demonstrations: but the commencement of the year 1845 has exhibited a vigour in this department, extraordinary even for Oxford. The promulgation of the New Test, and the measures against Mr. Ward, produced a rapid and copious stream from the press, which no former occasion has equalled. The collective issue of six weeks gives nearly a pamphlet or paper *per diem*, and the pile continued to swell up to the very day of Convocation. The withdrawal of the Test stopped the line of comments in that direction; but the sudden substitution of the attack on No. XC. for the withdrawn measure, was responded to instantaneously, and the emergency was met in eight or nine pamphlets or papers in the course of the week. It is a remarkable circumstance, that nearly all these

demonstrations are on one side. We do not mention this in any spirit of boasting, but we say that it ought to be observed as a fact. It is a very striking and significant fact. Time after time have the Hebdomadal Board issued their legislative propositions; and there has been plenty of writing against them, and hardly any at all for them. The proposition, whatever it may be, comes forth, and it is answered by a dozen pens. Answer upon answer speaks,—the proposition is dumb: it says nothing; it stands quite still, and is answered. The Hebdomadal Board rest upon the strength of that prescriptive weight that attaches to all Boards and Corporations of long standing as such, and which the institution has entirely independent of its members. Undoubtedly this is a source of strength which the Board has, and of real strength, too, so long as it lasts. But that is the point. Prescriptive weight is no eternal, immoveable piece of property. It does not support itself; it wants support from the expression of surrounding opinion, and, if it does not get it, it declines. The authority of that Board and that Corporation totters, whose members think the fact, that they see their own faces round a table, a pledge of absolute strength and perpetual duration. The expression of opinion outside of them has its effect. Each tide of publications undermines some old stay, effaces some old impression, affixes a colour, creates a point of view. A mass of opinion expressed in type has force. It is far from being the only element of influence, but it is one, and a very important one. It cannot absolutely make no difference to a side whether it has it or not. Consequences of some sort or other flow from it. And when that opinion is not the opinion of one school, or one party only, but a gathering from all quarters,—when one person for one reason, another for another, but nearly the whole of the writing world, for some reason or other, objects and censures, the symptom is still more unfavourable. A Board may repose upon an old prestige, and may, and doubtless will, be supported by it, so long as that prestige last. But the inevitable tendency of such demonstrations as these is to undermine its prestige. It is a fact, that the Hebdomadal Board are hardly represented in this department, and, with the exception of Mr. Garbett, we know of no regular champions that they have. And now to our subject.

It is undeniable, that the occurrences of the last few months have placed the Oxford Hebdomadal Board in a particular position, and a very formal, fixed, and definite one towards the Catholic movement in our Church. It has long taken its side; indeed, it has had no new position to assume; its line has been clear from the first; but the last half year has fully matured, completed, and manifested it. It is a remark that any reader of

history must make, that every movement, religious or political, that takes place in the world, finds the opposition to it, sooner or later, centering in some one particular spot. The movement creates vague sensations at first, hurried fears and sharp disgusts; but these feelings are scattered over a surface, and break out unconnectedly and casually. One person objects here, another there; the feeling spreads over a large field enough, and a broad diffused animus expresses itself as it can. This continues for some time, and the opposition goes on more as irregular appetency, than as actual force. It has no centre, no channel, no form, or body. It acts by disjointed efforts and ebullitions, and speaks through scattered mouths, and beats the air. But, by degrees, this opposition grows into shape, and comes to a point. Some knot, that there happens to be somewhere amid the loose mass, affords a beginning to concentration, and acts as a nucleus. It does not much signify what the knot is, so long as there is one. It does for a centre. Persons, here and there, begin to consider themselves represented by it, and to attach themselves and their influence to it. It attracts attention, and its operations are watched. People ask one another what this knot is doing, and a sort of tacit consent points to it as the agent and executive in the cause. In the course of a few years, the antagonistic feeling, from being a rambling and diffused one, has found a local habitation, and we look round, after an interval, and find that a particular Board, or knot of some sort, is occupying a regular post, and considered to be carrying on matters against the opponent. A regular movement, of whatever kind, is sure to evoke, sooner or later, its regular antagonist; and of the Catholic movement in this country, the Oxford movement, or whatever name we give it, the formal antagonist that has been evoked is the Oxford Hebdomadal Board. Whether or not their functions in the matter will pass, as time goes on, into higher hands, and some future stage in the struggle elicit some even more formidable centre of opposition, we do not now inquire. We are speaking of the time present. The Hebdomadal Board is the first nucleus which the chances of things have brought into action against our Church-revival. It has assumed a definite position, and the Church cause knows who its present antagonist is.

The proceedings that have recently taken place, we say, have brought out and consummated this feature in the Oxford Hebdomadal Board. A signal, formal, and mature theological antagonism is certainly given, when one side tries openly to expel the other by a Test. This boundary has been crossed. This overt act has been taken. The stage of mere controversy is over. The Hebdomadal Board stand in the very ultimate atti-

tude which opposition can assume. A new test has been positively proposed by them, the evident and obvious object of which was, the removal of persons of the theological school which they oppose from the University. The Board has made a distinct attempt, in the direction of actual *force*; and has aimed at getting a power into its hands which would end the struggle without appeal, so far as the Oxford field was concerned. Without going into details, we only observe this fact at present; and we repeat that, whereas the Board has taken a course against the Church movement from the first, and shown its feeling time after time in definite measures they have proposed to Convocation; the late project of the New Test has brought this line to a climax, and exhibited the Board as that movement's formal and regular antagonist.

And now, who is this antagonist? we must ask. We see an agent—the next step is to make some inquiries about him. With these facts before our eyes, and with this undisguised attitude which the Board have taken before us, it becomes a most important preliminary point to ask what that Board is. What do we mean when we say that the Board does this, and the Board does that? What is the Board? When the Board does its work, who is it that does it? what is it that does it? What is that influence from which these measures have proceeded? What is that actual *animus* which these attempts represent and embody? What are the heads at work? What is the real agency to which these proceedings are to be attributed? The Hebdomadal Board has acted, but who is the Hebdomadal Board?

It is quite necessary to have a clear understanding on this point, in order to put the real truth and matter-of-fact before persons' eyes. A plain statement of any proceedings, as they really are, should include in it some information about the agents. The agent is part of the fact itself; as the motive of an action is part of an action. We are extremely apt, however clear any line of proceeding may be, to have mistaken or hazy views of it, till we know from what quarter it really originates. The men are part of the measures; and when a thing is done, it is certainly only a fair question to ask who has done it. The rule holds good, especially in the present case. Such a prestige accompanies—and quite properly so—an old-standing institution like the Hebdomadal Board, that, however persons may suspect the actual measures which issue from it, they feel it difficult to believe that such a Board can be the opponent of Church principles. The imagination is impressed by an array of academical dignitaries; and the coalition of High-Churchmanship and university station has been taken for granted so long as a natural and necessary one, that it is difficult now

fairly to sever it in our ideas, and to believe that a Board of twenty-four Doctors of Divinity can take positively the side of Low-Churchmanship and latitudinarianism against a Church movement.

The question is solved without much difficulty. We talk about a Board acting, and a body doing things; but the fact is, that in every Board, or body of any kind, it is always some one or two who do the work; and the Board, when it acts, represents their agency. No public board, council, or committee that ever existed, ever acted as the genuine aggregate of the members which composed it. And to suppose that the resolutions which the Hebdomadal Board at Oxford come to, proceed in an equal ratio of confluence from every head round the table, and are the proportionately-contributed product of the opinions and wishes of the twenty-four component members, is about as unreal a view to take of the operations of the Board, as to suppose that an act of Parliament represented the equally contributed and collective sagacity of the 568 members of the House of Commons. Nature, when anything practical is to be done, dislikes numbers. They stand in the way. If they are there, they must be managed; but they are so much material of difficulty to be disposed of. Twenty-four members of an acting and working Board are almost twenty-three too much. Boards, councils, committees, are made to be managed: that is their natural destination. Their functions are not very much more than those of machinery. They are instruments, engines, in the hands of those who can work them. They rise up and take their stand on the public field for the purpose of giving effect to the aims of some one or two, and investing the designs of the sharper heads with the pomp and circumstance of authority. Authority is wanted: the constitution of a Board gives it; and the weight of its sanction makes up for cumbrousness of its machinery. We are stating nothing new. All the world knows the truth of what we say. Boards always have performed this office, and they always will. We think it quite proper that they should. We are finding no fault. Their utility depends upon this character. It is the only aspect in which they can be favourably viewed, and in which practical good can be expected from them. If all the members of Boards thought for themselves, the result would be that they would never act at all. It is quite necessary, upon general principles, that somebody should tell them what to do, and that they should attend to his suggestions. We are speaking of the general principle; we may lament the result in particular cases. The business of the world would be at a stand-still, if boards and bodies had not this habit.

Now we are only stating what is very well known throughout the University, a piece of almost as ordinary intelligence amongst Oxford men, as any common political fact in the world at large, when we say that Dr. Hawkins, with one or two other members of an academical name, have the great directing influence at the Oxford Hebdomadal Board. It cannot be imagined that we mention this fact out of any feeling against Dr. Hawkins individually. He can have no objection to have a point, so creditable to his talents and activity, stated in the simple way in which we are now doing; though we have no doubt a sense of politeness to the Board at large will induce him to deny our complimentary accusation, should it ever meet his eye. It is, however, as perfectly understood that Dr. Hawkins is, to use the common expression, at the bottom of much that proceeds from the Hebdomadal Board, as that the Board meets on Mondays, and meets in the Delegate's-room. There is a certain class of facts, which have no official warrant or judicial evidence connected with them, but which are as fully and familiarly known as if they had; or more so. This is a fact of this sort. The University at large knows it, and it is appealed to in common conversation. We must confess ourselves rather surprised that he should retain such influence, after the plain mistakes into which he has more than once led the Board; but a clever, acute, argumentative person can afford to make mistakes of real policy; his influence depending, as it does, not at all on the success of his plans in the trial, but on his own skill and readiness in recommending them before hand.

Will those High-Churchmen and others, who have been hurrying up to Oxford lately to protect the University from the influence of new opinions, refresh their memories, and attend to some points which seem to show what school, under the idea of protecting orthodoxy, they have really and in truth been supporting; and what influence, and whose call, under the name of the Oxford Hebdomadal Board, they have really been obeying?

Dr. Hawkins has occupied, we believe, from the very first commencement of his theological life, a definite and marked, though subordinate, place in a select and distinguished circle, of which Dr. Copleston and Dr. Whately in the University, and, latterly, Dr. Arnold and the Chevalier Bunsen out of it, were the great ornaments; a circle, we may add, from which much of our hodiernal latitudinarianism has emanated. One who remembers Oxford some years ago, or, if his memory should not stretch so far back, the reader of Arnold's Correspondence, will know what theological prospects animated them, and the line which they had before them. As the first, and most intellectual University circle of that particular time, they fully appreciated and

felt their position. They seemed to have the world before them, and they theorized with all the ease and freedom of minds that saw in the English Church no restraining system whatever, but simply the image of themselves, and of what they intended to make it. They had a latitudinarian type in their minds which they fitted on to the system in which they were, and they viewed the whole Church as gradually coming over to them, and waited philosophically for its certain development upon their standard. The members of this circle, indeed, were far from being all of them of the same complexion of liberalism. Dr. Arnold held a warm enthusiastic eclecticism, and had a passion for comprehension; Dr. Whately and Dr. Hawkins approached more to ordinary utilitarians. The residence of Dr. Copleston and Dr. Whately at Oxford formed a literary nucleus for the time, and dispensed sunshine and patronage to the rising school. They left the scene, however, and Dr. Hawkins became the representative of their influence in it.

Throughout the stirring and eventful period which followed, Dr. Hawkins sided actively and uniformly with the liberal movements in the place. In 1835, the great tide of liberalism which had been threatening the country, showed itself in the University in the shape of an attempt to abolish subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles at matriculation. The Provost of Oriel was the great supporter of that attempt. The Subscription question was followed by the Hampden question. The Provost of Oriel was the great supporter of Dr. Hampden. Since that time the liberalism of Dr. Hawkins has acted under the shelter which an opposition to an unpopular theology affords. But with respect to the whole tractarian controversy, it must be remembered, that *his* opposition to those principles, whatever that of others might be, was a liberal one. There may have been much to cover, but there has been nothing at all to undo the plain original basis upon which Dr. Hawkins started. The plain, latitudinarian direction of his first movements, which every one of his subsequent steps has followed up, must supply the hypothesis to explain *his* course, however others may feel that they have opposed upon a different one. The revival of the Hampden question six years after the act of censure had passed, came in as if on purpose to show the continuous liberalism upon which he and his circle had been proceeding all along, and let out the secret of their real theological direction and scope. This constant recurring connexion with Dr. Hampden is a significant feature. Such is the state of the case as regards Dr. Hawkins. He has never concealed his bias, and line of opinions; and we are only stating here what he himself would be quite willing to allow. His public line has

been that of a theological liberal, and this is all that we want to say of him.

Dr. Hawkins, it is well known, has been aiming at some Test for a long time. He has been feeling his way to one. He has used one—so far as an unauthoritative use of one could be made—in his own college for some years; and the candidate for the fellowship, the tutorship, the college-living, has been made to undergo a previous scrutiny as to his agreement or disagreement with No. 90. And he has been the only head of a college who has done this. A Test has been his particular "hobby;" if we may call it so. Now comes the more mature and open stage of the policy. The Hebdomadal Board has been made to adopt it, and propose it to Convocation; and the project has left the interior of Oriel, to try its chance on the open field of the University.

We do not think, if the members of the Hebdomadal Board, who voted on the occasion of the New Test, had voted independently of that influence which encountered them in their room of meeting, had voted simply upon the feelings which they had as private persons, and given their opinion from the privacy of their studies or firesides, and not from the Delegates'-room, that they would have promulgated that measure. Many would have been prevented from doing so by those natural, common feelings of kindness, which pre-eminently belong to them in the private sphere of their own colleges, and by that indisposition to commotion and stir which men in station have, and should have. We are certain that the majority of them—their characters, now so familiar to the University, speak for the fact—would not of themselves have been inclined to so strong and violent a course. But a body of twenty-four heads of colleges and halls, is not exempt from the general laws of corporate organization. They fall into a prepared arrangement, they yield to those who will take the trouble to get up a plan and arguments beforehand. They accept propositions which come framed and whole from the inner circle of debate, and which present at once the claims of a definite paper existence to their eyes. They may feel certain objections, but they cannot state them half so readily as the others can answer them. A person who can talk connectedly and pointedly must always have great power at a Board. It is unpleasant to engage in dispute with such an arguer, and persons unconsciously fall back, and allow the wedge to make its way.

Let the plain truth, then, be known. "We come up to support the Board," persons say; and the Board is the shield which covers every attempt which proceeds from this quarter upon the doctrine of the Church. An academical council, an

array of dignitaries, forms an image in men's minds to which they accommodate themselves, and which acts as an impressive and satisfying rationale of the case. A vague pictorial notion of a Board possesses them. Such persons should know what the Board is, and how it acts. If it is a real Board, and not a picture of one, it has some real way in which it acts. It moves in one fashion or another. Its operations go on upon this influence or upon that. Somebody moves it, or somebody does not move it. Wherever there is action, there must be a way in which it takes place. A man walks; and he walks in some one way or other: he stands; and he stands in some one position or other. There is no such thing as abstract walking or standing, apart from the mode of it: as a board acting, and not having its mode and process of acting. Such is the mode and process in the present case. Such has been the *principium motus*, the spring of action, from which the Hebdomadal Board's course has proceeded. Dr. Hawkins has been very successful in making it express his own theology, adopt his views, and act as his organ. As we say, Boards, naturally act as organs, they admit some influence or other into them, which becomes predominant, and makes them expressions of itself; and the consequence is, a particular *animus* of the Board, as such, distinct from that of its individual members, taken separately. Here is the influence, here is the *animus*, in the present case. Let those who are satisfied with the feeling that they support established authority, be told what influence they are really following, under the surface of the Board. In following the latter they are following that which moves it; and that which moves the Board has been a direct positive liberalizing influence, intimately connected with the school of Dr. Whately and Dr. Hampden, and with the regular formed latitudinarianism of the day.

Our Oxford readers will excuse us for explaining a state of things which they understand so well, and clearing the view for the benefit of those whose distance from the scene makes one mixed hazy object of the whole. The cause of the Church and of orthodox doctrine has laboured under a disadvantage in the opposition in which it has been placed to an old and respectable University institution; and has acquired, in consequence, among a number of quiet persons, a revolutionizing character—a character for unsettling Church orthodoxy, instead of maintaining and defending that orthodoxy which it is its especial vital aim to do. But a view of the real influence at work in that Board at once turns the tables on this head, and shows at once who are the true representatives of the old spirit in the Church and the University, and who are its opposers.

We turn now to the measures themselves that have proceeded

lately in such thick succession from the quarter we are speaking of. These are the censure and degradation of Mr. Ward; the proposal of the "New Test;" and lastly, the attempted censure of Mr. Newman and No. 90. The history of these proceedings is so fresh in our readers' minds, that it is hardly necessary for us to repeat it; and we shall content ourselves with a general comment upon them.

With respect to the censure and degradation of Mr. Ward, the simple remark we have to make is, that it was altogether a one-sided and harsh proceeding. It was one-sided to call up a Convocation for a censure of his book, when members of the University on the other side were allowed to say whatever they pleased, and to contradict the Articles of the Creed without a word being said. Still more one-sided was the degradation. That was a new feature to introduce into University contention. The University has censured, indeed, of late, but it has not punished; for it is absurd to call the little nominal marks in Dr. Hampden's case a punishment. Dr. Hampden was punished so far as a censure itself was a punishment, and no more. The marks attached to him were only an indirect mode of expressing the censure. But degradation is serious, is positive. That Mr. Ward should be degraded while Dr. Hampden sat and looked on in his professorial chair, is indeed, let him have been ever so much in the wrong, an unequal distribution of University justice.

One important feature of this proceeding should be noticed. The House of Convocation, by performing an act of punishing, claimed the character of a court. Punishment is a judicial step, and therefore the act of a court of some kind. Is Convocation a judicial court? Let us hear a lawyer. 'That such a tribunal,' says Dr. Sewell, 'would be a mock tribunal, is quite clear; for the House of Convocation is a deliberative assembly, analogous to the House of Commons. It knows neither judge, advocate, code of laws, nor any one requisite of a court; and if it be not a court, then has it no power to try or to condemn; and, by necessary implication, it can have no authority to punish one untried and uncondemned; and this Mr. Ward must be till declared guilty by the sentence of a competent tribunal.' As Convocation had assumed, however, the power of punishing, Convocation was obliged to put on, in some way or other, the look of a court. It put up Mr. Ward in the rostrum, and told him to make a speech and defend himself; and he made a speech accordingly. In the total absence of the whole constitution, and all the requisites of a court, it was obliged to simulate them: it was made to ape the manner of a court, and pretend to be what it was not. It was turned into a sham court. Before the question, 'Placet ne,' &c.

is put, the Vice-Chancellor 'will give Mr. Ward an opportunity of answering,' &c.; and if this proposition is affirmed before the other question, 'Placet ne,' &c., is put, the Vice-Chancellor 'will give Mr. Ward an opportunity of stating,' &c. The first 'placet ne,' and then a speech; the second 'placet ne,' and then another speech—how could this make Convocation a legal court, if it was not one? These arrangements had as much effect in making Convocation a court of law, as would the device of the Vice-Chancellor and the circle of Doctors sitting in wigs, with ermine tippets; or of a bedel attending in the costume of a sheriff, with twenty-four javelin men after him, have had for that purpose. An outside and a surface, which simulates the reality, only reminds more completely of its absence. The Hebdomadal Board saw that if Convocation inflicted punishment, Convocation was or should be a court, and that this was or should be a trial. A sort of trial, therefore, was extemporized for the occasion; and the twelve hundred gentlemen in the theatre were supposed to be jurors, and Mr. Ward, as his own counsel, to be addressing them. Every body must have seen that a difficulty was confessed, and that this was an attempt to meet it; but the attempt only showed the confession, and did no more. If the House of Commons, upon the fact of a proclamation to instigate a Canadian rebellion, from Mr. Roebuck, or of a treasonable Chartist manifesto from Mr. Duncombe, called one or other of those gentlemen before its bar, and, after telling him to defend himself by a speech, proceeded immediately to a sentence, it would be an assumption the same in kind with that made by the late Oxford Convocation. Parliament and Convocation are deliberative bodies, and not courts of law. It may be said that all societies have the power of ridding themselves of disobedient members. So they have: but they have it according to the constitution of the society, and not against it. A club expels without judicial form, because it has no judicial basis. A university has a judicial system, and must punish by means of it. If its judicial system is defective, it should be enlarged by means of those powers which are open to the University for enlarging it; but the University should not place itself outside of its system altogether.

One remark on the parallel which is drawn between the proceedings against Mr. Ward and those against Dr. Hampden. The former is by no means a similar case with the latter. Without mentioning the enormous difference in the respective punishments of the two, one of which drives the condemned person from his position in the University, and the other leaves him only under a mark of disapprobation, the circumstances of

the two cases are plainly different. The one is a proceeding against an official person, the other against an individual: the one against a public, the other against a private man. Dr. Hampden was not a mere individual in the University: he was thrust upon her as a teacher. He was placed over the faculty of theology, and invested with the positive instruction of young men of the University, on their way to ordination. The University, in proceeding against him, was guarding its own public teaching. Mr. Ward had no theological professorship: he only wrote a book. Has the University been called on to condemn all men who have written books of suspicious theology? If a book-writer, as such, on the other side, had been condemned, that would be an analogous case; but that has not been done. With the vast number of such cases that there have been, and are continually, on the other side, Mr. Ward's is the only one of which notice has been taken.

We have said only what we think due in common justice to Mr. Ward. We do not profess to understand the precise view which either he or Mr. Oakeley takes of the English Church. We wish we could discern in them some more hearty sympathy—we do not even say with the English Church, but with the Catholic element in the Church, than we do. It would be a pleasure to us, if we could see that they really sympathized with the Church, so far as she was Catholic. But we hardly see even this conditional sympathy with her. Mr. Oakeley, in some of his later letters, seems to give up the language of his pamphlet two years ago, and to rest the whole evidence of the Catholicity of the Church upon the sole consideration of the devotional minds he sees within the circle of his own acquaintance. He speaks as if the English Church had hardly produced one Catholic, one devotional mind since the Reformation. We do not understand a real member of the English Church not liking to acknowledge the good that there has been in her. We do not say how much or how little it is; we only want it to be fairly acknowledged, and allowed where it is. Let a man condemn the bad as much as he will; but let him sympathize with good where he sees it. Mr. Oakeley and Mr. Ward do not seem to treat the English Church fairly in this respect; to treat her with less candour than they would if she were a regular dissenting community. We do not think they do it consciously; but they have written sometimes in a tone, as if they were so much more glad to see any good among Dissenters than they were to see it in the Church. Mr. Oakeley writes, *e. g.* as if he thought the Puritans, in the struggle two centuries ago, were much more right in rejecting Church ceremonial, than the Catholic party were in their mode of pressing it upon them;

and his sympathies seem to be so far with the Puritan party in the contest. Puritan goodness and dissenting goodness are allowed with great ease and courtesy ; but not Anglican goodness ; and the generosity which concedes much to quarters where there is no pretension to be a church, draws in and looks cold where there is one. We must be permitted the remark that, even allowing Mr. Oakeley's and Mr. Ward's Roman predilections, there seems to be a certain formalism in this view. Human nature is catholic, and even Pagan religion is catholic, as far as they go. We discriminate everyday in history and in poetry, a Catholic spirit from the particular system it may be mixed with. We presume that our Church system is a rise in this direction, at any rate, from a state of nature. Why cannot Mr. Oakeley see the many beautiful and saintly characters that our Church has, as an undoubted historical fact, produced, though they do not exactly fall under the Roman model ?

One word more before we leave this subject. We must express our regret that Mr. Oakeley should have felt himself called upon, in consequence of the vote on the 13th, to challenge the immediate attention of the Vice-Chancellor, his own Bishop, and we may add the London press, successively, to his own case. We have no doubt that, whatever Mr. Oakeley did, he did because he simply felt himself bound in conscience to do it. But how his conscience could feel bound to this particular course we do not quite understand. There is a large general rule against gratuitous steps, against things done which need not be done. Need Mr. Oakeley have done this ? A challenge has an irritating effect upon opponents, and often forces a harsher line upon them than they might be inclined to of themselves. Such a step is unfair to them. It is also unfair to many whom public opinion more or less identifies with Mr. Oakeley, and who are considered to be implicated in the steps he takes. And it is no sufficient remedy against this impression, for the person to state formally that they are not, that he acts merely as an individual. The impression remains notwithstanding. The line of a person who has relations to others, and who acts as if he were an individual only, is an essentially unfair one. He cannot act so without injustice. He may be ever so ready to take all the *onus* on himself ; but he cannot prevent it from falling on others besides himself. We are speaking of the line as such ; the individual may take it conscientiously, but the line itself is essentially unfair. The sincere respect and gratitude that we entertain for Mr. Oakeley's services in the Church, enable us to make these reflections without any fear of being misunderstood. And we feel sure that he will take them in the spirit in which they are made.

But these proceedings against Mr. Ward were, after all, only a very preliminary, subordinate, and narrow part of the scheme which issued from the Hebdomadal Board. They ushered in along with them a further measure of much greater magnitude and importance. Mr. Ward represented no regular school or body of opinion. He occupied a position which he had chosen entirely on his own responsibility, and one out of the main channel of the Church movement. He was an individual only, while that which was aimed at was a school; and this measure only hit him, and left the school untouched. The school, the body of opinions, the general Church movement among us, was to be got at by another blow: and that blow was a new general test. We must anticipate and say, that when that test was obliged to be given up, the attack embodied itself afresh instantly, and rose up again in the shape of a gratuitous attack on No. 90.

All attention was immediately turned to the New Test, which was proposed to be placed in the hands of the Vice-Chancellor, and to be applied by him, *pro arbitrio*, to all members of the University whom he should ever suspect of unsound theology. The suspected person, on a summons from the Vice-Chancellor, was to be compelled to make the following declaration:—"I, A. B., being about to subscribe the Articles of Faith and Religion, and also the three Articles contained in the Thirty-sixth Canon, do profess and pledge my faith to this University, that I will subscribe all those articles, and each of them, *in that sense in which, from my heart, I believe they were both published originally, and are now proposed to me by the University, as a sure and indubitable symbol of my opinions.*" This new proposition told its own story; and the University had actually before its eyes the phenomenon of a new religious Test in black and white. The phenomenon was a startling one. Persons looked at the paper, and read the declaration over and over again. There it was, beyond a doubt, as plain as words could make it. There was a new Test,—there was a real living fresh Test, the creation of the month of December 1844. We acquire, from habit, an idea of a religious Test, as having an institutional existence apart from actual production; as something that always had been, and never really had an actual contemporary hodiernal birth amongst moving living things. A particular interest and lively curiosity attached to this new theological phenomenon, on this very ground. There was an anxiety to see a new test—to see what it looked like. *Quid es?* the first elementary question of primeval curiosity, came in—What are you—you, the thing, the Test?

Τίς; πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις, ἡδὲ τοκῆς;

And with the feeling of the cautious respondent in the exami-

nation schools, who, on being asked what a predicable was, replied that he did not know, never having seen one, eyes were looking hard upon the printed thing itself—that day's issue from the University press, simply under the aspect of a visible production of present time.

A paper, which came out immediately after its appearance, simply put forward the plain matter-of-fact character of the new proposition:—

‘ 1. That the proposed statute institutes a new religious Test in the University.

‘ 2. That a local Test, thus instituted, places the members of the University in a religious position different from that of all other members of the Church, and the whole body of the clergy.

‘ 3. That the imposing any new Test of doctrine beyond those which rest on the authority of the Church is a serious innovation, and alters at once the constitution of the University, and its relations to the Church.

‘ 4. That a great difference of opinion has always been permitted among those who subscribe the Articles, and that it is now proposed to introduce a new limit and restriction to that difference.

‘ 5. That the Test proposed, being itself liable to different interpretations, is likely to cause perplexity, and to operate as a snare to consciences.

‘ 6. That it is not right or safe to rest on the supposition that this Test will not be applied; since the obvious presumption, from its being proposed, is that it is meant to be used.

‘ 7. That a Test not applied to all, but liable to be imposed upon suspected individuals, according to the will of the Vice-Chancellor for the time being, is an objectionable form of test; likely to encourage a system of secret and underhand information, and to destroy mutual confidence and freedom of intercourse in the University.’

The fact of its being a Test at all was, indeed, most strenuously denied by its proposers; and Dr. Hawkins especially, as we hear, was not only surprised at the mistake, but actually incapable of understanding how it could be made; how any person of common sense, of common candour, could so distort his mind as to think that a test was intended. The fact was as sharply disputed on the one side, as it was calmly assumed on the other; and the world in general was talking about the Test, and the New Test, and the chances of the Test being withdrawn, and the probable majority against the Test, if persisted in; and referring to the New Test under a thousand aspects, in that regular satisfied way in which plain facts are referred to, all the time that there was, as it appears, no such fact at all, and no new Test

had ever been in existence. It is rather remarkable that, in this state of the argument, a pamphlet should issue from the great champion of the measure, Mr. Garbett, entitled, 'The University, the Church, and the *New Test*.' There is something exceedingly provoking in calm assumed stupidity to the acute arguer, where an impression pervades a mass, and cannot be unseated. It is in vain that you repeat over and over again your own certainty that they are in the wrong—your absolute knowledge of that circumstance. In vain the subtle line is drawn with irresistible clearness time after time, and a demonstrating process gone through, which ought to disarm opposition, and to shame every reasoning faculty. The impression, the mistake, goes on. An unconscious basis is formed in the public mind, and in spite of distinction, point, and argument, still, still the error works. We notice this denial of the fact of the Test itself, this objection to it being called a test, because it is, in truth, part of the phenomenon itself—part and parcel of the spirit and view which suggested the measure.

So much for the fact and the phenomenon of the Test. We shall now ask our readers to follow us, while we take one particular view of it, and place it before them. We feel ourselves incapable of evolving all the argumentative absurdities contained in its construction; they admit of indefinite expansion, and inexhaustible combination. A rich, unfathomable fund of contradiction lies imbedded in it, which it requires the powers of the mathematical faculty adequately to appreciate and embrace. 'The words of the Articles,' says Dr. Moberly, 'the usual and grammatical sense, are no longer to be thought of; the sense of Church and State, discoverable by the grammatical sense, is not to be regarded. A certain compound, complex sense, made up of two profound obscurities, involving endless ancient researches, and modern guesses, but incapable of true discovery or authoritative decision, is substituted for the theological test under which we have hitherto lived; and this dark, inquisitorial, senseless rule is to be applied secretly, on suspicion, *before subscription*, as a snare to conscience, not as a vindication of right.' But there is one assertion which the Test makes, which, whatever be its obscurity, as bearing on the tested party, can have but one sense, as bearing on the testing one. There is one expression in it, which, though it decides nothing on some points of controversy, decides very clearly upon others, and which, however unobjectionable a ground for one party, we should have thought beforehand an exceedingly dangerous, and slippery one for another. There is a missile in it, which passes harmlessly enough over the heads that it was directed at, but does seem to rebound with intense force upon those who aimed it. We allude to the

clause which imposes what, for brevity's sake, we shall call the '*Primitus Editi*' sense of the Articles. The introduction of this clause gives the point of view at which to look on this whole proceeding of the Test, and we shall examine it for that purpose.

The very first thing, then, the Test does is resolutely to impose this sense. It declares that the Articles must be taken in exactly the sense in which they were originally published, and that in that meaning, whatever it was, in which the Church first imposed them three centuries ago, in that same meaning is every subscriber to accept them now; that he is to attach in his mind, at the moment of subscription, that identical force to every statement in them which the Church three centuries ago attached to them. That is one fact; the other is, that the parties whose instigation, persuasion, concurrence, and sanction either actually carried, or certainly accompanied, this Test through the Hebdomadal Council, were Dr. Hawkins, Dr. Hampden, and, acting as a kind of *amicus curiæ*, the Archbishop of Dublin. The latter, though not a member of the Board, wrote a letter to it, strongly urging the application of some such means for getting rid of a certain religious party in the University. That letter was openly read at the Board; and the simple, natural impression, which it produced, was that which we have mentioned. Dr. Hawkins and Dr. Hampden, and other liberal members of the Board, then, have committed themselves to the assertion, that they subscribe the Articles in exactly the same sense in which the Church, three centuries ago, at their first publication, held them. We take it for granted that they did not intend to impose a discipline upon others to which they did not submit themselves; and, having declared that all persons should subscribe the Articles in this sense, they must necessarily be understood to assert that they themselves actually do so.

Now there is one doctrine which, if plain, simple, and definite statements are to be of any weight at all, our Church certainly holds. It is not a secondary, a partial, or incidental doctrine which we mean; for we should not think of testing any one's adhesion to this sense of the Articles by such; but, confessedly, a most important, a critical, and a fundamental one. It is a doctrine, the holding or not holding of which admits or rejects a great theological system. It is the doctrine that, "Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith: and that, except every one do keep that faith whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." The whole dogmatic system of theology rests upon this doctrine: the latitudinarian system rests upon the denial of

it. Whichever is the right or the wrong system of these two, it cannot be an unimportant matter which is held; and it cannot be an unimportant matter upon which to adhere to, or depart from, the legitimate sense of our Church formularies.

We are aware indeed that explanations are given of our Church's language in the Athanasian Creed. The anathema is not uncommonly disjoined from the Creed itself; as if it were simply one verse among others, and might be supposed to have been left there by accident, and were something perfectly separable from the whole system of doctrine. But nothing can be more untrue, or, if we think for a moment, more plainly absurd than this view of it. The enunciation of Catholic doctrine, and the condemnation of its opposite, was one and the same process in that Church system, under the influence of which our formularies were constructed. Doing one, implied doing the other. Formally to state a doctrine, and to allow at the same time its opposite to be held within the same pale of salvation, and the same bosom of the Church, was an idea which the Church never entertained. The enunciation of a truth, of course, and as its correlative result, condemned and excluded the opposite error, and those who held it. That was part of the meaning of the enunciation of the doctrine; that was the very point of the system. It would have been nothing at all for the Church simply to have stated her views of Christian truth, and left anybody to think differently from her that pleased. Any individual can do this. An individual can think another wrong; the Church condemns him: that is the difference. The anathema was the very point and hinge of the whole system. It was the cardinal, distinguishing, essential claim that the Church made; and without it the most majestic fabric of doctrine appeared an airy erection, and a dream. That was the very symbol of authority which marked the Church. To enunciate truth, and to impose it, was one and the same proceeding with her: the creed and the anathema went together. Persons have a confused idea of the anathema in the Athanasian Creed being simply connected with that document, and with no other: as if the Athanasian Creed condemned its opponents, and the Apostles' and Nicene Creed did not. This is unreasonable. The Creed itself, the system of belief laid down in the Athanasian document, is exactly the same with that in the Apostles' and Nicene. They are not three different Creeds, but three different expressions of the same Creed. A Church can have but one Creed. An anathema appended to the Creed contained in the Athanasian document, is also appended to the Creed contained in the Apostles' and Nicene; for this simple

reason, that the one is positively the same identical Creed that the other is. An anathema once had, once having a place in the theological system, it signifies little where that place is, because wherever it is, its power extends over the whole. Whether it is in the beginning of the Prayer-book, or the middle of the Prayer-book, or the end of the Prayer-book; or whether it is appended to the Athanasian Creed, or to the Apostles' Creed, or to the Nicene Creed; it is all one. The Creed is one, and the anathema is appended to the Creed.

Again, it is said that our Church cannot intend any really exclusive principle in these words, because she cannot mean absolutely to deny the possibility of salvation to all who do not hold the Catholic faith. But a plain answer to that is, that on the same view the Church of Rome might be maintained to mean nothing exclusive by such words; for the Church of Rome does not deny the absolute possibility of salvation to all who do not hold the Catholic faith. The instance of the Church of Rome proves that the fact of stopping short of that assertion, does not at all prevent a positively, definitely, exclusive sense from accompanying these words. The assertion that whosoever will be saved must hold the Catholic faith, which faith is contained in a definite written creed, cannot be supposed to leave things precisely on the same ground as if the assertion had not been made at all. There must be some difference between making this assertion, and not making it: and the Church cannot be supposed to have had exactly the same meaning in adopting such a proposition that she would have had in not adopting it. Without going into the question of salvation out of and beside the regular covenanted one, this sentence, if it asserts anything, must assert that that covenanted salvation is attached to one definite faith—the Catholic one, and to no other.

We may add that, differ as the Church of England may from the Church of Rome, as to what is or is not Catholic faith on some points, and hold as she may some doctrines to be not Catholic and necessary ones, which the Church of Rome holds to be so; on the point that the Catholic faith supposed is necessary to be held in order to salvation, the Church of England uses exactly the same language that the Church of Rome does.

We turn to history, and we find that this meaning, so obviously attaching to the words in themselves, was the meaning which the religious tone, temper and opinions of the day as a matter of fact gave to them. The theologians of the day in which our Articles were framed, had not positively yet formed a conception of that latitudinarian sentiment which later times have brought out, and did not even understand the state of mind that

could wish to explain away the damnatory clauses, as they are called, of the Creed. They had no desire to take them in any other sense, and they did take them in no other sense; and when they gave them to others to subscribe, they gave them to subscribe in no other sense than the one which the words do *primâ facie* bear; viz. that a belief in the Catholic creed was a necessary condition of salvation. The theologians of that day shut out of the Catholic Church, from Christian communion and the pale of the covenant, those who departed from the articles of that Creed. The heretic was excommunicated, and the disbelief of an article in the Creed constituted heresy. In other words, the dogmatic principle was fully recognised at that time. We are speaking of what the case was at the time that our Articles were framed; of the actual state of opinion under which they first came to light.

Moreover, we have a very substantial and tangible proof of their sentiments on this subject, in one circumstance which should be mentioned, viz. in the fact that they were prepared to burn alive those who dissented from the articles of the Creed. Is an instance wanted? On the 2nd of May, 1550, at the time that the very Articles which enforce the Athanasian Creed, with its damnatory clauses, upon us, were in process of construction, Archbishop Cranmer caused Joan Butcher to be burnt for denying that article of the Creed which declares our Lord to have been '*incarnate* by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary,' and holding the Valentinian heresy on that subject. 'Whereas,' runs the document in which the Archbishop hands over this woman to the secular arm, and the jurisdiction of the court of King's Bench—'Whereas our holy mother, the Church, hath nothing further to do or execute towards so rotten a member of her, we deliver the said per-tinacious heretic Joan for punishment to your royal highness, and the power of the secular arm.*' The sentence was executed.

Now we do not mention this as if we thought that the belief in the lawfulness of burning heretics was at all imposed by the Articles. That is not what we say. What we say is, that the

* The *Reformatio Legum ecclesiasticarum*, a body of ecclesiastical laws which was drawn up at the very time that our Articles first came out, and which conveys the ideas of the Reformers on this subject, lays down in terms as express as could be used the persecuting principle. The third title, which treats of the process against heresy, orders that heretics should be formally cited before the Ecclesiastical Court. 'And, provided they renounced their heterodoxy within sixteen days, they were first to give public proof of their repentance, to swear against relapse, and then to be absolved. But, in case excommunication was despised, and the discipline of the Church made no impression, they were then to be delivered into the hand of the secular magistrate, and they were to suffer death by the law.'

belief in it proves, beyond a doubt, that the theology of that day was dogmatic—that damnable clauses had really a damnable sense then. A dogmatic theology may exist most decidedly without the practice of burning; but the practice of burning for heresy could not well exist without a dogmatic theology. The two are perfectly separable; but the latter is certainly to be taken as a sign, where it exists, of the presence of the former. That is the view, simply, in which we regard it. The practice of delivering over to the secular arm for heresy was the mode in which the dogmatic theology of that day expressed itself. There *was* then that theology. That theology is stamped upon the Articles, whatever becomes of that particular expression of it.

Let it be remembered, it is not we who are forcing this particular view of the Articles upon the party we have in our eye. They have taken the matter out of our hands. They have been beforehand with us. They have voluntarily come forward to declare their adoption of the very first original sense of the Articles; and with the whole range of the *ordo sæclorum*, since the Reformation, before their eyes to choose from, they have expressly chosen its very commencement. They have felt a determination to be quite early, quite primitive. They have intentionally bounded over the whole intervening period, for the very purpose of pitching at once on the earliest point of time at which the Articles could date their existence; and they have overlooked and overstepped all for the sake of the pure native fountain-head of Reformation antiquity. The very original '*primitus editi*' sense is their dictum. Be it so. Here it is. Do they accept it? Here is the plain '*primitus* sense' of the Articles, as to the very basis of Christian theology. The Articles rivet the Athanasian Creed. The Athanasian Creed is, by the force of language, and by the testimony of history, dogmatic. The Articles, as '*primitus editi*,' impose an unquestionably dogmatic theology upon the subscriber. Do they receive this theology? Do they believe, in the sense which the words literally demand, and which was attached to them three centuries ago, that, 'Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith?'

If they reply to this question, by saying, that this theology was the remnant of an old system, which was in course of time to disappear: our rejoinder is perfectly simple, viz., that whether it was to disappear or not afterwards, there it was *then*. They have referred to a period. We give, from history, the theological sentiment of that period. We have to do with *it*, and not with a subsequent period. That is the very point on which they lay stress. What was, and what was not afterwards, may go.

There, then; they particularly said—then: when the Articles were ‘*primitus editi*,’ what was their sense *then*? We give it them; here is the ‘*primitus*.’

Will it be said that the ‘*primitus editi*’ is qualified by the expression added to it, ‘*et nunc ab universitate propositi*?’ This would be a more unfortunate answer than the other. An addition takes nothing away from what it joins, but only adds something else to it. The Articles are to be taken as ‘*primitus editi* :’ and also as ‘*ab universitate propositi*.’ The former is still simply categorically asserted, and is not a bit changed by the fact of some other sense being coincident with it. They are still committed to it simply and absolutely. The difficulty can only be escaped by contradiction. The University’s sense of the Articles, and the original historical sense, either coincide or they do not. If they do not, it is plainly irrational to impose them both at once. If they do, the ‘*primitus editi*’ sense retains its strict integrity, in spite of the addition. We leave the suggestors of the New Test to choose which they like of the two horns of a dilemma, of which one makes them confound reason, and the other contradict fact.

The truth is, the party we are now alluding to, have up to this moment taken the exactly opposite view to this, of their own position in the Church. So far from pretending to appeal to the exact *original* meaning of our Church formularies, as the precise era of the Reformation adopted them, they have expressly had recourse to a certain advanced and ‘*developed*’ sense of them—to a developed sense as contrasted, specially, distinctly *contrasted*, to this original sense. They have taken their whole stand, and rested the very point of the defence, as to their Church position, upon the exact total and diametrical opposite of the ‘*primitus editi*’ theory. The recognised theory among liberal theologians has been, that the Reformation went a certain way towards shaking off the old Church and dogmatic system, but that it did not literally do so: that it laid the foundations, and the foundations only, of the great change, and sowed the seed which was afterwards to rise up in the shape of theological liberalism. The actual age of the Reformation has been allowed, by general consent, to have sat under the shade of the old system; and to have retained those very prejudices itself, of which it had given others the answer and refutation. The common language has been, that the Reformers did not know the extent of the change which they were ultimately bringing on, and that they held principles, which, if argumentatively pursued, ended in the modern system, but did not hold that system itself. The latter existed in elementary shape, latently, unconsciously; and we are to take up, it is said, and bring out this element.

The age must advance, the march begun must go on, the seed must rise into the stem, the human mind must expand. Religious philosophy and science must advance and unfold, just as other sciences do. Another step follows. The system in which the Reformation was to issue, was more *really* its system, even when it did not actually hold it, than the one which it held actually but for the time only. The theological liberal lays claim to having the real marrow and spirit of the Reformation; he agrees with what the Reformers intended to think, with what they should have thought: with what they actually did think, he does not; but he says that that is matter of minor consequence; that the one is the shell, the other the kernel; that the world had not indeed gone so far in the sixteenth century as it had in the nineteenth; but that the developed sense is the true sense after all.

This has been the theory he has advanced, as distinct from one coinciding with the Reformation. The actual opinions, the positive ways of thinking, the documents themselves of that age, being disclaimed, the refuge has been in a prospective interpretation of them,—an anticipatory sense. The rejection of the sense original has been the very starting point; and the reflected meaning of their future development has regarded the '*primitus editi*,' and contemporary one, as its special contradictory and rival.

Let us take the point of view in which Dr. Hampden puts the Articles, in his Bampton Lectures and other publications. He goes on in the most deliberate way, as if it was quite a matter of course, supposing that the Articles were the relic of a dark, dogmatic age, and wanted alteration in their whole basis to accommodate them to the spirit of the present one, and the improved state of theological science. He goes on saying this over and over again: so deeply is he impregnated with the view, that he is obviously quite unconscious that he is expressing it in a way at all to offend people. He takes it up as a philosophical line. He treats the Articles just as he would treat a scientific treatise of Galen's, and he thinks the one as clear a case of antiquarianism as the other. 'The speculative language of the 'Creeds,' he says, 'was admitted into the Church of England, as established by the Reformers, before the genius of Bacon exposed the emptiness of the system which the schools had palmed upon the world The notions on which the several expressions of the Articles at large, and in particular of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds are founded, are both unphilosophical and unscriptural, belong to ancient theories of philosophy, and are only less obviously injurious to the simplicity of faith than those which they exclude.' Articles of

religion, as such—all creeds, formularies of belief—all positive expressions of theological opinion—he would, in principle, reject altogether. ‘The positiveness of doctrine, arising from the very nature of systematic statements, is an evil.’ He tolerates it, because it has gone on so long that it cannot be got rid of now, and to soften and modify it is all that is possible; but, in principle, he rejects it altogether. ‘To exclude theological opinion from religious profession—to endeavour to sweep away the accumulation of ages—would be but the vain attempt suddenly to change the face of the world. Our next best alternative is, to modify it—to correct its improper application—and so to obviate its mischievous effects.’—‘In truth,’ he sums up, ‘I say, it ought not to exist. Theological opinion, as necessarily mixed up with speculative knowledge, ought not to be the bond of union of any Christian society, or a mark of discrimination between Christian and Christian. Wherever speculative truth is involved, there must be presupposed an opening for improvement; whereas articles of religious communion, from their reference to the fixed objects of our faith, assume an immovable character, fatally adverse to all theological improvement. Were it not for the intrinsic sublimity of the subject, the case of adherence to such unvarying formularies, would forcibly strike the minds of men, as no less incongruous and injurious in religion, than, in medicine, would be the case of a society of physicians, who should make the maxims of Hippocrates or Galen the unalterable basis of their profession. Surely our Reformers had no such view in drawing up our Articles. They did what they could in those times, as prudent men. We all know that in changes affecting the prejudices of men, measures must be framed according to what can be carried, not according to what may be wished. And the moderation of our Articles shews that the Reformers acted on this principle. How can it be right to chain down to the fixedness of abstract theory, and invest with the character of eternal truth, a series of propositions expressly adapted to an accidental state of public opinion?’

Scholasticism, in short, is, according to Dr. Hampden, the bane of our Church formularies. He discovers scholasticism lurking under them in whole and in part, in principle and detail. ‘The spirit of scholasticism still lives among us.’ Scholasticism is, according to his view, the ‘presumption of the human understanding;’ ‘the pride of man;’ ‘the intellect insinuating its own conclusions into the body of the revelation.’ And, with scholasticism bearing this meaning in his mind, he sees scholasticism everywhere in our Church. He begins early in his discovery, for the very position of the doctrine of the Trinity in our

Articles is pronounced to be scholastic. 'Our Reformers, in giving the first place to the doctrines relating to the Trinity, were influenced by the discipline of the modern Church of Rome, whose bonds they had thrown off Dialectical science . . . established that peculiar phraseology which we now use, in speaking of the Sacred Trinity, as *Three Persons* and *One God* The reality of those sacred facts of Divine Providence which we comprehensively denote by the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, is not to be identified with the theories couched under a logical phraseology Revelation teaches us only that God has manifested himself *relatively to us*, as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.' He goes on to other articles of faith. 'The language of the Article on original sin bears the impress of the scholastic theories The orthodox ought to have contented themselves with the *name* of original sin to designate the moral *fact* of the *tendency* to sin in human nature A positive deterioration of our carnal nature is a scholastic notion The idea that the corruption of human nature exists in infants is the result of theory.' On the subject of justification by faith: 'The priority, which is ascribed in such strong terms in our articles to faith among the acts of the Christian life, is accounted for by the physical notion of faith, as an *infused* principle, the origin of a new life, held by the schoolmen The notion that faith is a source of the knowledge of God is derived from an eclectic philosophy, in which the mysticism of Plato was blended with the analytic method of Aristotle.' On the doctrine of grace—'The positive sense of grace is derived from scholasticism To regard grace as something infused into the soul, by virtue of which the sinner is justified, and the operation of which on the heart is to be traced through the stages of its process, is part of the scholastic system.' On the subject of the Sacraments—'The ready reception of the theory that Christ, as the sole primary cause of grace, conveyed that grace through the Sacraments, as subordinate instrumental causes by which the Divine agency accomplished its ends, is sufficiently accounted for by the general belief in magic, in the early ages of the Church The notion that the Sacraments are visible channels, through which virtue is conveyed from Christ himself to the mystical body, the Church, is part of the theoretic view of the scholastic philosophy The assertion of a real and true presence of Christ in the Eucharist resulted from the original Platonism of the Church.' The Church of England doctrine of the Sacrament he admits to be founded on the views of an author who asserted this real presence: 'It has, though in a modified form, preserved the fundamental idea of the scholastic

‘doctrine.’ On the Baptismal Service—‘The inquiries in our Baptismal Service, “With what matter was this child baptized;” “with what words,” &c.; because some things, it is said, essential to the Sacrament may happen to be omitted, are derived from the subtle speculations about *matter* and *form*, introduced to establish and perfect the theory of instrumental efficiency, ascribed to the rites themselves The use of the expressions, “being made a member of the body of Christ,” or, “being incorporated” (“engrafted into the Church”), as equivalent, is owing to the confusion of ideas prevalent in the early Church on the subject of Baptism.’

Such is the language that has been held respecting our Church Articles and formularies. Dr. Hampden has only put in a systematic and scientific shape the current ideas of the school to which he belongs. They come with more boldness and positiveness in this shape; but the ideas are, at the bottom, the common popular ones of the party. What have we been hearing of for the last twenty years and more, but of the objection to the remains of dogmatism in our Church; of the Athanasian Creed, and people’s scruples of conscience which arose about it; of longings that ‘we were well rid of it;’ and of proposals to leave it out in the next Church Reform Bill. What was the one pervading strain of that whole series of Church Reform pamphlets that came out some twelve or fourteen years ago, but the wish to empty the Church of its dogmatism? It was the one note which ran through the liberal movement of that day. The Church was pronounced to be behind the rest of the world, and to be retaining an old and antiquated system, which the age had long cast off. There were more definite reasons given. The Church, it was said, was losing the services of valuable men in consequence, who were stopped on the threshold of ordination by the obstacle of a subscription to the Athanasian Creed. This reason was formally and distinctly alleged. A look into Dr. Arnold’s correspondence will show what view young minds, at that serious period of their life, were naturally inclined to take of its meaning and force, and the principle involved in it. We see him employed in pacifying the conscientious scruples of such. ‘I do not believe,’ says Dr. Arnold, in answer to a correspondent on this subject; ‘I do not believe the damnatory clauses in the Athanasian Creed, under any qualification given of them, except such as substitute for them propositions of a wholly different character.’ He adds, ‘But I read the Athanasian Creed, and have, and would again subscribe the Article about it, because I do not conceive the clauses in question to be essential parts of it, or that they were retained deliberately by our

‘Reformers.’ He has recourse, that is, to an *explanation*, and an explanation of a very solid and formal kind, to get over what he acknowledges to be a great difficulty. We say nothing more of it, than that it is a decided case of explanation. The fact is unquestionable indeed: the dogmatism of the Church has been an open, notorious, acknowledged *cruz* with all shades of liberals and latitudinarians always—and a *cruz* which has been uniformly solved by appealing from the literal contemporary sense of our formularies to a reflected developed one of the present day.

Now comes the change: a new theological line has now for the first time made its appearance. The very persons who have been holding this language all their lives, now come forward and assert with all imaginable ease, that they have no *cruz*, that they never felt any: that all is plain and easy; that our Articles and formularies, in their exact literal original sense, as the age of the Reformation held them, are the *verum indubitatum signum* of their opinions: that they feel themselves completely represented by the theology of three centuries back, and that the orthodox reformation standard exactly fits them. No development—no innovation—no modernism—no philosophy: the old original ‘*primitus editi*’ sense suits them, and they love the good old paths in which their fathers walked. Such is the last declaration of Dr. Hampden, Dr. Whately, and Dr. Hawkins. The very school who have essentially singled out the ‘*primitus editi*’ sense for rejection, now as signally and prominently adopt and impose it.

Such is the brief history of the New Test. Its advocates saw passages in the Articles the tone of which their opponents did not strictly adopt, and for which they demanded a latitude of interpretation. They demanded no more than what their predecessors in the Church had left them as their distinct right and inheritance. It was no favour; it was a right which was demanded. Those Articles had passed through and through the interpreting processes of high Church Convocations; Convocations over which Laud, Juxon, Cozens and Thorndike, Taylor and Ken, either in person or spirit, presided. They came down from the first Convocation that adopted them with the solemn interpretative notice appended to them, that nothing was to be taught in the English Church but what agreed with the doctrine of the Catholic fathers and doctors. ‘The Articles’ were framed to admit Catholics, and now-Catholics would not ‘be excluded.’ The Catholic school had every right that prescription, usage, high names, a whole body of recognised divinity, and a whole past history can give, to a catholic interpretation of the Articles. But the wording in this and that

place bore popularly against them. A party in the Hebdomadal Board saw that. They pushed the point eagerly, and drove the wedge in. They wished to look at nothing, and they did look at nothing, but the popularly weak spot in their opponents' side. They said nothing, and they would hear about nothing else. They allowed no comparison of parts, no enlargement of data; they stopped up every line of argument but one; they would let no side but one be seen. With that one topic in their hand, no other was even allowed to be introduced. The very entrance upon the real field of argument was precluded by one single pre-occupying dictum. They assumed the whole question in dispute, and then went on singly and determinately upon that assumption: no backward look was tolerated: the assumption was made—that was enough. It was simply assumed that their opponents had no right to sign the Articles: the fact of their dishonesty was assumed. Dishonesty assumed, but one step took them to the conclusion,—viz. that dishonest men ought to be got rid of. Was it objected that the Test was inquisitorial; and the only answer made was,—Is it inquisitorial to make men subscribe the Articles honestly? Every attempt at discussion, every call for evidence, was met with the simple original assumption repeated. And the simple charge of dishonesty began and ended the argument on which the Test was based.

This was the line taken with respect to their opponents. And meantime, what did they say of themselves? How did they defend, upon this line of argument, their *own* position in the Church? How did they explain their subscription to a scholastic and anathematizing creed? to a sacerdotal and sacramental Church system? They said nothing—nothing in defence—nothing in explanation—nothing at all. They left all that side of the subject simply untouched. They omitted it: they relied on the simple power which belongs to the *arguer*, of mentioning what he likes to mention, and not mentioning what he does not like. The human mind has this discriminating power. It can choose its subject. It can take up one topic, and need not take up another. There is nothing to compel a man to allude to what he does not choose to allude to. He has the physical power of using his tongue upon one point, and holding it on another; and the ample field of negation is at the command of any one who thinks a subject better untouched, than touched. This faculty of negative defence is one inexhaustibly copious, unfathomably deep, unanswerably potent; and it has the advantage of being the simple function of the human will. It is always at hand, ever ready for use.—Is a subject an unpleasant one? don't mention it. Have you no answer to make? then don't

make one. Does the argument which you level at another apply with ten thousand fold force to yourself? it may, but then you *do* apply it to another, and you do *not* apply it to yourself. That is the very advantage which this process possesses. Your argument recoils ever so powerfully on you; it does not hurt you if it does not hit you; and you take care not to hit yourself. You charge another with doing what you habitually and publicly do in your own case. Never mind: you object in his case, and you do not in your own. It simply comes to that, and you do not let that rob you of your argument: if you make the accusation, why, the accusation is made; and that is done. And so the case rests.—There is a term which we apply to this style of argument, when we meet with it in ordinary life; we do not call it a modest one. In this way, however, the recommenders of the Test covered their own position under an attack upon the Church party, and ruled the point by sinking one whole side of the question, viz. their own.

Surely this is an artificial state for the argument to rest in. It is plainly absurd to suppose that the facts on one whole side of the case are unmade because they are suppressed; for men to put a cover on their eyes, and imagine that nobody sees them; to suppose that, because they do not look their own difficulties in the face, that they have none to look at; to dream that omission on one side annihilates perception on the other; to think that data are subject-matter of monopoly, that an argument itself gains exclusiveness from its application, and that Reason herself is partial because she is defrauded. What change has come over the organs of human nature of late years, that the persons we allude to can suppose they can use the line of argument they do? In what recent obscuration of the human vision do they think themselves secure? What has happened to men's eyes and ears? What veil has suddenly appeared between them and the rest of the world, that makes them suppose that they are not objects of sight? One man sees another man, when he meets him yet. We see things as we did. We see sun, moon, and stars, as usual—the earth, sea, and sky—the human race. The world goes on still, and we see it. The Thames continues to flow, and we see it also. Society and human life, the literary, the scientific, the theological worlds, present phenomena to our eyes, and we see them. We see the Church; we see different parties in the Church—schools—standards in it. We see one or two great and leading theological divisions among us. We see a latitudinarian school, who have been writing for years against the dogmatism of our Church—remains of popery left in her—and spiritual claims untenable in the present age. We see a regular understood set of views held by this party, a recog-

nised aim and direction, philosophy, system, in it. All this we see. Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures we see. What does this party (we mean those of them who have done it) mean now by telling us that they hold the whole of our Church system and formularies as '*primitus editi*,' and exactly as the theology of three centuries ago entertained them? Do they think it possible that we can believe them in saying so? *Possible*, we say. It is not a question of inclination or disinclination, for compliments, or for the reverse. We do not want to disbelieve them; we would believe them if we could: but we simply ask, on the plain matter-of-fact ground, is it *possible*? We will do anything that is possible on the subject; but this is not possible. And when they not only make this declaration themselves, but actually proceed to make it the ground of a new exclusive test against others,—the climax is complete. Right or wrong, a test may be, but it is marvellous indeed that such a test should come from them: that they of all persons in the world should be stringently imposing that very original sense of our formularies which they have always rejected as obsolete; and that giving themselves permission to subscribe our Church's tests, while they disagree with them not partially, but totally—not in incident and detail, but in fundamental principle and real essence; should be bold enough to condemn the subscription of any other party, or any other school in the Church whatever.

It is only justice, however, to an honourable and manly portion of the liberal party to add, that this attempt, so far from receiving their sympathy, had their strenuous resistance. It is but due to gentlemen, who certainly represent no small portion of the talent of that party in the University, entirely to separate them from this egregious exhibition of unscrupulous inconsistency. There are two schools of liberalism: the one school has sometimes inspired us with the feeling of '*utinam noster esses*;' the other never has. We honour the openness of a liberalism which is really liberal, which has really the large-minded wish to comprehend all good from all quarters; we admire it upon its own basis. But a liberalism that confines all the benefits of its system to itself; that takes unsparingly, and gives nothing; that first claims indulgence, and then turns exclusive; and after talking a whole life against Tests, shows its sincerity by instituting one; a liberalism which is theoretical in its candour, and real in its hostility; which is afraid of its own dicta as soon as they come to be tried, and courts authority when it sees a rival; which hugs the formulary that it mocks, and tightens the grasp which it eludes—a narrow, frigid, evasive liberalism, cuts a poor figure in the philosophical aspect, and not a lofty one in the moral.

But we must proceed to another stage of this history. The scene shifts, and the spirit which suggested the attempt we have been dwelling on, suddenly finds another vent and another channel. The New Test was obliged to be given up, in deference partly to the law of the land, and partly to the almost unanimous expression of opinion against it, in the University and the world at large. This was a retreat, and not a creditable one. How was the loss to be repaired? How was a false position to be rectified? How was the *hiatus* that would appear on the 13th of February to be filled?

A thought suddenly suggested itself. There was a tract called the 90th Tract, which had acquired much unpopularity, and excited much unfavourable, not to say much angry, criticism. It had, indeed, been published four years ago: it had received the censure of the Hebdomadal Board at that time. Its author had, apparently in consequence of that censure, and in consequence of the unfavourable notice taken of it in other and higher quarters, withdrawn from the University, given up College residence, and his parish in Oxford, and gone into retirement. After the first stir of its publication, the controversy on the Tract had ceased, so far as he was concerned. Not a word had come from him; not a breath been heard, either accusing others, or defending himself. The air around him was motionless. Waiving the privilege which all men take in such situations, he had made no stand, maintained no self-vindication; had not resisted, struggled, contended, disputed. The charge had been made, and he had retired. The judge and the censurer had done their work easily, and had had nothing to complain of. Serene, resigned, uncontentious—the object of their efforts had quietly seconded and anticipated them. The hand which was waving him off the scene found him gone while it was extending itself. A quiet pathway had conveyed him elsewhere, and his traces were visible all around—himself not seen. Did he make one effort to challenge or elicit force, to parry blows or to return them, though abundantly equal to the contest? Not one. He was wished away, and he went away. His presence was a burden to his judges, and he removed it. He gave them their way: he did what they wanted: he obeyed them. They had their will; and that should be remembered.

Such a course ought, at any rate, to be appreciated; and if persons did appreciate it more, they might find the mere feelings of side and party considerably tamed and softened by the view. There is, indeed, a type of mind in which all the great qualities, energies and powers, seem ultimately to express themselves in a deep, sustained meekness. As other vents of spirit and forms of action drop off from it; and as it casts off its successive

moulds, one after another, and seems to arrive at each stage at something more satisfactory than it left, and to get nearer and nearer its own centre, this appears its destination. Spheres of action, outer callings, departments, pursuits and objects—the mind's actual embodiments, and very existence while she is in them, parts of herself and her identity—are really but dresses and expressions. She throws them off as she has done with them, and they pass away and float into the world external. She has her history, and her different selves; and, like nature, she throws out formations, and then empties and exsiccates them. The most penetrating and aspiring are the least tied to their present selves, the most ready to change and remodel. They suspect all shapes and forms of life and action in which they are, and despise the present weak inadequate representations of themselves. One sphere of feeling receives them after another, and life becomes more solid and deep. Power, energy, influence, direction, creation, the religious movement, and the war with evil, the combat and show of strength, and all the attitudes which it calls forth, seem tumultuous and external processes. The inner taste is dissatisfied with them: it yearns for a deeper and more inward life: it is ambitious of a more piercing and inward labour. It wants to be still, and to be quiet; and the meek standard more and more monopolizes it.

We do not mean to say that such greatness is not formidable; and that, if treated irreverently and harshly, its treatment does not, in some way, react upon the inflictors. Many a deep mind has, before now, resisted the world better by leaving it, and shaken it more by its absence than its presence. It leaves the antagonist in possession of the world's surface, bows to his power, submits to his will. But this is the very strength of meekness, its spiritual weapon, its esoteric arm. Silence is eloquent, and endurance strong. As such a mind retires in calmness from the strife and war, is there no chance of its very absence becoming its avenger? The highest form of retaliation is passive, is involuntary: it does nothing. It does not inflict or assail; does not wound and pierce, or throw, or strike: it acts by deprivation, by withdrawal, by departure: it undermines by distance, and stuns by negation. It lets the scene which is impatient of its presence have its absence instead; and lets facts simply operate, and have their course. There are secret springs of justice, and there is a lever of power which the world does not know of. It lies far below the surface, underneath the whole system which common wisdom sees. It does not show itself, or obtrude its motions on the eye. It does not move at all; it rests. From the immovableness of a centre the effect comes, and an awful passiveness drains the world's strength from under it, dries up its antagonist, and leaves him a blank.

But let this pass. We have only to do with the fact that we were speaking of—that Mr. Newman yielded to the cry against him, and that the University has lost him ever since. Of this retirement, and of this seclusion, those may complain perhaps who felt the sweetness of his presence; those who saw and heard him, who enjoyed his teaching, had his model before them, and identified Oxford with him. Those may complain of his retirement. It is a loss and a pain to them; and one for which they are inclined to accuse even him who makes the loss, who first gave a stay and then took it away when habit had adopted and appropriated it. They may complain: but not those who sent him away, who did not like his voice to be heard, and thought his simple presence an evil. He has done their bidding, and they should have been content. The grief has fallen upon others, who feel a *vacuum* that can hardly be filled up again, and are deprived of a support and source of strength which had worked itself into their very minds. They have now to go on, and give the Church those services and labours with resoluteness more than cheerfulness, and which strength of spirit more than animation inspires. The hard rock and stone now appear under their feet, and hollow murmurs accompany the long way. Never mind. The task of acting from themselves they must not evade because it is unpleasant. It is the very trial which they are called on to undergo. The course of a religious movement was never meant by Providence to be one overflowing with consolations and helps. Those who have been in it with those helps, must adhere to it without, and face the hard as well as the smiling aspect of the country. Let it be a call to greater self-sacrifices, more entire disinterestedness, and stricter devotion: to an abandonment of every private object and fragment of feeling that is not in the one stern ecclesiastical channel, and to a literal spread and diffusion of the heart over the Church which they would preserve. Let hearts be large and wide, clear and genuine, expanding and liquefying. Those who firmly believe in a Providence which intends something for our Church, and will make something of it, and turn it into something, and not allow all that body of good that is in it, and that is now working, and all those Catholic elements that she has, to go to nothing—will assuredly have their faith rewarded.

We must return. In this state of things, we say, it being four years since the tract in question was published, and Mr. Newman having in the interval given up all controversy and gone into retirement, in order to supply the place of the abandoned test, Mr. Newman and the tract were dragged forth for criticism and condemnation. The full contentious stare of the public was again directed upon one who had withdrawn to avoid

it, and he was made, in spite of himself, to figure before it as before. A gap wanted filling, and he filled it. He had no credit given him for his quietness, and was treated just the same as if he had been ever so vulgar a disturber! He let his opponents alone, and his opponents did not let him alone. He had the worldly humiliation of his retirement, and not the benefit of it. Who in the present day has made the sacrifices that he has for peace and quietness' sake? The Tracts were objected to from an authoritative quarter, and he gave them up. The Hebdomadal Board censured him for what was called an evasive interpretation of the Articles, and he left the University. He had what is considered now-a-days a great position indeed—a pulpit which attracted its crowd every Sunday. He had the future race of English Clergy hearing him. Did he value, and feel tender about, and cling to, his position. Not at all. Would that he had been more tender about it than he was! but he gave it up as quietly as if he had been leaving a room. Every one knows that the popularity which a person has in his own circle, and side, is the most fascinating in the world. Mr. Newman had it pre-eminently, surpassingly. He had all the gifts which make a man the natural head of his sphere: he had the ornamental as well as the substantial talents; what enabled him to be it easily, flowingly, and brilliantly, as well as actually be it—powers of conversation, winning manners, and a mind that could leave its books and shine, as it is called, in society, and go through all the alternations, which a person in such a position has to do, with ease and self-possession. We state all this because we want to give the mere common, obvious, outside view which any man of the world would have taken of Mr. Newman's position. And this was the position which he left, and stripped off him. No great sacrifice to him, perhaps,—he did not care about such things; but how few, how very few are those who would have made it! We note such an instance when we see it, and treasure it in our memories. Mr. Newman gave up all for a life of retirement; and from that retirement, after an interval of years, is he dragged on the public stage again, to be the butt of a Convocational censure. This sudden, unexpected, gratuitous proposal came out only a fortnight before the meeting of Convocation, in the shape of a petition from 474 members of Convocation to the Hebdomadal Board.

With respect to those gentlemen who took the prominent part in bringing the matter forward, Dr. Fawcett and Dr. Ellerton, to whom we may add, we believe, as associates, Mr. Cox—Dr. Hampden's Vice-Principal, and Mr. Golightly, it is simply necessary to state, that they are not names that have hitherto carried either awe or weight with them, in University move-

ments. If an unusual and irregular step was to be taken,—if the University was to put aside order, gravity, and *prima facie* equity on any occasion, we should have wished it to have been done upon some other authorities than these. We abstain from making personal remarks, except where persons put themselves into a distinct position which calls for them. The name of Dr. Fawcett suggests a long professional career, about which but one opinion exists. And we cannot but feel surprised at that taste, and that discretion, which allows him, under his circumstances, to put his name forward, and, by that act, recal impressions which must be unfavourable to him.

These were not the authorities, we say, that should have succeeded in recommending such an unprecedented measure as the one we are speaking of. Those who come strongly forward to condemn another's teaching should, at any rate, have some of their own to suggest in its place. They should not expel, except they could supply. But what would the united teaching of Dr. Fawcett, Dr. Ellerton, and Mr. Cox, come to? To a great deal, perhaps, if it existed; but it does not exist, to begin with. It comes under the genus—nothing. It does not answer the test of existence, that of creating an idea. It evanesces in the act of thinking what it is, and prevents investigation by vacuity. *Abiit, excussit, evasit, erupit.* A divided theology is no theology. A contradiction is nothing.

Under this entire absence of weight, either of name, or of principle, was the requisition of the 474 presented to the Hebdomadal Board, in the very week before the 13th. The Board has not usually taken the line of allowing or listening to suggestions from without; it is generally very internal in its proceedings, and also slow. Now, it sprang into instantaneous and irregular life, and exhibited what might almost be called saliency. A majority of 16 to 8 adopted it, only the week before the 13th. The thing was done in a moment. No time was given for consideration. The rules of the Board always postpone the discussion of a fresh subject till the next meeting; it is proposed on one Monday, and it is not discussed till the Monday after. In the present instance, the proposal, discussion, and resolution took place almost on the spot. The meeting was adjourned to the next day, and then it was regularly adopted. The proposed decree ran:—

‘Whereas it is the declared purpose of this University to maintain and inculcate the true Faith of the Gospel, and to this end it is enjoined in the Statutes of the University, that every Student shall be instructed and examined in the Thirty-Nine Articles, and shall subscribe to them on various occasions, (Tit. II. Sect. 2., Tit. III. Sect. 2., Tit. IV. Sect. II. § 3. § 4.,

‘ Tit. IX. Sect. II. § 3. Sect. V. §. 3. Tit. XVII. Sect. III. §. 2); and whereas in the 90th Number of the Tracts for the Times, entitled “Remarks on certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles,” modes of interpretation were suggested, and have since been advocated in other Publications purporting to be written by Members of the University, by which Subscription to the said Articles might be reconciled with the adoption of Roman Catholic errors;—

‘ It is hereby declared and decreed,

‘ That modes of interpretation such as are suggested in the said Tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling Subscription to them with the adoption of errors, which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned Statutes.’

We forbear to touch on the wording of the document itself at present, and will dwell on the act only. Was there dignity, was there academical decorum, we ask, in such a movement? If the measure was a proper one, why not do it till a requisition and a list of names recommended it? If it was improper, why do it because there was such a requisition and list? There is a betrayal even of that very gravity and steadiness which the Board has so especially affected, in performing such an instantaneous feat of compliance, and doing so immediately what a list of names tells them. Is not the Board, by such a step, taking the place of the straw which floats upon the wind, and receives its direction from the current of air that takes it, and giving up its originating position in the University? We have alluded to a prestige that the Board has had. Is this the way to keep it? A prestige is a tender thing, and is intimately affected by public acts. Public acts are those definite embodiments of the spirit of a system, which shows what it is, and what it is tending to; they are the notches in the stick—the numbers in the book of account. They remain, and they are thought of afterwards, appealed to, written down. They make an impression on men’s minds, like actual, material strokes; and if one could see, with the bodily eye, into the world of mind around one, and the actual, invisible process in those inner hosts of minds,—the formation of public opinion,—going on, one would see men’s opinions moving, bending, and settling, like malleable matter, under such acts. Public acts seem to re-act in this way, by simple necessary mechanical law, and not to be passive.

The fact of a Requisition, with 474 names, in short, was no proper reason at all for the Board adopting the step it did, still less for adopting it so immediately and hastily. There was nothing in the fact itself to force the measure upon them. They

could have said 'No;' or they could have said, 'We will wait and consider;' or they could have said, 'We will appoint another time, and not mix up two proceedings together.' They might have made any one of these answers. The Requisition was an appeal that ought not to have moved them the least out of their ordinary line. And the names of Dr. Fawcett and Dr. Ellerton are really too insufficient, as weighty and authoritative ones, to have made any impression upon them. Without reflecting at all on many who probably signed it, as is often done, because they were asked, and because they did not think much about it, and whom we do not judge, we must say that there never was a Requisition, in its whole way of getting up, which so little demanded deference. To take advantage of it, was like catching at an opportunity—seizing an excuse. To take such immediate, such hasty advantage of it, was hardly respectable even. Nothing can well be supposed more undignified than such a sudden step, at such an impulse, for such an object. It was a manœuvre, and almost one which a respectable electioneering committee would not have liked. Take the impression of any respectable mind, and you will find he will disapprove of this twisting round a corner, and seizing on an unprepared victim; catching at an occasion, and following a sudden lead; repeating a censure, after the whole matter has long passed by; reviving an old grievance, and wounding the feelings of one who has long retired from controversy. The scourge should not stay midway in air, over the person in this way, and descend after its preparative movement has been forgotten. Of an act of punishment, the beginning and the end should not be four years apart. It should be one act: a thing done, and then over. Such a proceeding as the present does appear quite indefensible: and it must and it does encounter deep, serious, reflecting condemnation from all quarters.

Look at it in all its features, and do not say we are severe upon it. We only want to say what ordinary feeling positively makes us. Even if Mr. Newman was to be summoned thus, why at such a juncture, and in such a connexion, at such an inexcusably short notice? Was it fair to bring him and his Tract suddenly before a Convocation, coloured and preoccupied by attention to another book? to take advantage of an excitement about a new book that then lay before Convocation, to couple Mr. Newman's Tract with the latter, and fasten all the disadvantage of a most unpopular connexion upon it? In cases where a distinction really exists, any similarity in the direction of thought, displayed in the two books, would only make it the more incumbent, in point of fairness, to separate the two decisions, and keep each book apart. It is the more necessary, as

an act of justice, to secure to each work a distinct independent consideration. 'Mr. Ward's "Ideal,"' to quote a pamphlet, 'is 'no republication of "No. 90," and reflects no responsibility on 'that tract. It was a book written in a very different spirit, 'and on a wholly different subject. There was nothing to suggest the notion of linking them together in a common condemnation, except the obvious possibility of turning upon them 'one popular cry.' Look on this proceeding as a whole, and do not say we are severe: look at the hurry, the scramble of it. Surely when a person, who has, as a simple fact, attracted the reverence Mr. Newman has, is summoned from his religious privacy to a trial, it should be to a solemn one, to a calm one. Mr. Newman, at any rate, deserved a calm trial. A regular ceremonial, and a grave attendance, should, at any rate, have received so distinguished a criminal. A sobered atmosphere, a subdued and thoughtful scene, a silence, a check upon the temper, a weight upon the reason, a still attitude, a reposing look, a pause and a break amid the noise of religious strife, should have received such a theological mind. He should have been allowed to reflect some portion of his own depth upon the court which judged him. He should have had a trial to himself. Mr. Newman certainly deserved a trial to himself. He did not deserve to be brought in casually because another was undergoing the process, as an off-hand interpolation into the scene. He deserved to be treated with gravity, calmness, and dignity, if not with kindness: he should have had the consideration which his public aspect, at any rate, claims. Had he this? We look in vain to see it. We see a large and crowded Convocation before us, agitated for weeks by surmises and fluctuations, by points of law and academical system, cases and counsel's opinion; the Test discussed by twenty pamphlets, and then withdrawn; the press teeming, the papers full of a variety of topics to distract and excite them—this Convocation suddenly, with an entirely fresh person before it, with Mr. Newman placed before them at the last moment, and they told to censure him.

There is an instinct of nature which, amid ever so much strife and tumult of opinion, remains, and discriminates between the fair and the unfair in the contest. The bustle and the clang of weapons never quite drown it, the hurry and the glare never quite shame it away. Persons may act against it, but it remains in spite of them. There are things that may be done, and things that may not be done, in all contests and trials of strength. War has its rules. The sharpest campaign is conducted in deference to certain laws, which military taste, manliness, propriety, and honour, have established. The election and the

public rivalry all over the world acknowledge certain bounds of taste and decorum, and have their laws of honour. In all cases of regular contest, there are advantages which may be taken, and which may not be taken; and license is nowhere infinite. The contrivance, the clever stratagem, the neat surprise, occur to the most managing heads on these occasions, and are rejected on this ground. They are not considered 'the thing,' to use the vulgar expression; they might gain a point, but it would be a strain to gain it in that way; such short cuts might tell against them in the long run, and it is running the risk of discredit, and of offending fair minds, to take them. The step, whatever it be, should be a fair one, and within the acknowledged liberties. The impartial public seems to stand as spectator, and say, Whatever you do, be fair. These courtesies and etiquettes of the field of necessary contention are peculiarly wanted. They are more than etiquette; they are charity and justice. They show that natural feeling has not forgot herself, and they vindicate a place for that feeling in all situations. These indefinite, but understood checks, are most necessary, even in a social point of view.

We put it to men's common sense and good feeling. They know the circumstances of the case: does this proceeding against Mr. Newman answer to one's ordinary notions of fairness, and of that plain unpretending good temper with which men, under any circumstances, should treat each other? Was it fair or just? was it a thing to do? was there the good feeling of an adversary shown in it? Undoubtedly the expedient answered in one way: it kept up the excitement which was dying away about Mr. Ward's case, and brought up masters from the country, which made up the majority of the 13th. It was a clever, sharp expedient. It did its authors credit in this respect. It served a turn. But was it a fair thing to do, even for such object? Was it not one of those clever manœuvres, the success of which is dearly bought by the name which attaches to it—by the fact, that everybody can say of it, 'It was too bad'?

We have only to add that we hope it will not be repeated. As our readers know, the Proctors, Mr. Guillemarde and Mr. Church, interfered with their Veto on the 13th, and would not allow the proposal to be entertained. They vindicated University order and equity, and they stamped, by the grave exercise of their constitutional power, that unconstitutional character on the proposal which it deserved.

A well supported Procuratorial Veto is a heavy censure. It is a test of the unconstitutional nature of the attempt it puts down, which it is not easy to dispute. It is authoritative, it is official. And though office and authority may be abused and

used wantonly, where they are plainly not so used, they tell. Can any one, of any party, say that the Procuratorial Veto has been used wantonly on the present occasion; that it has been unfair, intemperate, or unconstitutional? If any one says so, will he say it because he really thinks so, or because he thinks that, on his side of the question, he ought to say so? The Procuratorial Veto has been treated in this case, as if persons, somehow or other, felt that they had no real right to complain of it; as if there was an impression, whatever might be said upon an ordinary party view against it, that the Proctors had, after all, a fair right to do what they did do. It has excited no noise that we hear of: it seems to have been tacitly considered not a subject matter for indignation. This is significant. Nothing is so rousing, so easy to run off upon, as an act of official assumption, where it is assumption. It is so easy a thing to expose, it lies open to so many popular criticisms; people naturally feel and make others feel so exceedingly indignant about it. Where this is not done, and apparently cannot be done, it is a tolerable sign that the act stands on pretty secure ground, and that there is not much to say against it. The Veto of Mr. Guillemarde and Mr. Church have this favourable sign accompanying it, on the side of omission. On the other hand, a body of 546 members of Convocation, including, not honourable only, but illustrious names, of which the University is proud, have presented an address of cordial concurrence in it. Compare the present Procuratorial Veto with the one given in Dr. Hampden's case. In the latter case, the Proctors stood almost alone against the whole University; and theirs was the unsustained isolated act of two individuals in office. It excited, whether rightly or wrongly, strong disgust and indignation on that very ground. There was no reality or solidity in it. The present Veto has a real solid character, and forces respect.

A counter address, however, to the Hebdomadal Board, has been preparing, and receiving signatures. We understand it has met with coldness from various quarters formerly friendly, and that many who signed the first Requisition have not wished to sign the second; and that it is consequently getting on poorly. As a mode of meeting this *hiatus*, the expedient is, we believe, entertained of considering all the signatures to the first Requisition as still going on, and those in the second as only additions to the first list. The fact of the same names occurring in both lists, seems to undermine this hypothesis. It is not, however, altogether improbable that the accession of new Proctors will cause the subject to be mooted afresh, and that an attempt will be made to induce the Hebdomadal Board to repeat the proposal of last term.

We can conceive a variety of plausible arguments being brought to aid such a repetition of the attempt. It will be said that the Proctors are the only visible reason of its not passing last time, and that, that obstacle removed, it comes to be considered again on its old footing: that the Board are committed, by the first step they have taken, to carry the matter on, and that they will be guilty of inconsistency if they do not: that one argument used against it, in its first stage, will now be removed, for the proposal will not now be sudden, and take persons by surprise. It will be urged that the question has been stirred, and must be settled; that the Board cannot go on, with dignity to themselves, sitting under the stigma of a Procuratorial Veto; that the proposers of the measure are in a state of *quasi* defeat now, and cannot lose by another attempt, and may gain. Appeals will be made to the powerful mixed motive of consistency and party honour.

Now we might really content ourselves with saying, on this head, what will come home to every practical man, that of all the motives that argument and rhetoric have ever abused, this one has suffered the most. And it is the argument, of all others, which when abused spreads devastation and mischief. It first makes the hole, and then lets in the water; first opens the door, and then invites the spoiler. You must go on, it says, you must advance: this is only a little part of the way you have gone already; there is much before you. It is no use stopping now. You are pledged; you cannot help yourselves; you have made the start; the rest is mere matter of necessary consequence. This is just the way in which evil works. It always endeavours to make persons feel that they must go on: and there is an imitation of reason and philosophy in the process. But the whole is a mere web; a word answers it. A person has only to say, I am not pledged, and I need not go on, and I can help myself, and I may stop, if I like. That species of consistency which relieves from future responsibility, and makes persons imagine that they have no longer to ponder each further step they take, is a false one. Such an argument cannot relieve the Hebdomadal Board from the task of further independent consideration on this subject, and the duty of looking to consequences, at every fresh step they take.

But the fact is, it is a much more invidious, a much stronger step, to repeat a proposal of this kind, than to make it at first: it is more invidious to do a thing twice, than to do it once. Grant that one single particular, which was blamed in the first proceeding, will not attach to the second; and that men, instead of having a week to consider about it, will have had the subject a couple of months before them. Is it not a poor apology to make for a false step, to repeat it simply with the difference of

being two months after, instead of two months before? That is a difference which nature makes, and not choice. It is no concession of justice, if time simply moves; and if, when two months have passed since the first act, that act now dates two months back, and the subject has had two months' position before the public. If it was an unfair or irregular step anyhow, as brought on at first, it is a poor apology to make for it, to bring it on the very first opportunity, again. Repetition is a very strong and marked thing. If there is any kind of ambiguous shade, or any suspicion about the ground and character of a measure, it is straining a point a good deal to repeat it. The process of repetition is so accumulative, as showing animus. It is not only doing a thing simply one time more: it multiplies and intensifies, as well as adds. There is such effort, such determination in it. Where an act is quite certain and unanimous, and is by mere accident of time evaded, it is naturally repeated another time. But when it is a matter of effort, repetition makes the effort very invidious. An act reflecting on an individual is so like haggling, like punishing by piecemeal. Here is a writer who has left you alone, who has retired from the field. He was censured by the Board four years ago—once: Convocation is applied to censure him four years after—twice: are we to have this censure mooted again—three times? When are we to have enough of this subject? How long is Mr. Newman to be kept between one censure and another censure, and when will censuring and censuring be over? There is something, in the case of a quiet man, in striking him and striking him again, which is not magnanimous hostility. The first excitement of opposition over, the renewal of it requires the genuine Epicurean palate to give relish to it. Warmth subsides; a finer, but more depraved appetite succeeds. One regular effort made, and the subject becomes stale; to go back to it again is a forced, unnatural process, upon the common laws of human feeling. This second stage is not liked by persons. They may be forced up to it, but, when they have common kindness, it goes against the grain. They feel a difficulty in the process, and they feel themselves in a wrong attitude. They seem to themselves to be mangling an opponent; and they would, if left to themselves, think the object, even if it could be gained, hardly worth such a mode of attaining it.

What we say—and every calm and moderate mind, we are sure, will go along with us in it—is simply this. If the attempt upon No. 90 had been an evidently unanimous one in the University; if there were no doubt as to the sentiments of the acting, thinking, and moving body of the members of Convocation being all on one side with respect to it; if it were, to use the common expression, a clear case, and the Procuratorial Veto

were merely two individual votes contradicting the whole mass, the matter would stand differently. But obviously this is not the state of the case. The address of the 546 to the Proctors displays at once a large and substantial division of the University opposed to the attempt. Look at that list. Are there not names in it, which are and should be respected by all parties? Does it contain the names of young men only, masters just fresh from their regency? Are there only the names of 'boys' there? Some forty doctors head the list; and names come across us of men who have long been before the world, and are thoroughly known and looked up to. Can any one look at that list and say that the opposition is all from young men? This topic of 'young men,' is indeed getting now so very stale, and so obviously untrue, that it is hardly worth touching on. Yet look at that list, we will again say. Is it possible to deny its solidity and importance? Can such a list be put aside as worth nothing? The fact is clear, that a very substantial and large division of Convocation is opposed to such a line of proceeding. Grant even that a counter address could be got up with more names; suppose even a list of six or seven hundred to a counter requisition to the Hebdomadal Board. Still when lists get so near each other, and parties are so balanced as this, is it a legitimate use of an initiative power to drive matters to an extremity, to strain for a victory, bring up one-half of the University to struggle with the other, and gain a hard battle by a few odd votes? Even supposing this could be done, would it not be forcing and misusing the University to do it? And could they be sure that it would be done? Lists of names on paper are no absolute criterion. There is at any rate a risk—a considerable risk—of failure, taking the chances at the best; and when the case stands on such an edge, it does really seem more than unjustifiable to convulse the University again and again for such an object. These commotions must shake the University to its centre if they go on. And if those who have the power of bringing them on, think of nothing else but pushing for a victory, and will persevere in bringing on, one after another pitched engagement, it is too clear what the result will be. Whatever else is done, the University is weakened, and the Church fatally torn.

There is, moreover, an aspect in which the late proposed decree on the subject of No. 90 should be viewed, and in which it was not sufficiently viewed when it was brought forward. There was not time to draw out and lay sufficiently clearly then before Convocation, its latent force and purport as a Test.*

* See note at page 571.

The University has just rejected an open Test, and it cannot consistently accept a concealed one; one, too, even more obnoxious than the first to many of the faults that it had. The words of the Deeree, that 'modes of interpretation such as are suggested in the said Tract, are *inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned Statutes,*' evidently throw a reflective meaning on those University Statutes alluded to, and are meant to act as an internal obstacle and conscientious bar to prevent a certain school from subscribing to the University Statutes. The vagueness, darkness, and cruel uncertainty of such a form of Test as this is inexcusable on any principle of equity we can think of. It does not say what the modes of interpretation are, except that they are such as are contained somewhere or other within the hundred pages of a certain Treatise, which exhibit the number of some fifty or more different examples of interpretation. A person might approve of the general principle, in the Tract, of interpreting the Articles by the standard of Catholicity; and not have examined or gone into the particular instances of interpretation at all. He might have gone into these instances, and yet he might agree with some, and disagree with others. This test does not say whether it is the general principle of Catholic interpretation which it condemns, or the particular applications of it, or which out of the latter it condemns. It says vaguely, loosely, and in a way absolutely exclusive of tangible meaning, 'modes of interpretations *such as are suggested,*' &c. At what point or turn of thought, when an individual is reading and weighing the meaning of the Articles, is he to begin to fear that the meaning he leans to is '*such as*' is similar to one or other of fifty different unspecified interpretations? Where the similarity commences nobody tells him; and to what the similarity is to be, nobody tells him. He is left to determine all that for himself. A wide indefinite field of theological opinion is thus either totally cut off, or left entirely open, nobody can tell which; or it is cut off at some particular point or other, nobody can tell where.

It adds to the perplexity of the case, that the Test, if such it be, is not proposed the least in the form of one—it has no act of subscription assigned to it. It lies in a particular meaning reflected upon certain Statutes, of which Statutes the observance is promised in the general oath of observance of all the Statutes of the University. It is the reflection of the reflection of a Test, still working round, however, from one angle to another, till it is supposed to meet the conscience of the member of the University. And the act of subscribing to the whole mixed body of Statutes, relating to faculties and degrees,

convocation and congregations, caps and gowns, this general promise of academical good behaviour and obedience is thus impregnated with a crypto-test, not existing positively as an addition, but only as a colouring given of these Statutes by a posterior legislation. The Test is deficient in the stringent power of a test in this circumstance,—that it does not make itself taken. It does not come into actual contact with the subscriber. He is told that a certain sense is thrown upon some Statutes. But he is not made to say that he agrees with that sense. The new colour of those Statutes sits inertly upon them, and never comes forth to be received or rejected. Supposing the late New Test had simply asserted its sense of the Articles, without the affixed Declaration, which made the person say he took them in that sense, it would have been plainly *mancus*, defective in the link which connected the Test with the subscriber. The No. XC. Test is defective in this way. It has more than enough to harass, while it has not enough to bind; it is seen in the distance, and never touched; it vexes by a shadow, and pretends a coercion which it cannot execute.

If there is to be a Test, it ought to be an open one, and a positive one; not a reflected, implied, shadowy one: it ought to be a Test taken, and not looked at only. The present one insinuates itself sideways into the *Corpus Statutorum*, and tries to do what a Test does and not to be a Test, and gets a position by its own intangibility. It creates doubt and scruples, gives uneasiness, and oppresses from within; it makes the mind its own executioner, and leaves the doubting and anxious the cruel liberty of putting it in force upon themselves.

The subjects we have been considering in this article have all taken us in one direction, and have all been connected with one aim, and one tendency, observable in the present state of things, and the conduct of certain parties. And it may be well, before concluding, to state summarily what that aim is. It is time that we should understand and estimate it. It is time that Churchmen should look around them, should have an eye to the future, should weigh probabilities, should know what is against them and what for them, should be alive to their situation, and realize the views of their opponents and their own. As we stated at the commencement of this article, the antagonism of the two sections in the Church has assumed lately a much more definite and forcible aspect. A positive attempt has been made in two successive instances, in the University of Oxford, to institute an opposite Test. This is a phenomenon which should not pass unregarded. It is pregnant with meaning; it furnishes a most significant and grave symptom of the growing state of things and relation of sides, and seems to point to a farther and

still more trying issue, most seriously affecting the English Church one way or another.

The fact is this: a school which takes the very opposite basis from that of our Church, wants to develop her according to their own standard. A Liberal school and an Evangelical one, combining and mingling, and gathering reinforcements from different quarters, where distrust of the Church movement happens to prevail, will only see in the Church of England the reflex of themselves, and identify her wholly with their own theology. They will not look at her in any other aspect; indeed they hardly can; the very position which they hold compels them to take the view they do of her. You may point to a whole Church basis, to a dogmatic creed, to a sacramental system, clearly and definitely stamped upon her. You may show the written formulary, the sentence, the line, the literal tangible evidence, that she holds and imposes such a belief. It will be to no purpose, for they possess a key for the universal solution of such difficulties, in the primary idea on which they start, that their system is to explain the Church's, and not the Church's dictate theirs. They do not allow the Church to speak for herself; their primary idea interprets her every where. Their own point of view, their own theological medium, fixes her. From 'she ought to be,' there is no interval to 'she is.' Whatever be her formal written system, whatever creed or canon may say, her system is meant to be, they think, what they make of her. They profess to take her meaning, her object, and not to allow the evidence of her form and fabric to be even brought into comparison with a supposed substantial spirit and intention. Their own standard dictates what is important in her, and what is not so; what is to be held, and what it is allowable to throw aside, as simply incidental and unintentional. It tells them what she intends to say, and what she says without intending it: they take the former, though she does not say it, and they reject the latter, though she does. This is their basis of interpretation. You refer to this and the other great important truth she asserts, and they make it at once an accident and an obsolete point: their standard unrealizes it. Whole features in her system, and whole doctrines are thus passed over, as *ipso facto* null and void; not intended to be believed, simply because they *are* those doctrines. That is sufficient. The Church fills out the theological image which their minds have engendered. She expands according to its proportions, and is the development of it. The fundamental intention they attribute to her, supersedes the written word, the formal dogma. And a religious society and institution which embodies that intention, is their Church of England. They know no other.

This is their view. They take it, we really believe, quite

naturally. They think themselves quite right. They seem to see their way quite clearly. They have for a long time written and said, as a school, very much what they liked. They have suffered no restraint, and they feel no authority. The author has put into his book what came into his head and appeared clever and philosophical, without thinking a moment whether or not it was consistent with what the Church says. The idea would never occur to him. Such a relation between himself and the Church, if suggested to him, would have seemed unreal, almost without meaning,—an altogether airy and fanciful one. Reality is the function of habit. A perfectly strange notion is grotesque or shadowy. Let any one turn over the pages of Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures, and observe the ease and unconsciousness with which he goes on laying down views on the subject of Church doctrine, which completely crumble and dissolve it all. He does it apparently without an idea that either the Church or any one else can object to it; in the pure literary, philosophical tone, as if he was writing for an encyclopædia. Speculation is his line; he follows it: he does not think of where, and in what system he is in: he goes on, on his own ground. Dr. Whately speculates cleverly and ingeniously: he uses clear illustration, and unfolds his argument well. He wants an illustration of a fallacy in his book on *Logic*, and he takes the Church's doctrine of the Trinity. He treats it with that scientific ingenuity which so peculiarly belongs to him, and then proceeds to some other instance of fallacy. All the time he is only using his professional gifts: it is not his object to contradict the Church, he simply does not think of her. He has his line, and he pursues it. Writers of this school have gone on thus calmly and as a matter of course, saying what they want to say. They have never felt the Church system of doctrine the least hindrance to them; and the latent theory—for there must be one to account for such procedures—has been, that the Church of England was a system, in which doctrine was quite secondary; an impalpable latitudinarian pale, which allowed free scope for all opinions, and the full march and expansion of the human mind.

To proceed: this school having attained some official position, sees a large and growing part of the Church taking quite another view of her to what they do; appealing to her formal basis, fabric, dogmatic creed, sacramental system; and wanting to use and unfold the Church upon her formal and professed basis, as they want to do upon her supposed latent one. They see a school that boldly put forward old Catholic principles. What is their view on seeing them? That they are simply interlopers; that these are not the principles of the actual English Church, and

that the spread of them is a pure interference and invasion. They wave them off the ground with the feelings of owners of the soil, and tell them to carry their principles elsewhere. It is a matter of right and property. They look upon the Church as their own, and are familiarized with their own idea of her, and they do not understand what another school can mean by having another idea. They set it down as simple dishonesty. Putting aside their own points of difference with the Church, as mere incidental ones, and regarding themselves as her representatives, they will not see the ground which the other side have: they negative it, and push forward their own.

This state of feeling leads, in course of time, to a public act. They have obtained an entrance into the Oxford Hebdomadal Board. From this position they promulgate a New Test, for the purpose of cutting off that interpretation of our formularies which Churchmen appeal to, and narrowing them to an uncatholic sense, in which their opponents could not subscribe them.

The Test was no mere prevention of Romanism. The connexion in which it came out appeared to give it simply the Roman application, and to attach it only to Mr. Ward's 'whole cycle of Roman doctrine.' But look at the language of the preamble. It obviously points to other doctrines besides the Roman ones. It does so expressly: it mentions over and above the Roman, another class of doctrines which it describes as doctrines 'which, *hardly or not at all*, oppose the Roman ones'—doctrines, *i. e.* which come near, which border on the Roman—which might popularly be mistaken for the Roman ones—which have features in common with the latter, and have the same element in them. The phrase, '*vix aut ne vix quidem adversari videantur*,' is significantly vague, and is obviously meant to comprehend a general line of theology, which, though acknowledged not to be literally Roman, is considered to be *like it*. It excludes what are called approaches to Roman tenets, as well as those tenets themselves. Here is a passage from the Charge of the Bishop of Llandaff, quoted by a pamphlet on the side of the Test, on this particular point:—'If, for instance,' says the Bishop, 'in subscribing to the 'Article which condemns the 'Romish doctrine of Purgatory, he (the subscriber) mentally reserves the right of holding that doctrine, provided it differ *in some respects* from the Romish, he betrays, according to my 'judgment, a want of principle, which ought to exclude him, not 'only from sacred functions, but from every office of important 'trust.' This is a strong thing to say. On a number of points of doctrine, that of the Real Presence, of Prayer for the Dead, and many others, the Patristic theology says a great deal of

what the Roman says, or rather the Roman theology says a great deal of what the Patristic says. The Roman has a strong element in common with it. A mere popular standard would probably put them both together, and see no difference perhaps between them. This is what persons have been saying so long; this is just the view we are so familiar with. Put the high-Anglican doctrine of the Real Presence, or of the Eucharistic sacrifice, and show what they really assert, to the mass of persons, and they will say at once that they are tantamount to Romanism. They will say they do not understand fine distinctions, subtleties, hairbreadth lines; that, if there is a difference, it is not worth speaking of, but that they do not see one: that they take the broad common-sense view, and look at the genuine solid substance of the doctrines, and not at insignificant points. They will say that, if you teach one, you may as well teach the other; and that if the one should not be taught, the other should not be taught either. Do not all of us know, that high doctrine of all kinds has gone simply under the name of 'Popery' with a very large class? that every manifestation which has not bowed to the popular standard, has been set down as such; and that persons have not been able to open their mouths on some subjects, and explain the Church Catechism, without being called 'Romanists?' Such is the real meaning of the language of the Bishop of Llandaff, and of the Oxford Test,—its genuine practical force and bearing. A whole line of theology, that 'differs, in some respects, from the Roman,'—a whole system of teaching, that is '*vix aut ne vix quidem*' separated from the Roman,—that is considered to be the same in principle, and is, as a matter of fact, set down as Romanism, was aimed at in the Test. Is another phrase wanted? The preamble of the Decree on No. XC. gives one quite as symptomatic—a very safe one, indeed, in itself, but very significant in its associations. 'Whereas it is the declared purpose of this University, to maintain and inculcate the pure faith of the Gospel'—who does not know what the '*pure Gospel*' means in popular theology? what such phrases as the 'simplicity of Gospel truth,' and the like, mean? They explain themselves perfectly; they have a regular conventional drift. Do they, or do they not, convey a certain idea of a Gospel system, as opposed to that of a sacramental one, and as specially contrasted to the view which the Church school among us take of the Christian scheme? The 'sense of the University' comes in to crown the whole; the University is first supposed to take a particular line, and to manifest a bias, and then its sense of the Articles is imposed. The whole circumstances of the case, had the University passed that Test, would have shown its animus

and real object in so doing; and that would have interpreted the Test.

If any one thinks that we are attributing too large a sweep to the Test, let him reflect for a few moments, and just ask himself what he really thinks would have been the case had the Test passed. Let him put to himself the situation which those who hold the opinions we speak of, would have been in under it; the reflections that they would have been subjected to, if they had not taken it in its broad meaning; the call that would have been made and urged upon them from the quarter that passed it, to retire, to leave a scene where they were marked, and not to struggle with a plain and palpable sentence against them. If any one thinks that we are attributing too large a sweep to the intention of this Test, let him remember the suspension of Dr. Pusey for preaching—what? Roman doctrine? Clearly not: he disclaimed it, *totidem verbis*: for preaching the high Anglican doctrine of the Real Presence; for preaching simply what he demonstrably proved the Fathers of the Church Catholic, and the high divines in our own Church held. That sermon was declared to be ‘dissonant with the doctrine of the Established Church,’ though it expressly disavowed Roman doctrine. Another field of doctrine then was aimed at in the condemnation of that sermon, besides the Roman: another field of doctrine, besides the Roman, was aimed at in this Test. We are not attributing too large a sweep to the Test.

One word more. This would have been a distinctly new move, a distinct change in our Church's ground. The Test, in condemning this indefinite field of doctrine we speak of, clearly condemned what the Articles do not. The Articles, where they condemn Roman doctrine, plainly condemn that doctrine, and not another; in condemning Roman doctrine, they do not condemn what is not Roman. This Test did. It alluded, under a comprehensive, indefinite phrase, to what it considered *tantamount* to Romanism, as well as to what *was* such. This, whether a right or wrong one, is a *new* theological department to condemn. The Articles do not mention it; it was an addition of the Test's. A distinct addition was made to our Church Tests, to meet the case of the particular opinions that were obnoxious. The Church was prevented from expanding in that direction, and that ground was cut off from her.

Now to this whole view, which unseats minds of the Catholic school from their place in the English Church, whether coming from the Latitudinarian or the Evangelical quarter, or from both, as it does—to this whole view, which regards them as invaders, and prevents them from using and bringing out the Church on its own basis—to that whole view of which the New Test was the

expression—the Catholic school has one answer. They see that basis belonging to the Church as a fact. They see a sacramental system and dogmatic creed formally asserted by her—they see a whole fabric, which they accept, and which their opponents do not. So long as they see that, they regard the Church as their own, and not as their opponents'. Take away that ground, alter the Church formularies, and they will take another view of her. But so long as she has these formularies, they feel a right to her, which others have not. They feel that they alone can accept and make real use of her system. Others may develop her on their own basis, but they alone can develop her on hers. They want the liberty to do this if they can—a fair ground, and no favour. They want to exercise the simple natural right of impressing Catholic doctrine upon people's minds by those powers of persuasion, whatever they be, that they are masters of, and of vindicating and unfolding the professed basis of the English Church. Can the other side really use our existing Church system? Do they really take it one bit into account in their religious schemes? Do they not use the Church as a simple shell which covers them, as a mere inclosure, and treat a whole internal system of discipline in her as if it were not? The Ecclesiastical fabric is gutted, and made a case of, and they build up their own theory in the vacuum. But, in the mean time, there the internal system is—it is not cleared away—and a school comes forward, and wants to make use of, and unfold it.

Is it replied, that the system indeed is there formally, but that it is obsolete now? The answer is obvious: it is not obsolete while people wish to make use of it. The claim made supplies its own evidence in this respect. To prevent a system being used because it is obsolete, is very like arguing in a circle. If it can be used, it is not obsolete; and here are those who say they really want to use it. The fact of a large and growing school in the Church that wants to use her system, shows at once that that system has a hold on people's minds, and associates a reality with it. It exists on paper, and that supplies the form—it exists in people's minds, and that gives reality. When a regular movement wants to throw life and vigour into a system, the system has, at any rate, so much solidity and reality as this fact shows.

A Church that has this formal basis, and that has the feeling and spirit of her own sons to carry it out, cannot be interfered with without danger, in the way in which the late efforts have gone. It cannot be monopolized by those who have made the attempt to do so, without a split and a convulsion, that would endanger its very existence as an established institution. A

school that feels itself strong in its Church basis, and its own earnestness—that has those numbers, names, consideration, and weight—that has that whole Church strength and footing that this has—is not one to be attacked without great fear and caution, even on the common political and general conservative ground. We trust persons will pause before they continue such a system of aggression. We trust that they will consider the formidable consequences, which must attend the final crush and collision of theological parties now existing in the Church. We hope that, if some are unmindful of these chances and heedless of results, so long as the pursuit is but kept up and victory plays before the eye, others, who occupy a more neutral position, will be more clear-sighted, and see that the Church must suffer. All we wish for is a calm, in which each side may peaceably try each other's strength on the field of sober argument, or moral influence. Let mind and temper, religious feeling, depth, devotion, self-denial, give the superiority, on whichever side it may be; and let the issue be one of natural and gradual transition, and not a rupture or a shock. Let the Catholic movement die away, if it has not spirit enough to sustain itself; if it has, let it cover the ground that it can gain, and occupy the position that it can rise to. At all events, whatever turn the present temper of parties may take, that school occupies a place now from which it will not recede; and it will endeavour, with God's blessing, to carry on that course which it has begun.

NOTE TO PRECEDING ARTICLE, PAGE 561.

A LETTER which appeared in the *TIMES* from Mr. Hope, on the subject of the No. XC. Decree, and its bearing as a Test, explains this point clearly:—

Convocation [says Mr. Hope], like other legislative bodies, may either change its laws by repeal and addition, or clear them of doubt by explanation. In the former case it enacts, in the latter it declares. In the former, new provisions are introduced, or old ones abolished; in the latter, the language of the existing law remains as before, but receives a sense which was previously latent or ambiguous.

The Test recently withdrawn was in the form of enactment, and sought to insert in the body of a penal statute (Tit. xvii., sec. 3. § 2.) a declaration of the sense in which subscribers should profess their acceptance of the Thirty-Nine Articles. If they should refuse to make that profession, they were not to be allowed to subscribe; and if they should not subscribe, the old law had already pointed out the consequences.

The new 'form of Decree' adopts the other method—it does not propose to abrogate or add anything by way of enactment, but only to clear the sense of the existing law by way of declaration.

For this purpose it recites a variety of statutes respecting instruction and examination in the Thirty-Nine Articles and subscription to them; and, having also recited that certain modes of interpretation have been suggested by Tract 90, proceeds to 'declare and decree'—

'That modes of interpretation such as are suggested in the said Tract, &c., defeat the object and are inconsistent with the due observance, of the above-mentioned statutes.'

This, therefore, is a declaratory statute, and if it should pass, all the statutes recited in it will receive their legal meaning from it, and must each be read as if the new interpretation had been verbally contained in the old text.

Let us, then, see, *e.g.*, how this would work in the particular instance of the penal statute which was made the basis of the former Test, and which being one of those recited in the new Decree, is to receive a meaning from it.

That statute (Tit. xvii. sec. 3, § 2.) vests in the Vice-Chancellor the right and power of ascertaining '*subscriptionis criterio*,' '*quo quisque modo erga doctrinam vel disciplinam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ affectus sit*,' and any one in holy orders who thrice refuses to subscribe, upon the Vice-Chancellor's requisition, is to be banished. But by the new Decree, 'modes of interpretation such as are suggested in' Tract 90, 'are declared and decreed' to defeat the object and be inconsistent with the due observance of this statute. And as every one who is bound to the observance of a law is bound to its *due* observance, and every one who has to enforce a law is bound to its *due* enforcement (for otherwise legislation becomes impotent), the scholar, who enters the University under an engagement '*omnia statuta pro virili observare*,' and the Vice-Chancellor, who on his admission promises a like observance, and also that he will 'faithfully execute all those things which appertain to' his office, would be obliged, the one to accept, and the other to enforce, this statute, in a sense which would directly exclude all such modes of interpretation as the Decree declares to be inconsistent with its due observance.

The consequences of this view are obvious: simple subscription having been, apparently, the only criterion imposed by the original text, subscription pregnant with a negative would be required under the declaratory Decree; and if an individual should scruple to subscribe in this sense, or if the Vice-Chancellor should by any means discover him to have subscribed in a different one, the penalties of the statute would at once apply.

If this be a right construction, it seems to me necessarily to follow that the distinction between the enacting statute which has been withdrawn, and the declaratory statute which is now proposed, must be considered one of form and degree, and not of substance.

Both create new tests.—the former by requiring a declaration of his meaning from the subscriber, the latter by giving a particular sense to subscription—the former by prescribing one mode of interpreting the articles, the latter by excluding other modes.

The utmost that can be said by way of distinction between the two is, that the former Test was more palpable, more easy of application, and more extensive and impartial in its bearings. Its character was not left to construction and inference, but was plainly announced. It was not to remain in the context of the law, but to be put into the mouth of the party. It was not directed against one set of errors only, but professedly against all.

Note to Article on the Jerusalem Bishopric, p. 132.

IF anything were wanted to complete the case which, in our last Number, we established against the Pruss-Anglican scheme, now upon trial at Jerusalem, such will be found in the following document, which has just appeared, of course 'by authority,' in the Ecclesiastical Gazette. It requires no comment: indeed, such on our part would be as painful as superfluous. For what possible purpose, save a judicial one, it could have been published at this juncture, we are at a loss to conceive. If our recent paper has contributed to elicit this most significant detail of principles, there is a melancholy sort of satisfaction, as far as we are concerned, in placing it upon record.

"The Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem."

"The following is a copy of the Instructions given by the King of Prussia to his Extraordinary Envoy, with respect to the establishment of the Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem:—

'Should the Government of Great Britain appear disposed, upon certain conditions, to enter with the King's Majesty into an engagement, from which the attainment of these objects may be rationally expected, his Majesty then entrusts his Extraordinary Envoy in this special mission with the following commission.

'The Envoy shall, in such form as is approved by the English Ministry, and is strictly confidential, by means of a conference with the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Primate of England, and the Bishop of London, as immediate head of the several congregations of the English Church in foreign parts, endeavour to ascertain—

'In how far the English National Church, already in possession of a parsonage on the Mount Zion, and having commenced there the building of a church, would be inclined to accord to the Evangelical National Church of Prussia a sisterly position in the Holy Land.

'Inasmuch as an accord of this kind concerns the most delicate points of the national life of both peoples, and the subject itself is of such exceedingly high and holy interest, his Majesty considers it necessary, for the avoidance of all misunderstandings, to speak out plainly and openly the convictions by which he is guided.

'His Majesty, in the first place, proceeds on the conviction that Evangelical Christendom has in the East, and particularly in the Holy Land, no hope of full and lasting recognition, nor of blessed and continued fruit and extension, unless it presents itself in those countries as much as possible as one united body.

'In the first place, both government and people in those countries

have been accustomed to see those who acknowledge each other as co-religionists appear, and act together, in their spiritual affairs, as one body, with a common discipline and order. Thus Judaism presents itself. Thus, also, the corporations of the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians. If, therefore, Protestant Christendom were to present itself by the side of these, and demand recognition as an English Episcopal, a Scotch Presbyterian, an Evangelical-United, a Lutheran, a Reformed, a Baptist, or Independent community, and such like, the Turkish Government would certainly hesitate to grant such recognition, inasmuch as this act implies, for the heads of such recognised corporations, the highest political privileges. Thus, in the preceding month, the Bishops of the various Christian communities of Syria, in Damascus, were summoned together, with the Mufti and the Cadi, to deliberate upon the future administration of government in the land ; and to each it was granted to name five deputies, of his own confession, for the Supreme Administrative Council of Syria. Before the Porte can resolve to grant, even provisionally, such a position and such power to the different evangelical congregations, it will first inquire after the number and condition of her subjects, who are members of each of the new corporations, and after the guarantees which a community of the kind can offer for its continuance ; for it is of natives, subjects of the Sultan, that those privileged corporations have been, and are still, composed. But, at present, all evangelical communities together can point only to a few individual natives who have joined them. It is true, that of late years, in Armenia and Beyrut, several—and some natives of consideration—have expressed themselves inclined to come over to evangelical Christianity, or to have their children educated in it ; but have been prevented, chiefly, by the impossibility which the missionaries experience of granting to such persons protection and safety. And yet it is as certain that equality with the ancient corporations must be demanded, without the power of exhibiting a sufficient number of persons of whom the new corporations are to be composed. But as to the guarantees, which they have a right to demand, what Government could and would grant them for such a crowd of communities ? And, in this unwillingness the Porte would, beyond all doubt, be confirmed by the solicitations of the already existing religious corporations. But, even looking away from this, to what disadvantage would Evangelical Christendom, in such a state of division, appear beside the ancient Churches ? Whatever these latter may want in internal life, they form a compact body, holden together by Church discipline, liturgy, and the Apostolic-episcopal respect of their see, and operate, by the power of Church-unity, still more than by the advantage of immemorial possession.

‘ Such are the political reasons which have brought his Majesty to the conviction, that, in this business, unity, in the first onset, must be the first, the indispensable condition of success for the Evangelical Church.

‘ But the conviction of his Majesty that, on the present occasion, the Evangelic Church must come forward as one in faith, rests essentially upon still higher considerations. The shape which Turkish affairs have at present assumed—most certainly not without the overruling Provi-

dence of God, and especially the political position of England and Prussia, in reference thereto—have, for the first time, afforded Evangelical Christendom the possibility of demanding, as equal child of the universal Church of Christ, a position in the cradle of Christianity and in the Holy Land, by the side of the primitive Churches of the East, and in the presence of the Roman Church, which would secure for the Gospel a free proclamation, and for the professors of evangelical truth free confession and equal protection. The present moment is an era in the history of the world; and accordingly as it is recognised and improved, the Evangelical Church will be judged by history, and by the Almighty. His Majesty entertains not a doubt that the Evangelical Church owes it to herself, and to her Lord, at such a moment, and on such a theatre, not to present the stumbling-block of her disunion and dividedness; but, on the contrary, the good example of her unity in faith, and her union in action. Her object in appearing there, beside the elder Church communities, and in the presence of Jews and Mahometans, cannot be to persecute, to invade, to exclude—not to strive, to scatter, to dissolve; her wish cannot be to proclaim to the world her mission as a work of hatred and jealousy, but as a message of love, of peace, and of concord. How then can it be the will of her Lord that she should, for such a purpose, with such words in her mouth, on this her first appearance in the Holy Land, unfold the banner of internal separation and discord? Are not her missions already, besides being the pulse of her common life, so also a witness of the difficulty, in such a state of isolation and separation, of founding Churches, properly so called, and of forming and conserving Christian nations? And where would this internal disease be revealed more sadly than in that land where all Christian opposites are crowded together—in the face of the three Patriarchates, and the colony of Rabbies—in sight of the Mosque of Omar, and the foundations of the Temple of Jerusalem? Is it not much rather in the purpose of God, that, in their missions, the feeling of the internal unity and concord of all the members of Evangelical Christendom should be kindled? May not, especially at the present moment, the favourite thought of the Church's Lord be this: that, in the old land of promise, on the place of his earthly course, not only Israel should be led to the knowledge of salvation, but also the individual Evangelical Churches, built upon the everlasting foundation of the Gospel, and upon the rock of faith in the Son of the living God—forgetting their divisions, remembering their unity—should offer to each other, over the cradle and the grave of the Redeemer, the hand of peace and concord?

‘His Majesty, for his part, will not hesitate, on this occasion, in full confidence to hold out his hand to the Episcopal Church of England, which combines, with Evangelical principles, an historic constitution, and a Church existence, significant of universality.

‘His Majesty, in accordance with Apostolic Catholicity, and in expectation of similar dispositions on the part of the English Church, entertains no fear in expressing his readiness to allow the clergy and missionaries of his National Church, in all mission lands, where a

bishopric of this Church exists, to unite themselves with it ; and, for this purpose, to obtain for themselves Episcopal ordination, which the English Church requires for admission to an office. His Majesty will take care that such ordination shall always be acknowledged and respected in his dominions.

‘ In the Holy Land in particular, his Majesty is determined to do every thing which can, on Christian principles, be required, in order that united labours may be possible. The English Church is there in possession of an ecclesiastical foundation on the Mount Zion, and his Majesty considers it to be the duty of all Evangelical princes and communities to join this foundation, as the beginning and central point of conjoined operations ; for his Majesty regards this as a ground of great hope for the futurity of Evangelical Christendom. In the first place, their missions acquire thereby, throughout the extent of the whole Turkish empire, and in the primitive habitations of Christianity, a visible centre and a living lever, whose power, once set in motion, will soon make itself felt even to Abyssinia and Armenia. But besides this, another object of the utmost importance, and most earnestly to be desired, will also be attained. In the simplest manner possible, a Christian neutral-ground will be acquired, far removed beyond the bounds of narrowing nationality ; and upon which, with God’s blessing, by the conjoined operations of believing love, a gradual union of Evangelical Christians may be prepared with greater facility than under any other circumstances.

‘ Of course, it cannot be his Majesty’s intention by such an union to sacrifice or endanger the independent existence of the National Church of his country. According to his Majesty’s view, an evangelic, true, and living representation of Catholicity, is that only which supposes this unity to be upholden by the divinely-ordained multiplicity of tongues and peoples, and in accordance with the individuality and historic development of each several nation and country. Every national Church has, without doubt, like the people belonging to it, its own peculiar vocation in the great order and unfolding of the kingdom of God. Yea, every narrower, smaller Christian community in a Christian land, has, undoubtedly, in like manner, the vocation and the duty to seek within the circle of the universal Church, a peculiar sphere for the extension of love, and for which a particular opportunity, and a particular blessing, are given to her.

‘ But especially his Majesty, as German Prince, and King of his country, is penetrated with the liveliest persuasion, that the Evangelical Christendom of the German people is called to occupy an independent position in every representation of such Evangelic-apostolic Catholicity as long as the Word of God is proclaimed in German speech, and his praise sung in the German tongue. His Majesty lives in the hope, especially that in the present century, the position of the Evangelical Christendom of Germany, as soon as it becomes conscious of its vocation, will hold a position proportionate to the general intellectual and political position of that people, from whom, three hundred years ago, the blessed work of the Reformation of the Church proceeded.

‘ In accordance with these convictions, the above-mentioned confidential conference must be governed by two leading principles. The one, the utmost possible unity of operation and labour in the Turkish empire, and especially in the Holy Land; the other, regard to the independent existence of the Evangelical German Church, and to the individuality of the German people.

‘ THAT THE ENGLISH CHURCH ERECT A BISHOPRIC OF ITS OWN at Jerusalem, the King’s Majesty regards as first condition and beginning of combined operations. The foundation appears already laid, as it were, by a special Providence. The first-fruits of the Mission in Jerusalem warrant the fairest hopes. Its suspension and present melancholy condition* seem to render an Episcopal arrangement in that place advisable and of urgent necessity. Nothing but Episcopal superintendence and decision on the spot can be of any use; the subjection of the Mission to a see at Malta would not appear to his Majesty either a satisfactory or a truly apostolic arrangement.

‘ The Bishopric to be erected at Jerusalem would, therefore, connect itself with the foundation and buildings already begun on the Mount Zion, and comprehend all Evangelical Christians willing to take part in it. The high-minded sentiments expressed very lately at a meeting of the friends of the Church of England, at which the Venerable Archbishop of Canterbury presided, appear to his Majesty a certain pledge, that the idea so truly Christian, and for the present times so necessary, of founding firm Churches in Mission countries, will in this matter also be realized in a manner worthy of the object. His Majesty is willing and disposed, when a Bishopric of this kind is founded, to allow one or more clergy and missionaries of his subjects, for the sake of the Jewish converts who speak German, and for the benefit of the Evangelical Christians of the German language, to join this episcopal arrangement. As a manifestation of his sentiments, his Majesty will readily allow such persons to obtain ordination from the English Church. His Majesty especially desires to see this take place in Jerusalem itself.

‘ With respect to the position of the Privy Counsellor of Legation, his Majesty herewith empowers him, under the before-mentioned conditions, to confer confidentially with the heads of the English Church.

‘ With these instructions, the King’s Envoy left Sans Souci on the 8th of June, 1841.’

* ‘Alluding to the time when the British Consul and others left Jerusalem in consequence of the war.’

NOTICES.

Thoughts on the Proposed Dissolution of the Cambridge Camden Society, suggested for the Consideration of the Members. By a MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE. London: Rivingtons. Cambridge: Stevenson. 1845.

WE cannot conceal our unqualified apprehension, that the step contemplated by the executive of the Camden Society is one which reaches farther, and is more important in many bearings, than, perhaps, its Committee at present contemplate. We can speak, then, of this Society entirely *ab extra*: and we desire to be among the first to acknowledge how entirely and frankly we sympathize with its main object; an object which, apart from many peculiarities, and even some petulance perhaps, it has most usefully carried out. It is now high time, and we do so the rather because opposite views on some points have appeared in these pages, to acknowledge that the Camden Society has borne a willing witness against the cold, irreligious, grasping, rationalizing spirit of our own unhappy days. Its active members have nobly sacrificed much of peace and worldly advantages to what they, and in the main rightly, conceive the path of duty: they have acquired immense stores of a peculiar learning, and they have unquestionably done that for the Church of England which has never been done since the Reformation. The Camden Society has successfully vindicated for the Church of England its unbroken connexion with the ancient Catholic body; it has shown practically, and by a reference to facts, that the best way to make our own Church dignified and impressive upon the better part of man, his spiritual nature, is to bring out in the details and circumstances of worship, a heavenly spirit, costliness, and, above all, reality. It has watched against and prevented much profanity and irreverence; it has cultivated and formed a rising school of Christian artists, men who pursue their calling in a religious spirit: it has called out noble deeds of munificence and self-denial: it has enlisted in the service of the Church zeal and activity, which, without its auspices, would have been frittered away in unworthy pursuits; and all this apart from a cold, technical and æsthetical, and merely antiquarian skill. It has gained extensive confidence; and this, as it is high praise, would have been impossible, unless there had been something very noble in its main purpose and aim. The very fact of its remarkable success is a significant

proof that it has, under a single phase, done the Church's work.

That all this expanding sphere of usefulness should be at once destroyed is a very serious thing—serious, that is, for the Church itself. For the Church practically to disavow and denounce this Society, amounts to an admission that all these works are not of the Church, foreign from its spirit, and matters not only indifferent, but worthless, for a Christian Society to entertain and pursue. This would be a very distressing conclusion to many earnest minds among us, who have not the slightest sympathy with the peculiar eccentricities of individual tempers. But we take the question on the very highest grounds, when we ask, What are the peculiar reasons which now render imperative or expedient the dissolution of a body, with such undeniable witnesses to its spirit in the main?

The implied and expressed withdrawal of confidence by authorities, to whom its Committee is pledged in certain ties of obedience and respect. And yet what does this lack of confidence amount to? To faults found with certain details, not to its main object. This is one view of the subject. But let the Committee think whether, after all, with such extensive objects and successes, they are bound by this technical view of deference to supposed authorities. Of course, in a healthy state of the Church, such a view ought to prevail. But is the Church of England in such a positive condition? Is not its *de facto* position one of anomalous duties and responsibilities? Are we not all, more or less, thrown upon individual, rather than corporate duties? Such may be, and is, an unhealthy and transitional state; but it is our condition in Providence: it is one in which we can no longer, much as we may desire it, act upon simple and comprehensive theories. If the living authorities of the Church did, as a fact,—or rather if they could, for we question not so much their will as their power,—execute all the Church's work, there would be no occasion for self-originated exertions. But we must take things as we find them. If we are convinced that we are acting in the Church's spirit, and in dutiful obedience to its laws, and doing the Church's work, these are opportunities and advantages mercifully thrown within our grasp, not lightly to be foregone. Our duties to dormant authorities are not the same as those to energetic ones. To abandon a course of usefulness from contingent perplexities, is other than an exercise of faith: it is a tacit admission that objections, which we know to be worthless, are, and ought to be, influential. It is not our duty to yield to aggressive influences, nor to admit their weight. Neither is it quite fair, even to those who are forced to condemn the Camden Society, to

construe such condemnation too rigidly and technically. Great allowances must be made for those compromises which the best of men are forced to submit to; and we must not press too closely, or scrutinize too rigidly, what is extorted from them under such circumstances.

We are much mistaken, too, if the objections which certain parties had taken to these details were not fast vanishing. In point of fact, the Committee, in discontinuing their publications, such as the *Ecclesiologist*, had well nigh divested themselves of every thing in their proceedings calculated to give offence. That they were in the main sympathized with by a very large body of Churchmen, is notorious; witness the names proposed for membership at the very meeting which announced the Committee's proposal. And that their usefulness was not at all diminished, is clear from the applications for advice from various quarters up to the last moment.

Besides, the Camden Society formed a home and a life for those whom we should be sorry to see detached from their duties hitherto cheerfully paid to the Church of their baptism. With a rival communion adopting the same principles of action, and holding out formidable solicitations and engaging promises of sympathy, we should deplore the additional confidence which the breaking up of such a school as this Society has formed would afford to the Anglo-Roman body in England. Zeal and munificence, which is now spent upon us, might be offered to others, who would feel no scruples in attracting and absorbing it. We might be converting what, at the worst, is but a harmless and unprofitable speculation among ourselves into a compact and energetic hostility against us.

And however pure and high-minded the motives which have suggested a dissolution, the world will be tardy in admitting them. The world will attribute it to disappointed activity—to personal pique—to popular clamour—and to such unworthy motives. The dissolution must wear an unreal look, as it bears the marks of palpable haste; it must seem as though there were some personal motive held back—concealed, yet influential. It is easy enough to resign a post of usefulness because troublesome, but our probation may be to untie the knot, or to bear it, however galling, not to cut it. We think, then, that the Committee are bound either to reconsider their proposed step, or to take measures for reconstructing the Society on such a foundation as, admitting the force of present duties, and the inadequacy of present means to fulfil them, shall effectually prevent such a conflict of expediency for the future. For it is unquestionable—and this consideration has not had its full, or any, weight—that the great body of its non-resident members have no duties

whatever towards University or other authorities, which press with such conscientious stringency on the present executive Committee.

Of the pamphlet which has occasioned these remarks, we have not much to say, except that, with some rather superfluous transcendentalism, it fairly enough represents the views which influenced the suggested dissolution. It does not pretend to suggest any future course: except the paradox, that the present objects of the Society will be best discharged, by its ceasing to do anything. A corporate existence has been the secret of its present success: individually, its members can do less than nothing. We are very sorry that the writer has been betrayed, at p. 7, into a piece of what looks like irreverence: but this comes of fine writing.

Utilitarianism Unmasked. A Letter to the Rev. M. A. Gathercole, on the Life, Death, and Philosophy, of Jeremy Bentham. By the Rev. JOHN F. COLLS, D. D. London: Bell. 1844.

IF Jeremy Bentham had been a good man, instead of what he was, he could not have had a meaner attack upon him than this pamphlet. The fact really elevates him: Jeremy Bentham seems to stand on high ground after reading a few pages; such extreme pettiness, littleness, tenuity, pervades all Dr. Colls has to say. There is an extravagant inferiority in the performance. The reminiscences are of an extremely immoderate paltriness, that exceeds, we think, anything we ever saw in the anecdote department. The issues of an unfriendly memory are apt to be small: these are the very smallest specimens of this small species. The author goes on, page after page, in this way, with imperturbable gravity, and utter unconsciousness of the exhibition he is making of himself. A style of unwearied, unbroken inflation bears him along. The materials are almost too poor even to be ludicrous. It is only occasionally that they rise to that level. *E.g.* the comments on the early affectionate period of his intercourse with Bentham:—

‘ I will not, however, do his memory so much injustice, as to refuse to admit that, during the first few years of my residence with him, he took every pains to impress me with a love and even a reverence for his character and talents, treating me with almost parental kindness, and frequently speaking of me as “his own boy;” while, in his notes to me during my occasional absence from the “Hermitage,” I was often so prime a favourite with him as to be addressed as his “Ever dear Jack!” But I

'never could bring my heart thoroughly to respond to these ostensible marks of endearment; since I always fancied I could discover, under the guise of all this external friendship, "the selfish motive" by which, it appears, he subsequently confessed that his conduct towards others was almost invariably governed.'

—P. 12.

Again:—‘When at Ford Abbey, he would frequently, in the morning, before breakfast, play at “Fives” with me, in an inner hall, well adapted for the purpose, at the farther end of what used to be called “the Monk’s Walk.” This was a favourite game both at Merchant Taylors’ and at Westminster School; but when he was at the latter—the “seminary of sound learning,” (as he used ironically to call it)—he was too young and too puny a boy to take a part in such amusements: so slender and delicate, indeed, was he in those days, (as I have often heard him say,) that, in going up and down stairs even, he could only manage one step at a time; though when I first knew him, which must have been when he was about seventy years of age, he was active, hale, and strong: however, when playing with one so many years my senior, I felt that I ought to put the curb upon my inclination; and so, generally, allowed him to be the winner. But, once or twice, I was inconsiderate enough, in the ardour of the contest, to return his balls so quickly, as to become myself the victor. I tried to wear the laurels which I had so fairly won, with as much modesty as a lad of fifteen or sixteen could, under these circumstances, be supposed to assume: nevertheless, the palm of superiority, on the part of my grey-headed antagonist, was yielded with a very indifferent grace.’—Pp. 13, 14.

Another ‘trial of corporeal agility’ follows:—‘In this instance, the most accomplished and beautiful lady (as I thought, in those days, my eyes had ever seen) had the satisfaction of beating him by the superior swiftness of her foot. The fair heroine was no other than Lady Romilly, who, with her amiable daughter and Sir Samuel, were then on a visit to their old friend for a few days during the long vacation. Bentham had challenged her ladyship to run with him to the end of the long gravel-walk in his pleasure-grounds; and, as usual, in the full confidence of his superior strength of body as well as of mind, vauntingly insisted that he would be the first to reach the goal: the challenge was at once accepted, and, at a given signal, they set off together; but “so light a foot could ne’er wear out the everlasting flint.” Her ladyship took the lead at the first bound, and completely distanced her pursuer before they had run through half the course, in spite of the most strenuous efforts of her facetious host to get before her, aided and

'assisted at every step by his right-hand man and faithful aide-de-camp, "Dapple."* A hearty laugh, as you may imagine, was one of the consequences of the defeat; though, when the vanquished hero came to a stand-still, he was too busy with his pocket-handkerchief to allow the lookers-on to take particular notice of the effect which her ladyship's superior fleetness had wrought upon him.'—Pp. 14, 15.

Small—very small, indeed! Surely anecdote never descended lower than to dwell with real satisfied revenge on the fact, that Bentham was beaten by a lady in running, and was once vexed when he was beaten at fives.

Sermons, chiefly designed to show the Practical Working of Faith.
By the Rev. FULWAR WILLIAM FOWLE, *Prebendary of Salisbury, Rector of Allington, and Perpetual Curate of Amesbury.*
London: Burns. 1845.

MR. FOWLE puts good plain common sense into good plain English; and some prevailing faults of the day are exposed with much truth and force. At the same time there is such earnestness and sincerity in his remonstrances that we cannot imagine anybody offended with them. He speaks from his heart. He sees that our congregations have fallen into bad habits and ways of thinking, *e.g.* that they do not kneel, and do not attend to the prayers, and think only of the sermon; and he fairly faces them, and shows them their fault with honest clearness and point. We give an extract from the Sermon—'The House of God the House of Prayer':—

'Now, then, let us see what are some of the consequences of thus exalting preaching above prayer. The first and most awful one is, that *we do not pray*. I mean, that the greater proportion of our congregations are not actuated by a spirit of prayer: we are not a praying people generally: it cannot be said of us, in the sense in which the Lord himself spoke of the converted Paul—"Behold, he prayeth." Many pray not at all; bear no part in the service, make no response; say not to themselves the prayers which the minister offers up aloud for himself and the people, nor so much as utter their "Amen" at the end of them. And if these persons do not come to pray, they come either to hear the sermon or as a mere matter of form, because, for very shame's sake, they do not like always to stay away. Does any one ask for a proof of this assertion, too—that the congregation generally do not pray when they come to church? Take that which I have already given. If they

* The appellation given by him to his favourite walking-stick.

come to the house of God to pray, why do they not come when there is the service of the Church without the sermon? and, with respect to those who do not so come, it is a fair assumption that, when they come, they do not pray. Another evidence—to my mind a very convincing one—that people, generally, do not pray, is, that *so few of them kneel*. I know that some persons cannot do so from illness, or some infirmity, and that others cannot from want of room in their pews: to these, of course, my present remarks do not apply; they best know their own hindrances, and will, if properly impressed on the subject, agree in opinion with me, and feel it to be a real and no trifling source of regret to them, that they are not able to carry out their principle in their practice. Some persons, too, consider standing to be an attitude of prayer. We hear of the Pharisee and the Publican both standing, when the one professed to be, and the other really was, praying. And, certainly, standing is not such a graceless and prayerless attitude for the supplicating sinner as sitting: but how a strong, healthy person, who can go about his business, or his pleasure, or any of the active concerns of life, during the six days of the week, can *sit* and pray in the house of God on the seventh, I cannot comprehend. I am sure this is not the way in which a man would pray for his life: I am sure this is not the way in which a father would pray for a son condemned to death: I am sure this is not the way in which a man would pray to God, if he prayed at all, for a sick child, or some sick friend whom he loved as his own soul: I am sure this is not the way in which our Saviour said they were to pray, who would obtain power over unclean and evil spirits. We know that this was not the way in which that Saviour himself prayed, when he was in an agony in the garden, praying for the souls of others; for we are told that he “fell on his face, and prayed.” I am sure that none, who are in earnest when they pray, will pray sitting, unless they have not the power of praying otherwise. There is, in all passions, a sympathy between the external motions of the body and the internal emotions of the soul. It would be easy to point out instances of this which every one would immediately understand and acknowledge; but it would call me off too much from the direct object of my present remarks: suffice it to say, that the mind instantly and involuntarily admits the close affinity that subsists between certain affections of the mind and the corresponding inclinations of the body. To make this intelligible to every one—Saul, who wasted the Church of Christ, was suddenly arrested, as he was journeying to Damascus, by a miraculous manifestation of that Jesus whom he persecuted. “He fell to the earth,” “trembling and astonished:” “he was three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink.” “And there was a certain disciple at Damascus, named Ananias;” “and the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the street which is called Straight, and inquire in the house of Judas for one called Saul of Tarsus; for, behold, he prayeth.” Now suppose a painter, wishing to represent this striking subject, were to select the moment when Saul, under deep conviction of sin and the agony of an awakened conscience, was earnestly pouring forth his soul unto God in prayer; and suppose that, when this picture was shown to us, we were to see this

same Saul, instead of kneeling, sitting on a chair or a bench—would not the most thoughtless and uninformed exclaim at the absurdity of the painter, and declare that nothing else could have been so contrary to nature and common sense? Yes, every one would say so; and, in so doing, he would be speaking the language of nature and common sense. Every person who is joining in the prayers of the Church, ought to consider that he is praying, as Saul was, for the forgiveness of his sins, the grace and the mercy of God, and the salvation of his soul; and nature and common sense will say, that no man can really be under such an impression, and yet be sitting carelessly and unconcerned on his seat. And I would be content to take the honest answer of one of these careless sitters to this simple question—Can you say, before God and your conscience, that you have been joining, devoutly, heart and tongue and soul, this day, in the prayers which have been offered up to God for yourselves and for your fellow-worshippers and for all mankind? I am sure that the honest answer would not be, “Yes;” for nature and common sense are against it. And I say that this is one proof, among many others, that one of the consequences of setting up preaching above praying—making the house of God an house of preaching, not of prayer—is, that men do not pray.’—Pp. 219—226.

Results of Reading. By J. STAMFORD CALDWELL, M.A.
Barrister at Law. London: Murray. 1843.

AND certainly if such are—as in a sense they are—the results of reading, most fully do they confirm the deep saying of Scripture, ‘of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh,’ and a desolation of the heart too. Mr. Caldwell ought to have prefixed to his collection Milton’s lines,

‘Many books,
Wise men have said, are wearisome; who reads
Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
A spirit and judgment equal or superior,
* * * * *
Uncertain and unsettled still remains—
Deep versed in books and shallow in himself.’

This work is a mere emptying of an (other than) extensive reader’s common-place book—a cento of quotations from every imaginable source lying within the range of an ordinary and desultory reader. If the volume be intended as an index of Mr. Caldwell’s research, we cannot think it very extraordinary: the books are not rare—the quotations are rather plentiful than judicious—and a stitcher of *purpurei panni* might, we think, have produced a much more showy patchwork than Mr. Caldwell’s. Though France, Germany, Italy, England, Greece, and Rome,

have been ransacked, some of the best and most accessible 'striking passages' have been omitted; and the excuse that they are too common for selection, will hardly be urged by Mr. Caldwell, for while quotations abound from such distant sources as Sir Walter Scott and Shakespeare, Paley and the Spectator, Pope and Byron, Jeremy Taylor and Tom Moore, (the perusal of the present volume must be our excuse for this last grotesque collocation,) we can hardly award the questionable praise of extensive reading, or of judicious taste, to one who quotes Hooker once—Clarendon not at all—Spenser once (under the name of Spencer)—Wordsworth never, and of the whole range of Elizabethan dramatists only Shirley and Heywood, and each at second-hand. We are quite aware that Mr. Caldwell is not to be blamed for not having read everything, but when we have to pay for reprinting 'O fortunatos nimium,' &c.; 'O woman, in our hours of ease;' 'How sweet the moonlight sleeps,' &c.; we have a right to say that something a little less common-place would not have offended us.

But we have a far graver objection to urge against Mr. Caldwell than his narrow, as it seems to us, range of literature. From the whole class of 'Elegant Extracts' we turn with a decided aversion—not so much because, as in the case of Enfield's Speaker, at once the most popular and mischievous of school-books, they happen to be the easy manufacture of some Socinian hack compiler, but also in the way of principle, and that upon more accounts than one. These books of extracts, in so far as they have any proper use or meaning, are a practical embodiment of moral eclecticism. They seem to teach that, be a writer earnest or a scoffer—be he Jew or Turk—orthodox or heretic, so that he have written a well-turned or a fine-sounding stanza or sentence, it all comes to the same thing. And yet more; be the sentiment what it may, so that a passage sets well and sparkles brilliantly, the lesson which it conveys is altogether unimportant. Hence it is, that, unless Mr. Caldwell means one half of his quotations in the sense of an Expurgatorial Index, which was our first impression, we cannot divine his principle of selection. His classification under heads is illogical, because incomplete and inexhaustive; and the passages are so manifestly inconsistent in piety, reason, and taste, that no principle, save the wildest eclecticism, can reconcile them into an harmonious or a definite whole. We were once inclined to give Mr. Caldwell the benefit of this obvious difficulty, and to take the 'Results of Reading' as a jest upon general reading, though somewhat of the coldest: we could not have imagined that any man could have strung together pig-nuts and pearls with such hopeless unconsciousness of ail congruity. We cannot understand the morbid

taste to which the laystall and incense seem to be equally delightful. And yet that we are not misrepresenting our author, let him announce his own notion of his book:—

‘The test of good judgment, in the selection, will be, not how much might have been advantageously added, *but what ought to have been left out.*’—*Preface*, p. vi.

Ought to have been left out! Why in extracts about religion, *either* Jeremy Taylor, *or* Dr. Channing, (chap. iv.); *either* Dr. Price, p. 10, *or* Bishop Jebb, p. 14; and to quote in the same chapter S. Matthew, the prophet Micah, Swift, Madame de Staël, Franklin, Locke, Lady M. W. Montagu, as all of the same apparent authority, and all equally accredited teachers and guides, does seem hideous folly, to apply the very lightest condemnation to it. Hume and Bishop Butler appear as parallel guides at p. 11, and Channing and Bishop Butler at p. 35; Gibbon’s sneer about the rebuilding of Jerusalem (which we do hope that Mr. Caldwell copies with a happy though singular ignorance of its meaning) bears company with one of Johnson’s noble sayings at p. 61; Channing (!) Chubb (!) and Bishop Butler, divide p. 64; Shaftesbury and Boyle are pendants to each other on the next page; Hume pairs off with Sir Thomas Brown, at p. 206; and at p. 201 we caught William Wilberforce *poussetting* to Sam Foote, the buffoon. When all this infelicitous collocation is the staple of the book, we have a right to charge one who reads to so little purpose either with the dullest ignorance, or with a total absence of a healthy state of mind. While Burke, Butler, and Byron (the alliteration is not our own) are produced as in the same measure forcible and respectable authorities for—the truth of Christianity, at pp. 69, 70; and in a chapter headed, ‘Woman,’ Byron in Beppo—Voltaire—Rousseau—Don Juan—and such sayings as ‘He comes too near,’ &c. p. 106, are selected with the greatest *nonchalance* as a fitting supplement to Sherlock, Barrow, Taylor, and Sir Thomas More, in the previous chapters: this argues an audacious disregard of propriety which we are bound to condemn with great severity.

But to crown all, we hardly know how to express our intense disgust at finding the passage, ‘My son, despise not thou the chastening,’ &c. succeeded, in the very next line, by a quotation from the ‘Nouvelle Héloïse,’ p. 185. This almost reminds us of one of the most detestably wicked books which we ever saw, a manual for the use of a London meeting-house,* in which the

* A Sunday Manual used at the chapel in Bezaumont-square, Mile End Old Town. London: Allman, 1840. This place was built and endowed by the late Mr. Barber Bezaumont; he also compiled this frightful ‘manual.’

Scripture Lessons of the Church were travestied by a course of successive extracts from the Psalms, the Epistle to the Romans, Confucius, Isocrates, Epicurus, Seneca, Cicero, and the Koran; the hymns of this blasphemous collection being choice bits from the New Version, Dr. Watts, Pope's Universal Prayer, Mrs. Barbauld, and Dr. Bowring. After the like fashion, as we stuff a roll of paper into a packing-case to keep things from shaking, we sometimes find in Mr. Caldwell a text of Holy Scripture crammed into the midst of his heterogeneous farrago, for a sort of make-weight; as at page 216, 'Offer the sacrifice of righteousness,' &c. to which, as no reference is made, perhaps the selector did not know that it occurs in the Bible.

On the whole, we cannot but consider the 'Results of Reading' a very melancholy publication indeed, and significant withal. Indiscriminate reading, without the corrective influence of a living interpreter, is a most dangerous pursuit. We trust that Mr. Caldwell, personally, has not suffered so much as we might almost anticipate; but we would as soon trust a young man in all the profligacy of London life, as turn him loose into a large library, with no other guide than half-cultivated and irregular taste and feeling. A mere literary life, a lounging connoisseurship in sentences and periods, nay, a tasteful culling out of showy morality and luscious verses, is the worst possible education for a Christian; for the student, the practice is suicidal. It is the sensualism of the intellect thus to toy with the seductions of books, as mere books. The *homo unius libri* is a proverb for training the mind into sinewy strength; and nothing tends so much to enfeeble the higher powers of the soul as that indiscriminate diet, with all its enervating and corrupting virus, in which the dilettantism of reading, only for reading's sake, indulges. No man can range from Bishop Butler to Grammont, from the Bible to Lord Byron, from Chesterfield to Cudworth, which is Mr. Caldwell's avowed habit, and fancy that he finds—

'Sermons in stones, and good in every thing.'

The stern realities of truth—the inflexible opposition and contradiction existing between the work of the Holy Spirit in the writings of God's servants and priests, and doctors of the Church, such as Taylor and Butler, and the Satanic splendours of a Rousseau or a Byron—the moral sense—the severe rule of mental discipline, all these things are lost, or at least grievously perilled, by promiscuous reading. Intellectual defilements are akin to moral and physical ones, and there is an austere chastity, a reserved and chary temperance, to be observed, as in the pleasures of the

world, so in the perusal of books. It is with man's soul as with man's body,—

'Of all God's workes, which doe this worlde adorne,
There is no one more faire and excellent
—————both for power and forme,
Whiles it is kept in sober government;
But none than it more foule and indecent,
Distempered through misrule and passions base;
It grows a monster, and incontinent,
Doth lose his dignity and native grace.'—SPENSER.

Abstinence in all things is the rule of Heaven to a corrupt and tempted nature; and we think that a very anti-christian spirit is creeping over what is called the literary world, the more dangerous because the more subtle, and in a sense beautiful. Indifference to dogmatic truth—syncretism in matters of taste—a pseudo-eclecticism in religion, which, under the taking guise of doing justice to, and allowing the truth of, every point in dispute, practically annihilates the one faith in all controversies—a relish for æsthetic beauty, apart from morality and holiness;—all these are but signs, in very different quarters, of a growing temper of the age, which, in its measure, must have influenced the compilation of Mr. Caldwell's volume, and it is upon this ground that we have spoken of its tendency. We commend to Mr. Caldwell's notice a true passage from a true poet * of our times:—

'A spacious garden full of flowering weeds,
A glorious Devil, large in heart and brain,
That did love *Beauty only*, (Beauty seen
In all varieties of mould and mind,) *And Knowledge for its beauty*; or if Good,
Good only for its beauty, seeing not
That Beauty, Good, and Knowledge, are three sisters
That doat upon each other, friends to man,
Living together under the same roof,
And never can be sunder'd without tears.'

After saying which it may seem superfluous to go through the merely literary mistakes of the 'Results of Reading,' such as a quotation from 'Bland's Oxford Prize Poem,' p. 112,—a work unchronicled in the annals of the Newdigate; another, at p. 45, from 'Bampton Lectures, by Mr. Grey, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester.' Mr. Robert Gray preached the Bampton Lecture in 1796, but he was afterwards Bishop of Bristol, and not of Gloucester. At p. 104 a line,—'A lover's eyes will gaze an eagle blind,'—is given from 'Measure for Measure'; it occurs in 'Love's Labour's Lost,' act iv. sc. 3; and at p. 278, is quoted from the 'Comus' a passage beginning, 'On the tawny sands and shores,' which is not to be found in the *Comus*, or in any of Milton's poems.

* Tennyson.

Numberless other inaccuracies of Mr. Caldwell, were they worth the trouble, might be exposed; but to track quotations, of which the ordinary references are not more explicit than 'Sherlock,' or 'Paley,' or 'Cudworth,' or 'La Bruyère,' or 'Racine,' or 'Stillingfleet,' or 'Sir William Temple,' is but a 'bootless *bene*.' A very cursory perusal detected those which we have produced: and we always, from experience, suspect general unfaithfulness in references, where edition, chapter, and verse, are suppressed.

Much the same judgment may be passed on a work similar in design and execution, 'Literary Extracts,' by John Poynder, Esq., which has the grave fault of tediousness to the amount of two volumes instead of one.

Specimens of the Early-German Christian Poetry of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries. With a Literal Translation, and Critical and Explanatory Notes. By EDWARD H. DEWAR, M.A. of Exeter College, Oxford, Chaplain to the British Residents at Hamburg. London: Burns. Oxford: Parker. Hamburg: Nestler and Melle. 1845.

THAT this very remarkable work has reached us late in the quarter must be our excuse for giving but a brief account of its contents. It is the first time that a knowledge of these, the earliest poetical compositions extant in the old German language, has been introduced into England. Apart from their antiquarian value, the selections are in themselves curious, as displaying that deep, and much neglected principle of missionary teaching, which, by a recognised economy, adopted the poetical temperaments of the Scandinavian tribes as the formal groundwork of Evangelical instruction. There are evident traces that, as in the Nibelungen, the old legends of the Skalds were clothed upon with the lives of the saints, and the great deeds of Christian heroism. And we suspect that the mutual influences of heathenism and Christianity have not been sufficiently traced. We have heard that the best accounts of the old Teutonic mythology are to be found in a work of the Danish divine Grundtvig, whose History of Northern Mythology ought to be translated. It is quoted more than once by Mr. Kenelm Digby. Very great credit is due to Mr. Dewar, who seems to be a ripe scholar in this valuable branch of literature, for indicating and commencing the working of this mine. The present poems are gnomic in form, but very pictorial and graphic, from a habit of

dwelling minutely on the separate details of the Gospel history; with somewhat of that patient and accurate minuteness which is so remarkable in the austere school of early German art in its pictorial development. They remind us—and we are but pursuing Winckelmann's analogy of the sister arts—of the elaborate severity of the old scriptural paintings on wood, which have the sharp outlines and rich colouring of enamel. Mr. Dewar has added some learned notes *in usum tironum*. We are not quite satisfied with Mr. Dewar's assumption of the Pelasgic origin of the Scandinavian people. We do not say that it is not so, but we want something more than an allusion to this view as a fact, at least in times when Pelasgic is so often used synonymously with that of which we are altogether ignorant.

While Mr. Dewar is before us, we may mention that another of his works, 'German Protestantism,' published in this country, which we have had occasion favourably to notice, has been thought worthy of a long and elaborate notice by Dr. Neander, unquestionably the most able divine of Protestant Germany, in the 'Berliner Jahrbücher für Wissenschaftliche Kritik.' He makes the objection which every German would make, avowing the principle (the right of private judgment);—granting the existing state of theology and religion to be truly described, and lamenting it;—but denying Mr. Dewar's connexion of cause and effect. Mr. Dewar has published a reply, which embodying the usual arguments, familiar to ourselves, will do much good in Germany.

Beiträge zur Charakteristik der kirchlichen Dinge in Großbritannien.
 Von AD. SYDOW, Hof-und Garnisonsprediger. Erstes Heft,
 enthaltend die Schottische Kirchenfrage. Potsdam. 1844.

THIS work derives a very considerable degree of interest from the peculiar circumstances under which it appears. The author is a distinguished clergyman of the Prussian 'Evangelical Church,' holding a high official situation. He was sent, with one or two more, by the King of Prussia, to make himself acquainted with the doctrines, discipline, and constitution of the Churches of Great Britain; with the design, as it was well understood, of bringing about a closer approximation between the Anglican Church, and that of his own dominions. Pastor Sydow directed his attention chiefly to Scotland, and in the fulfilment of the objects of his mission, passed some time in that country during the crisis of the secession. Upon his return to England, he was invited to an interview with the consort of our

Sovereign, and desired by that prince, who told him that he wished for the judgment of an impartial person, and especially of a German theologian, to furnish him with his views on the subject. The work before us is the answer to this request; and it has since (we presume for the information of a yet higher personage) been translated into English, though we are not aware that this translation is intended for publication.

The book itself is a laboured and somewhat impassioned defence of the Free Secession Church, but would hardly supply any additional knowledge to well-informed English readers. The preface, on the contrary, is full of interest, and, considering the position and influence of the author, and the purpose of his visit to Great Britain, is of the very highest importance; and indeed we have reasons for believing that it has excited a powerful sensation at Berlin. A few extracts will serve to show how utterly those happy dreams of approximation are dispelled which at one time were entertained in both countries, and certainly desired by the sovereign of one. The writer begins by accounting for the fact, that the Church of England and the communions of Protestant Germany have hitherto had no acquaintance with each other.

‘The cause of this was, on our side, twofold. In the first place, we can hardly say that we have a Church, in the full sense of the word. It is painful to say this, but it is necessary that we should no longer deceive ourselves on this point.’ He goes on to relate how on two occasions, during his stay in Great Britain, he was made deeply sensible of this truth; first, during the discussion of the Bishopric at Jerusalem, and again, when consulted by the leaders of the Scottish movement. ‘In such a state of things, a Christian religious life has, in individuals, continued to exist among us; but that part of our holy religion which consists in communion, with all the energies which our Lord has attached thereto, that is, the Christianity of the Church, has altogether fallen out of our knowledge and experience. But it is just the knowledge and possession of this latter which is the strength of the inhabitants of England.’ On the other hand, he considers the theology of England, in a philosophical point of view, to be far behind that of Germany; and that, for these two reasons, there can at present be but little in common between the communions. In the latest events in the Scottish Presbyterian Schism, on the contrary, he finds a more immediate interest for Germany. ‘I have, namely, the firm conviction that the time has now arrived, in which Protestantism must solve the question, which in the Reformation was, as it were, passed over and neglected; namely, to gain that form of existence as a Church which is best

‘adapted to its nature. The signs of the times point to this consummation; the events of the times are forcing us to it; and unless this great work is completed, even the protection of the Protestant princes will only bring about more and more, the very reverse of that which it is their benevolent intention to accomplish.’ ‘So far as I can see, the necessity that we Protestants should become a Church in the full sense of the word, is one and the same as, the necessity that Protestantism should continue to exist; for without this we shall be beaten by the Church of Rome.’ It is towards the accomplishment of this design that, in the author’s opinion, ‘the Scottish (free secession) Church has a great mission for the futurity of the Protestant world.’ But when this Scottish-Prussian Protestant ‘Church’ is erected, what will become of the Anglo-Prussian bishopric at Jerusalem?

Die Kirche von Schottland. Beiträge zu deren Geschichte und Beschreibung. Von DR. K. H. SACK, Professor der Theologie zu Bonn. Heidelberg. 1844.

ANOTHER work on the same subject, by an author who is already well-known to the German public by a work upon the Church of England, published in the year 1818. It takes the same favourable view of the Scottish secession as Mr. Sydow’s book; but it is more complete as a historical work, and is enriched by a literal translation of documents and confessions, which appear for the first time in the German language.

Perran-Zabuloe; with an Account of the Past and Present State of the Oratory of S. Piran in the Sands, and Remarks on its Antiquity. By the REV. WM. HASLAM, B.A., Resident Curate. London: Van Voorst.

THIS is an interesting little book, written with a reverent spirit and considerable knowledge of the subject. Its main object is to show that the ancient church of S. Piran is really a *British* building, in opposition to the opinion expressed by Mr. Bloxam, that it is of Norman date. We think that Mr. Haslam has satisfactorily vindicated its claim to a higher antiquity; though some of his arguments are sufficiently inconclusive. For example, he endeavours to eke out his reasons for believing that the ancient church in Britain was of Eastern origin, by comparing

S. Piran's oratory with the churches described by the Greek historians of the age of Constantine. But what are the points of similitude? Exactly those which are to be found in every Catholic Church in the world, in the West as well as the East; namely, a generally symbolical arrangement of plan, with significant adaptations for the two great Sacraments. It is in the highest degree instructive and interesting to find in this ancient church, a Nave and Chancel divided by a rood-screen, just as Eusebius has described in the church of S. Paulinus at Tyre; but how is this an argument for a closer connexion with the East than with the West, when Constantine's own Basilics in Rome have the same characteristic? It is a very strong argument for the *Catholicity* of such an arrangement. Again, Mr. Haslam insists repeatedly that the ancient wayside crosses in Cornwall are *Greek*; as if the distinction between the Latin and Greek crosses were observed in every detail. Byzantine art influenced the whole West, till the time of Cimabue. Greek monograms abound in the catacombs at Rome. Exactly such crosses as he describes are still to be seen in Italy—*Greek* crosses, if he will—in S. Petronio at Bologna. Mr. Haslam is more successful in showing a connexion between St. Piran's and certain ancient ecclesiastical remains in *Ireland*. In contending that stone may have been used for church-building in Cornwall, at an earlier date than it was employed in England by S. Paulinus, as described by the Venerable Bede, Mr. Haslam has omitted to show that, from the absence of trees, Cornwall could never have used wood extensively in the construction of churches or houses. We remember to have observed ourselves, in the very neighbourhood of Perran-zabuloe, that iron is frequently employed where in other counties we should see wood. One of the most interesting things in this volume, is the proof that the body of S. Piran was entombed in this oratory. We rejoice to find that the stone altar-tomb has been restored, and the sacred reliques again enshrined. In the fifth century, Christians were not afraid of a stone altar, or of a Saint's body beneath it.

We are sure that our readers will be much interested in this volume; the account of the early Church in Cornwall, the description of the encroachments made by the sand on St. Piran's oratory, and of some other Cornish ruins swallowed up by the same enemy, and the brief sketch of Church-symbolism, will all suggest thoughts, and convey instruction. The book is published at the instance of the members of the Cornwall Royal Institution, before whom, at an evening-meeting, its substance was read as a paper by the author. It wants retrenchment, being diffuse almost to wearisomeness.

Der Leipziger Glaubensbekenntnisstreit. Von JULIUS KELL. Leipzig. 1844.

Die Leipziger Bekenntnisswirren. Von JOHANNES DEM THEOLOGEN. Grimma. 1844.

Theologische Zeitbilder. Von Professor THEILE. Leipzig. 1844.

Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche. Von Dr. HARLESS. Erlangen. 1844.

Der rechte Standpunkt. Von Pastor C. B. KÖNIG. Magdeburg. 1844.

Berliner Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung. Berlin. 1844.

ONE of the most encouraging reflections for those, who from time to time have sought and hoped for a reconciliation between the Church of Rome and the continental religious bodies which have renounced her communion, has ever arisen from the fact, that the latter, in casting off much that was bad, and much that was good, ceased not to hold a belief in the same creeds which the former recognised, and even to constitute them the public confession of their faith. With melancholy feelings, therefore, do we in these days behold even this ground of hope sinking from under our feet. The Athanasian Creed, so highly commended by Luther and Calvin, has been discarded by the Protestants of Germany; the Nicene Creed has fallen into disuse; and from the works before us we learn that even the Apostles' Creed has been rejected, and that in Saxony, the birth-place of Protestantism, the cradle of the Reformation, a substitute for it has been provided, and used by the Church in one of her most solemn rites during the last forty years.

The rite we speak of is that of Confirmation. The first and most unavoidable effect of the Reformation was to diminish the reverence with which all those sacred ordinances were regarded, the efficacy of which depends upon the priestly and episcopal office. The rite of Confirmation accordingly is neither mentioned in the Enchiridion, or small catechism of Luther, which for two centuries supplied the groundwork of all popular religious instruction, nor alluded to in the form for the ministration of baptism, which he has appended to it. In Saxony, until the year 1773, it was only occasionally and privately administered, and then of course not by the proper officer. About that period, however, a new cause came into operation, which has gradually brought the rite of Confirmation as prominently forward as previously it had been thrown into the background.

Almost the first attacks of Rationalism, which was then beginning to spread, were directed against the holy sacraments.

What could be more *unrational*, than to suppose that the Holy Ghost would be conveyed by means of water to an unconscious infant, and supply a new and divine principle to guide and direct its future life and conduct? On the other hand, it was much easier to conceive that a resolution seriously taken and solemnly expressed by a young person, just arriving at the age when the power of reason begins to be fully developed, should exercise a strong and lasting influence. Hence the efforts which have been made to render Confirmation as imposing a ceremony as possible; and the strenuous efforts of the clergy to produce a religious excitement in the partakers of the rite, and to make them feel, what they are taught to express, solemn vows and resolutions to lead a moral and upright life.

But it was unavoidable that the catechumen should, in addition to these promises, make some profession of his belief, and it might have been supposed that the Apostles' Creed would have been the most unobjectionable form for this purpose. Not so, however; it seems that some of its articles were thought unnecessary, some unsuitable, and some probably false. A new confession, purporting to be a paraphrase of the Apostles' Creed, was therefore drawn up by Dr. Rosenmüller, at that time superintendent of the clergy of Leipzig; and this came into general use throughout Saxony at the commencement of the present century, and has continued so until the present time. It is conceived in the following words:—

'Having been early dedicated in baptism to the Christian religion, we here declare before God and these witnesses, that we hold the doctrine of Jesus to be divine truth, and pledge ourselves to receive and follow it, as members of the Christian community.

'We believe in God, the almighty Creator, bountiful Preserver, and wise Ruler of the whole world, and of our destiny. We make a sacred vow: to honour Him all our life as our Father, with reverence and obedience, with love and confidence.

'We believe in Jesus Christ, God's Son, our divine Teacher, Pattern, Redeemer, and Lord, who has brought us from error to truth, from ignorance to knowledge, from sin and vice to virtue and piety, and has sacrificed his own life for us; who, having risen again, lives and reigns in heaven, as Lord and Head of those who honour Him. We solemnly vow: to remain faithful to his teaching, to follow his example, to obey his commands, to trust in his promises, and by faith and piety to render ourselves continually more worthy of the mercy of God, and of the blessedness which he has obtained for and secured to us.

'We believe in the Holy Ghost, through whom God guides us, supports us in our weakness, and strengthens us in our warfare against sin. We solemnly vow: with his assistance to walk unto our life's end in the path of faith and virtue, with unchangeable fidelity and steady perseverance.

‘We believe in a future resurrection, an eternal life after death, and a just recompense for good and evil. Mindful of this account, and of the judgment which awaits us, we will ever, as Christians, conscientiously discharge the duties of our station; we will be full of love towards our neighbours, temperate in the enjoyment of our pleasures, patient in our sorrows; we will ever think and act as Christians; we will thus live, and thus die.’

The purpose of this creed is very apparent; it is designed to make men what is called religious, without any reference to the positive doctrine of Christianity. Vows and promises the catechumen has to repeat again and again; but he can repeat them without believing that Jesus is *the only* Son of God; that He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, that He was born of the Virgin Mary, that He descended into hell, that He ascended into heaven; he is almost taught to disbelieve the personality of the Holy Ghost, and the resurrection of the body; and he knows nothing of the Holy Catholic Church,* and the Communion of Saints.

During the last forty years, then, this has been the Christianity which the Protestant inhabitants of Saxony have learned to profess. In the early part of the present year a petition was presented to the Superintendent of the Clergy by seven schoolmasters and teachers of Leipzig, praying him to take measures to introduce the Apostles’ Creed in the place of that of Rosenmüller. The clergy were accordingly called together, and it appears that a majority were in favour of acceding to the request. Unfortunately, however, it speedily became manifest that where tares are sowed, we cannot hope to gather wheat. During forty years have the inhabitants of Leipzig been practically taught that the Apostles’ Creed possesses no value, and,

* With respect to this article of the Creed the following observations may not be out of place. Dr. Pusey, in a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1842, asserted that ‘the Lutherans, on their views, have substituted for “the Holy Catholic Church,” the words “a Christian Church,” not in spirit, or in their common way of teaching, but actually and literally in the Creed.’ In the letter to Dr. Pusey which this accusation elicited from Mr. Abeken, we find the following denial of the charge: ‘On behalf of our Church, and indeed on behalf of any body of Christians, that may, correctly or incorrectly, be called Lutheran, I must beg leave to contradict and repudiate, positively and without qualification, this *fearful* charge of an alteration of the common Christian creed.’—‘If you had looked to the authorized formularies of our Church, . . . or to any authoritative edition of *Luther’s Catechism*, you would have found “One Holy Universal Church.”’ Now we have before us an edition of Luther’s small Catechism, printed in this present year, an exact reprint, word for word and letter for letter, of the original edition, preserving even the obsolete use of double capitals, and we have also four other copies of the Creed in different works; and in all these we find ‘eine heilige *Christliche* Kirche.’ Nor, we believe, has this article ever appeared otherwise in that Catechism, which is still used in almost every school in Protestant Germany. The word ‘eine’ may mean ‘one,’ but it is also the indefinite article; as in this case the sense might be doubtful, the German, if it was to express ‘one,’ ought to have ‘die eine.’

as might have been expected, they have learned the lesson. An outcry was raised; and not only the parents of the children to be confirmed, not only the children themselves, poured in remonstrances against the Apostles' Creed; but even the town council deliberated upon the question, and resolved by a majority of fifty-nine against one, that the decision of the clergy ought to be rescinded, as an infringement of Protestant religious freedom, and a retrograde instead of an onward movement. Finally, the minister of public worship interfered, and ordered the clergy to make use of Dr. Rosenmüller's paraphrase this year, while he intimated that he should hereafter issue new regulations. In the meantime, the Apostles' Creed has been made the subject of a great many publications, the greater part of which are distinguished only by their ultra-rational and unchristian tendency. The most deserving of notice is that which appeared in Dr. Theile's 'Zeitbilder,' one of the ablest organs of moderate Rationalism. He objects principally to those two articles in the Apostles' Creed which state that Jesus Christ 'descended into hell,' and 'the resurrection of the body.' The former of these, he maintains, was introduced into the creed in the fourth century, and directed against Apollinaris. He omits, however, to state, that although the Church may not before that time have had occasion to proclaim this article of her faith, the doctrine asserted in it is clearly to be found in the writings of the Fathers from the commencement, as well in those of Asia Minor and Alexandria, as those of Northern Africa and Rome. The article of the resurrection of the flesh, on the other hand, is contained in many of the earliest forms of the Creed, especially in those preserved by Irenæus, Tertullian, and the author of the Apostolical Constitutions.*

But there is another point connected with this question, which deserves a separate consideration. The German clergy are bound by their ordination vow to hold and to teach in accordance with the symbolical books, *i. e.* the Confession of Augsburg, Melancthon's Apology, the two Catechisms of Luther, the Articles of Schmalkalden, and the Formula Concordiæ. It is true, that in these books there is contained much which is not confession of faith; but they, one and all, distinctly assert, that the holy Scriptures, *and the three Creeds*, contain the rule of faith; and to these, therefore, the clergy are clearly bound to adhere. How far, then, do they feel and acknowledge this obligation? The last two works on our list may help us to a solution of this question; and they are highly valuable, because they pre-

* Bingham, x. 4.

sent to us the opinions and principles, not of single and isolated writers, but of a powerful and organized party.

It appears that there is an association, consisting principally of clergymen, which has assumed the name of 'Protestant Friends.' They hold two meetings annually at Köthen, the point at which the railroad from Berlin falls into that which connects Magdeburg, Halle, Leipzig, and Dresden. At these meetings, which are open to every comer, theological subjects are discussed, and lectures delivered. The Protestant Friends have also offered prizes for the best essays, and have, moreover, established a newspaper. Their last meeting, which was held on Whitmonday of the last year, was attended by Professor Guerike, who shortly afterwards published in the 'Berliner Evangelische Kirchen Zeitung,' a report of the proceedings. The work of Pastor König has lately appeared in reply.

Dr. Guerike, well known as the author of, perhaps, the best ecclesiastical history in the German language, is one of the few Protestant theologians who appear to be animated with a living zeal for the faith which they profess. A strict defender of genuine Lutheranism, he submitted to be deprived of his theological professorship at Halle, rather than abandon his opposition to the union with the Calvinists which was effected by the late king. Pastor König is one of the originators of the association of Protestant Friends, a frequent, powerful, and popular writer, and deserves at all events great credit for the fair and open manner in which he states the principles and views of Rationalists. With the general tenets of that party our readers are doubtless pretty well acquainted; and we shall refer to them only so far as they are connected with the point at issue.

Pastor Uhlich, President of the Protestant Friends, having in the course of the meeting condemned many of the articles of the Apostles' Creed, and especially that of the Church, asserting that 'the Church is the cause of all the mischief that has arisen in the world;' and Pastor Wislicenus having maintained, that not the Scriptures, but the spirit, *i. e.* the spirit of the age, (*der heilige Gemeingeist*,) is the rule of faith; and having expressly denied almost every article of the Apostles' Creed, avowing at the same time that his opinions are unscriptural;* Professor Guerike demands of these men how they can continue to bear the name, and to discharge the duties, of Christian ministers, and to eat the bread of the Church, while they deny every article of her faith, and believe that she has caused all the mischief that

* Another meeting of the Protestant friends has since taken place, at which these sentiments, which might otherwise have been regarded as the private opinions of the speakers, have been unanimously adopted amidst great applause.

has arisen in the world. To this question Pastor König replies, that the Church is the property of the people; that the small sect who still believe in the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, the Atonement, and Original Sin, can never again recover their influence; that the vast majority of clergy, as well as laity, are on the side of the Rationalists; and that 'onward' is the watchword of the German nation. He retorts, however, upon those who call themselves orthodox the same question. They have almost all rejected the Athanasian, and many of them also the Nicene Creed, as unsuited to the times; and Rationalists have precisely the same right to go one step further, and abandon the Apostles' Creed, and yet continue ministers of the Christian Church.

The 'British Magazine' for September contains an account, reprinted from the 'Record' newspaper, of a conference of the Prussian clergy, held, it is there said, chiefly for the purpose of determining 'on what particular symbolical book, or confession, the Church of Prussia should take her stand.' Now this report is calculated to convey several very erroneous impressions. In the first place, it was not 'a conference of *the* Prussian clergy,' but a simple missionary meeting (*missionsfest*), at which it may be readily supposed only those of one party were present. Hence, secondly, it is evident, that even had 'the pastors of the conference proposed and insisted upon the adoption of the Confession of Augsburg as the symbolical book of the Prussian ecclesiastical establishment,' this resolution would have had no more effect, and would no more have been an evidence of the opinions and wishes of the great body of the Prussian clergy, than a vote passed at a meeting in Exeter Hall is capable of representing or influencing the opinions of the clergy of England. But, lastly, it is far from being true that there was anything like unanimity in favour of the Confession of Augsburg; and in the course of the discussion (which was occasioned by the very report of the proceedings of the Protestant Friends of which we have spoken) not a few of the speakers, as, for instance, Mr. Eltester, one of the clergy of Potsdam, expressed their approval of the Confession, but declared they would never permit that it should be made binding upon them to subscribe it.

Melancholy are the feelings with which we have perused these statements. We cannot doubt their truth; we cannot doubt, that in the meeting at Berlin, 'it was insisted upon by most of the speakers, that a Church without a Confession was no Church at all;' and that the Church of Prussia is a Church without a Confession; and that yet they would not submit to be bound by any existing creed. We cannot doubt, on the other hand, that at the meeting at Köthen there were above one hundred of the clergy present; that 'thousands of their colleagues hold the

same tenets;’ that of six hundred and seventy clergymen in the province of Silesia, six hundred are Rationalists.

But what will be the end of these things? Whither is Protestantism hastening? Germany must, we think, either fall a prey to open infidelity, or unconditionally surrender herself to Rome. Thus alone, we are disposed to think, can she regain the treasure which she has wilfully cast away from her. And then, when she is once more Christian, once more Catholic, it will be time to think of a new reformation, and to commence once more the work of the sixteenth century, which has had such an unfortunate issue. It is no impossible, no improbable termination. ‘Romanism,’ says Professor Guerike, ‘can wish for no better allies than it has found in these “Protestant Friends.”’—‘Protestantism,’ says Father Ventura, ‘is like the prodigal son, who left his father’s house with his rich portion of goods; he has squandered his wealth; he has wasted his substance with riotous living, and he will soon be perishing with hunger: then will he long for the plenty of his paternal home, and will arise and return to his father.’

How can the Church Evangelize the World? A Sermon preached in St. Hugh’s Church, Harlow. By THOMAS LITTLEHALES, M.A. Rector of Sheering. London: Burns. 1844.

THIS is a deep and closely reasoned sermon on the subject of tithes, as the divinely ordained, self-adjusting system of Church support; providing by its ever moving scale against all contingencies, and meeting all the fluctuations of property. But Mr. Littlehales shall speak for himself:—

‘God would not have appointed a system supernatural in itself, but by His direction requiring human agency and support, without appointing at the same time the means by which these were to be kept in continual operation. A right apprehension of God’s perfect wisdom leads us to this inference; and the finer our apprehension of this is, the more ready shall we be to recognise its exemplification in the completeness of the system He has ordained for the conveyance and perpetuation of religious truth. While dwelling, too, on the wisdom of God, might we not suppose that He who knew the covetousness of man’s heart would not have left His Church entirely to man’s mercy? Would not the conclusion be, that He would obviate this covetousness by making some specific decree? This decree God certainly did anciently make: to ascertain what this is, and how far it is applicable to ourselves, we must look to the Old Testament institutions, and to the analogy between the Church legal and the Church evangelical, which St. Paul here and else-

where declares to exist. The Old Testament institution obviated all doubt on the subject ; it declared the proportion of property men were to bring to Him, who was the Giver of all ; it enjoined free-will and other offerings, but it fixed the tenth of all man's substance as a minimum due unto God in return for the ministrations of religion.'—Pp. 5, 6.

'It is no hard thing, certainly, that the Church should reap 'carnal for spiritual things : ' this is but just ; and its justice is the more apparent in the arrangement by which they are to be reaped, an arrangement which never presses harder at one time than another, but fluctuates in accordance with such blessing as God for His own reasons may think fit to give to each person. This is the beautiful and self-adjusting scale which God anciently gave in the tithe-system for the observance of His servants in the return they made of 'carnal for spiritual things : ' the command was binding upon all persons for every kind of property, and, if analogy is any rule, must apply to the capitalist as well as the agriculturist even still.'—P. 8.

With respect to the relation in which the Church stands to the Mosaic system on this subject, he says:—

'Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil—this fulfilment consisted in bringing the Church to her evangelical state ; in doing this He neither destroyed her eternal principles of natural religion nor her institutional character. He did not then act as though whatever His Father had done before was wrong. The Church, indeed, was always one and the same in essence ; God always had this visible body selected from the rest of the world, and Christ was always watchful over it, though He may perhaps be more so now since He has become personally her chief Corner-stone on earth and her chief High-Priest in heaven. She has passed through the patriarchal and legal to the evangelical state, and from this she will again pass to her destiny of triumph in glory. Then God will be all in all, and temporal enactments be no more needed ; but till that glorious day shall come, these must needs be—they are necessary both for discipline and maintenance.'—Pp. 4, 5.

'We see what God's saints in old time did, and what He Himself instituted. Did the Gospel Church repudiate this decree ? So far from this, she took it to herself, and acting upon it enlarged her borders, and gathered of all nations into her bosom ; thus faith was propagated, and souls brought through Christ to God. Taking analogy as her guide, as St. Paul directs, and may we not also say acting by Divine illumination (for surely the hand of God is visible in her success), she recognised tithe as her inheritance. The same sacred principle was asserted by her in this country ; and England is indebted to it, under God as His instrument in its degree, for an endowed Church, and for that parochial system which we justly esteem so great a blessing. Had the Church here in former days, as she proceeded to make spiritual provision for the people, merely tried those expedients which in our present exigencies we resort to, we can only conclude that as little would have been then done as of late years has been. Like causes, as a general

rule, produce like effects ; and therefore we have a right to say, that had our present expedients only been then used, our cities and country parishes of ancient date would have been left in the same uncared-for condition our modern manufacturing towns now are in. But our old cities and parishes were not so left ; the Church knew her Divine authority, and, claiming her inheritance of tithe, produced the blessings we now enjoy.—P. 7.

The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry, &c. By the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS, M. A., Perpetual Curate of Nerquis, Diocese of St. Asaph. London: Cleaver. 1844.

To such as from local circumstances, or other lines of study, have not hitherto thought much of the ancient British Church, this volume will prove deeply important. Mr. Williams certainly overstates the purity of the Bardic Church ; and he dangerously apologizes for the fact of a mixed religious system, which could not have existed without external profanation to the Christian and exclusive mysteries of the Faith ; but still we have read the present work with very great satisfaction and interest ; and the only wonder is, that this very prolific mine of the ecclesiastical antiquities of Wales has not been fully opened before. The author seems to think that the Druidical system, or, more properly, Bardism, was the ancient patriarchal or Noachic religion, preserved in considerable, if not entire, purity in this island, especially in the west—that the systems of Gaul and Germany, described by classical authors, were a corrupted form of their aboriginal religion—that Bran, the father of Caractacus, was a bard, and in embracing the Gospel did not discard Bardism as an idolatry, but recognising the truth of the old pre-Abrahamic dispensation, continued it in the Church with much of the teaching and even some of the observances which the Bardo-Druidic Triads had taught. The author's views on the inter-communion of the British and Oriental, as well as Occidental Churches, combined with independence of the Roman patriarch, form an interesting part of this work ; but its chief practical value to a certain school among us will be to show that doctrine and discipline, which, in their ignorance, many cannot distinguish from the practical Romanism of the sixteenth century, was taught and practised by the Britons in the fifth—those very Britons who rejected St. Augustine at the conclusion of the sixth century. It will be new to our readers to learn that Mr. Williams seems to make out that the first Christians of the Cymry used the ancient Druidical circles, and that

Christian crosses still exist in some of them. How far this fact, if such it be, may have an influence on any theory of round churches we leave to other church antiquaries, or ecclesiologists, as they are now, it seems, to be called, to determine. The round towers in Ireland, even if they were employed originally for Phœnician worship, might subsequently have a Christian use by the same sort of economy which continued the bardic vestments, and, with a blameable licence, adopted the terms and form of bardic theology in the evangelical service of the Liturgy, and the Christian mysteries. A fact which illustrates this view has been produced by Mr. Haslam, in a work elsewhere alluded to, that the perpetual fire of the Irish Druids was kept up as a Christian emblem by St. Patrick and St. Kyran. Speaking of round churches, reminds us to mention that some have been discovered in Bornholm, of which we hope to gain a more complete account. These, we find, were Christian adaptations of structures of immense antiquity, originally meant for other, and often religious, purposes. We have indicated this series of facts, because it may serve, in the case of those who will be at the trouble of pursuing the line of thought, at least to suggest that our Missionary teaching should more fully and faithfully acknowledge the relative Divinity of all religion—and should absorb and clothe upon the religion which they find, rather than seek to annihilate it. Few things are to us more shocking than the accounts which we sometimes read of Missionaries, generally sectarian, commencing their labours by at once denouncing, in every form and degree, all that was held sacred by those to whom they sought to bear the better tidings. Thus, in India, would it not be well to use, more frequently than we do, the Temples—and would it not be a more healthy and primitive course of evangelization, to admit the eternal truth of what is true in such a wonderful, however corrupt, system as Brahminism, than at once to commence with Bibles and Prayer-meetings in new Bamboo sheds?

It is very late to mention it, but our excuse must be, that 'Be not Schismatics, be not Martyrs, by Mistake,' by Sir Wm. Hamilton (Edinburgh, Maclachlan), has only recently fallen in our way. This is the most valuable pamphlet which has appeared on the Scotch Secession: valuable not only for its bearings on that particular dispute, but for the exposition of Lutheranism which it contains. We commend it to all who can now procure it. But while we are on the Free Church subject, we may as well subjoin a useful paper which we have procured, showing, in a tabular form, the infinitesimal division of the old Presbyterian Schism. A further illus-

tration is in progress ; for we understand that the Secession of last year is already splitting again.

In the reign of Charles II. there were two parties of Presbyterians, called Resolutionists and Remonstrants ; the first received a license from the king, the second would accept of no compromise, and, religiously, they answered, in general, to Moderates and Evangelicals. At the Revolution, they, for the most part, coalesced ; but some Remonstrants would accept of no settlement not embodying the Solemn League and Covenant, and formed a separate Society, called the Reformed Presbytery. Thus they were—

- A. 1690. 1. Establishmentarians.
- 2. Reformed Presbyterians.

In 1733, a dispute arose at Kinross, about the placing of a preacher. A controversy succeeded, and, in 1740, eight preachers were deposed by the General Assembly, and formed the first Secession.

- B. 1740. 1. Establishmentarians.
- 2. Seceders.
- 3. Reformed Presbyterians.

In 1747, the Seceders divided on this point:—On admission as a Burgher an oath was to be taken to this effect :—‘ I do profess the religion presently established in this realm.’ Some thought this to be generally against Romanism, and others to be positively in favour of the Establishment. They parted, and the first became Burghers, the second Anti-Burghers.

- C. 1747. 1. Establishmentarians.
- 2. Burghers.
- 3. Anti-Burghers.
- 4. Reformed Presbyterians.

In 1755 a difference arose at Jedburgh exactly similar to that at Kinross. Two preachers were deposed by the General Assembly, and formed the Relief Presbytery.

- D. 1755. 1. Establishmentarians.
- 2. Burghers.
- 3. Anti-Burghers.
- 4. Relief Presbyterians.
- 5. Reformed Presbyterians.

In 1806, some Burghers wished a declaration to be signed in favour of the union of civil and ecclesiastical authority ; but others differed, and formed a new Society, called The Associate Synod of Original Seceders.

- E. 1806. 1. Establishmentarians.
- 2. Burghers.
- 3. Anti-Burghers.
- 4. Associate Synod of Original Seceders.
- 5. Relief Presbyterians.
- 6. Reformed Presbyterians.

In 1821 the Burghers' Oath was generally disused, and the Burghers and Anti-Burghers prepared to reunite ; but some Burghers would not

coalesce, and formed the Original Burghers' Associate Synod, and the other Burghers, with the Anti-Burghers, formed the United Associate Synod.

- F. 1821. 1. Establishmentarians.
2. United Associate Synod.
3. Associate Synod of Original Seceders.
4. Original Burghers' Associate Synod.
5. Relief Presbyterians.
6. Reformed Presbyterians.

In 1834, the General Assembly passed the Veto Act, which gave an absolute veto on the placing of a preacher, to the majority of male communicants, being heads of houses. This bye-law was declared to be illegal first by the Supreme Scotch Court, afterwards by the House of Lords. It was then formally repealed by the General Assembly in 1843; upon which 451 preachers left the Establishment, and formed the Free Presbytery; and now the Presbyterians stand thus:—

- G. 1842. 1. Establishmentarians.
2. United Associate Synod.
3. Associate Synod of Original Seceders.
4. Original Burghers' Associate Synod.
5. Relief Presbyterians.
6. Free Presbyterians.
7. Reformed Presbyterians.

On the whole, it will be seen that the Establishment has divided thrice, in 1740, 1755, 1843; that the first Secession divided in 1747; and that one of those Sub-Secessions divided in 1806. Each body has its own Presbyteries and Synods, and believes itself to be the true representative of John Knox's opinions.

'The Ecclesiologist's Guide to the Churches within a Circuit of Seven Miles round Cambridge' contains the substance of a paper read before the Cambridge Camden Society, by one of its Secretaries, Mr. Paley. Of course such a book will be chiefly valuable to the younger members of the Society, for whose use it was compiled; but the accurate description of fifty-one churches, in a county so celebrated for its village church-architecture as Cambridgeshire, cannot be without great general interest. In particular, we recommend the Introductory Remarks to all who wish to study Ecclesiology practically. The author most truly observes,—'The only way to learn architecture, is to examine ancient buildings: no adequate knowledge can possibly be obtained from books alone.' This, indeed, has been from the first the favourite and distinguishing maxim of this Society. To assist its members, it compiled the 'Church Schemes,' which contained a better classification and nomenclature of the parts of a church than had yet been attempted, and proposed a system of easy abbreviations, by which any one with a little practice might register very accurately almost every detail. We think experience has shown that this method has enabled many who have no skill in drawing, to gain a much more satisfactory knowledge of architecture than could be acquired by the more showy plan of carrying away from every church some spirited sketches or picturesque perspective

views. Indeed, architecture must be learnt, like anatomy, by dissection. But of course the addition of measured sections of mouldings to the written description of a church adds incalculably to its completeness. And here Mr. Paley's book will be especially useful, as it contains the most lucid description we remember to have seen of the method of drawing every kind of moulding. Indeed, as one reads his explanation of the specimen-plate of sections, it seems so easy to draw architecturally, that we feel ourselves tempted at once to procure the necessary equipment of 'every good and practical ecclesiologist,' viz. the metallic note-book and pencil, the small T square, the compasses, and the two-feet rule, and to begin copying mouldings at once. But where can we find any mouldings to draw in London? If we even paid to go into the Abbey, the vergers would not let us draw; and in St. Saviour's, Southwark (of course we do not mean its *Nave*) 'no one is allowed to take notes here, Sir,' without the permission of the rector, who is some layman, chief of the trustees who administer the spiritual concerns of that unhappy parish. In short, it is a subject of growing regret with us, that there is so small a field for architectural study in London. We are locked out of the few old churches, and the new are not worth going into.

'Sketches of Christianity in North India,' by the Rev. M. Wilkinson Missionary (Seeley), is in many respects a very interesting work: interesting, that is, as every thing connected with the undoubted self-denial of the early Protestant missionaries in India must be,—interesting too, as another proof, where unhappily none is wanted, of the complete failure of the Protestant system in missions. Mr. Wilkinson is, we believe, in the employ of the Church Missionary Society, an institution which we fear is no improvement on the unpromising Lutheran and uncommissioned ministrations of those otherwise so holy, as Swartz and Ziegenbalg. Quite unconsciously, as it seems, the present book reveals the mode of converting, or rather trying to convert, the Hindoos. In a Mr. Knorpp's journal (p. 389)—a very able document it is,—we find him at one of the greatest heathen festivals of India: doing what?—'giving away tracts by hundreds to persons *who first proved to us that they could read*,'—which is a qualification to receive the Gospel of which we cannot recall an instance either in Scripture or ecclesiastical history. How would this good man have acted had he been in the place of St. Boniface or St. Augustine? How many tract-readers would Saxon-England or Germany have boasted? and how many converts did the Evangelists of old without 'letters' produce? It were needless to say that we have no sympathy whatever with Mr. Wilkinson's tone: but as we cannot but have much in common with him, it is with unfeigned surprise that we perceive him to be either so prejudiced or so weak as to reproduce a ridiculous story (p. 15) of a Romanist clergyman, forty-four years of age, of the order of the Dominicans, educated and ordained in Europe, and for seven years inquisitor at Goa, 'getting for the first time in his life a sight of the Bible in Latin.' It is only the old myth about Luther. A sort of attack on Bishop's College appears uncalled for. Perhaps the most painful, and yet instructive, part of the book is the

melancholy light which is thrown upon the '*devilish*' policy of the Indian Government, in throwing every obstacle in the way of converting the Hindoos. We could scarcely believe our eyes when we find 'the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council referring to the very dangerous consequences which might be experienced were this procedure of Mr. F.'s [*i. e.* 'the baptism of a Hindoo soldier'] supposed to be coupled with the official 'duties of his situation as government chaplain,' (p. 253),—and this in the year 1837. The day of retribution for this miserable system must arrive; and we have only heard the first muttering of the coming storm.

'A Concise View of the Doctrine of the Church of England as to the Validity of Lay-Baptism, including also that of Heretics and Schismatics,' by the Rev. A. T. G. Manson, B.C.L. We agree with Mr. Manson in thinking that our Church does not disavow lay, or even schismatical baptism, *i. e.* that it does not think it necessary to rebaptize in such cases. But because baptism out of the Church need not be repeated, it does not follow that it confers any Church privileges out of the Church. This distinction is a most important one to keep in mind. Besides, Dissenters' baptism is a different thing again.

The fulness of heart, genuineness, and feeling in Tholuck's 'University Sermons' (Clark, Edinburgh), make them a striking volume. They do not, however, quite rise out of the German atmosphere. Their amiableness wants refinement.

'The British Churchman' has variety, but of rather an unconnected sort. The opening of the article on the '*Threefold Ministry*' is too wide—'A leaf shaken by the wind—a reed swayed by the water—a bubble on the stream of life—a billow on the ocean of eternity—headstrong as the tempest in its fury, yet changeable as the breeze before a calm: such is mortal man.' The scene before the Poor-law Guardians in 'Wiustone Court' is amusing and spirited.

The writer of a 'Scriptural Solution of Baptismal Regeneration' (Seeley) takes a different line from his school. He comes round to the view of the eighteenth century divines, and allows regeneration in baptism, but makes regeneration only a difference of outward state. The writer thinks this a perfectly new view, of which he himself is the lucky discoverer:—'I do not hesitate to state that High Church and Low Church, Puseyites, Evangelicals, and orthodox Dissenters, have been, and are, wrong in reference to this subject.' His doctrinal speculation as to the state of infants is bold indeed:—'*All infants, independent of baptism, are in a state of favour with God!*' He argues, from Rom. v. 18, that, 'as the guilt of Adam was imputed to all unto condemnation—so the righteousness of Christ is imputed to all unto justification—to all who are born after the death of Christ, whether they are born of Christians, Jews, Turks, Pagans, Infidels, or Heretics.' Can the writer know what he is saying?

'The Questions of Repeal and Federalism considered.' (Cleaver.) A writer who is so severe on the political dreams of others should not have

his own :—‘ The days may be counted,’ he says, ‘ of Sweden and Norway, when a separation will take place between them, *and they shall be blotted out as a nation altogether*, Sweden falling to the lot of Russia, and Norway to that of Great Britain; unless the ministers of the British crown shall repeat at that time their present policy, and allow the opposing and important coast of Norway to fall into the hands of Russia, as, in violation of the most solemn treaties, we have seen the northern coast of Africa (*on which Gibraltar, in time of war with Spain, is dependent for supplies*) surrendered into the hands of France. Should it please God that the crown of Sweden and Norway should descend to an heir female, and the Scandinavian Princess accept the hand of the Prince of Wales *and Connaught* (as, out of respect to the ancient glory of Ireland, it were well that the heir-apparent to the British crown should be styled), those countries, under the name of East Britain, may both yet be incorporated with us; an event long looked for, and ardently desired, by their people.’

‘ A Plea for the Prayer-book’ (Islington, Boyd) is a well-principled appeal to one of a body on whom every argument must be, as it has been, thrown away; and to whom, more than any other set of men, our present distresses seem attributable. We allude to the Islington clergy, and to what their Bishop is reported to have said of them in the recent distressing proceedings in Tottenham.

In ‘ Consolations and Prayers for the Time of Sickness,’ by Mr. Plumpton Wilson, of Newmarket (Rivingtons,) we think there exists, though modified, a Lutheran bias. Otherwise, it is noticeable that no reference occurs to what has so prominent a place in the Visitation Service Examination, as to soundness in dogmatic faith and the benefits of absolution. Neither can we think it right to use the Collects before Baptism, under such circumstances; the new nature of conversion is analogous to, but surely not identical with, that of regeneration. Hence Mr. Wilson appears to lay greater stress upon present feelings than on the sense of the gift of salvation. There is, however, much of affecting thought in the volume.

‘ Songs and Ballads for Manufacturers,’ by Mr. J. Mason Neale (Deck), have, we believe, classical authority in their favour, and different spinning-wheel ballads have been handed down to us. Were not such examples against our own feelings on the subject, we should have thought that artisans would have realized in their labour-songs rather the beautiful world from which their daily toil excluded them, than have sought to relieve the spirit by images taken from the work before them. At any rate, we can hardly fancy a Spitalfields garret resounding very cheerily with the silk-weaver’s

‘ *Pass seven, take two; pass seven, take four; now turn the piece about;*

‘ *Pass three, take five; pass eight, take six; our rose will soon be out.*’

Be this as it may, we desire to speak respectfully of the kindly temper which has suggested the attempt. The poor man’s solace is the great end, and song of some sort the right instrument: and the present work has ingenuity and flow.

The Bishop of Down and Connor has published a Letter (Grant and Bolton) to Sir Robert Peel, on an insult offered by that gentleman to some of the Irish prelates; which has elicited a characteristic reply, printed in the newspapers.

'The Amelioration of Ireland,' (Cleaver,) is the first of a series; of which the author takes a strangely inconsistent mode both to avow and to conceal his responsibility.

Two books of very considerable importance, to which we hope to find occasion to allude more fully, have appeared: indeed, we owe some apology both to their authors and to our readers for the retiring place which their titles occupy in this number. The one is Mr. Radcliffe's 'Illustrations of the Creed of St. Athanasius' (Rivingtons), by parallel passages from the Fathers and Scripture. Mr. Radcliffe leans to what is most likely the true view, that this symbolical hymn, like the other Catholic creeds strictly speaking, has no author: it is the voice rather of the Church than of an individual doctor. We can hardly sympathize with Mr. Radcliffe's expectation that his book will find readers in the middle class: and apart from this hope, the quotations should have been, we think, in the original.

The other is the work of the learned American divine, Dr. Jarvis, of Connecticut, 'Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church.' (Cleaver.) The subject is so extensive, and the points so debateable, that we cannot venture upon a hasty statement upon them. Dr. Jarvis has certainly done much in correcting the Consular Fasti: contrary to, and without acquaintance with, Mr. Greswell's conclusion of April, he fixes the date of our Lord's birth at Christmas. The work is written in a good and dutiful spirit, and the Harmony will be found useful even to unlearned readers. We welcome the book as the first-fruits of transatlantic scholarship and study.

A second edition of 'The Choral Service as used in the Parish Church of Leeds,' has reached us; and we are glad to find it improved in several respects. In an appendix, the General Confession is given in unison; but the editor 'strongly recommends the use of the harmonized Confession, as 'he considers it more in accordance with the practice of such of our cathedral choirs as are most worthy of imitation.' Here we beg leave to differ with him; and we would, on the contrary, strongly recommend the adoption of the simpler form. Full harmony in the Confession appears to us particularly objectionable. We would even omit any harmonies to the *Amens* until the *Doxology*, after the response, 'O Lord, make haste,' &c. This, too, is a practice in accordance with many choirs; though which are the choirs of most authority, or 'most worthy of imitation,' must be matter of opinion: it is a point we do not choose to decide. We may remark, however, that the mode we recommend has the sanction of Tallis' Service, as given in Boyce; a better authority, we should think, than the practice of any modern choir. The book before us would make a very useful manual for the ordinary week-day service; while, on Sundays and festivals, the still finer harmonies of Tallis may be employed.

'Drops from the Cup of Uniformity, Unity, and Peace,' by the Rev. G. C. Hodgkinson, M.A. (Rivingtons.) This is a sensible pamphlet, and contains many good suggestions as to arrangement of church interiors, and the mode of conducting the services. Mr. Hodgkinson is a practical man; and we can assure the reader, who may be apprehensive from the title, that it is the only sentimental demonstration in the book.

'The Law and Rule of Life to the Christian. Considered in Eleven Lectures on the Decalogue,' by the Rev. Charles Smith Bird, Vicar of Gainsborough (Cleaver). The title of these Lent sermons shows a good aim in this volume. The Sermon on Ash-Wednesday comments seriously on the loss of that 'godly discipline' which the Communion Service mentions. 'It is a matter of grief,' says Mr. Bird, 'to see the distrust which still exists in men's minds with regard to Church discipline—a distrust which is, unhappily, kept up after the original causes have ceased to justify it—a distrust which cripples the efficiency of the Church, as the great instrument of inculcating true religion, and guarding the morality of the country.' After mentioning the use of the 'open penance' of former times, as making sin shameful, he continues: 'Need I ask whether the name of Christian is held in such honour at the present day, that the moment a stain is brought upon it, all persons, even the offender, agree, that public reparation must be made, and the honour of religion and morality vindicated, for the general good? Alas! I need not. We all know that offenders now look a minister in the face from the midst of a congregation without a blush, even though they be of the character mentioned by our Church, "unmerciful, fornicators, covetous persons, slanderers, drunkards,"—men who, if the old discipline were restored, would either not be allowed to profane God's house with their presence, or would be standing before the congregation as penitents, dissolved in tears, and thankful to be put to pain in their bodily feelings, that, by the blessing of God on their affliction, they might be brought to a sense of their danger.'—We do not, of course, agree with all the sentiments in these sermons; but, in spite of differences, we have pleasure in noticing a very serious and well-intentioned volume.

Mr. Maurice, of Guy's Hospital, has republished 'Law's Remarks on the Fable of the Bees,' with an Introductory Essay. It is a treat to read any controversial treatise of Law's. There is a force, point, and accuracy in his arguments which make him almost unique as a controversialist. The Introductory Essay is written in Mr. Maurice's usual style, which is rather remarkable for its deficiency in those qualities for which Law's is pre-eminent. The Essay, though the product of a thoughtful mind, appears to do very little towards bringing out and explaining the treatise, and might as well perhaps have been appended to any other treatise as to this. We are obliged to Mr. Maurice, however, for the republication.

The first number of the 'Ecclesiastical Biography,' edited by Dr. Hook, promises a useful series. The lives of the two Abbots, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of Salisbury, are very full and descriptive. Dr. Hook will allow us to make one criticism, which is, that the run of comment accompanying the narrative is too much in the style of a periodical.

A regular historical work should be more guarded and sparing. We say this, perfectly agreeing in a great part of (though not all) the comments themselves, and only questioning their suitableness, in point of style, for this particular sort of work.

'The British Churchman' for February has one able correspondent in an 'M.A. of Magdalen College, Oxford,' who writes on Mr. Ward's case and the New Test.

'Considerations on the Exercise of Private Judgment by Ministers of the United Church of England and Ireland, in Matters connected with the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church,' by James Parker Deane, D.C.L. (John W. Parker.) Dr. Deane is of opinion that 'every minister of the Church is bound by laws expressed in terms singularly free from doubt, and unclouded by obscurity, and, he may say, bound in conscience too, by self-imposed regulations, to a strict and literal obedience' to all the regulations of the Rubric. This is the view that a legal eye must take. Dr. Deane simply sees that Clergymen bind themselves by certain pledges, and he thinks those pledges ought to be fulfilled. It is no credit to the Church, if such a view has become, by the course of events, a rather too severe one to apply to her ministers.

'Isaford, and other Poems,' by George Murray (Smith and Elder). There is point and sharpness often in Mr. Murray's poetry, and he puts natural objects clearly before us. But he wants ease and flow. He arrests us occasionally, but does not carry us on.

'A Family History of Christ's Universal Church,' by the Rev. Henry Stebbing, D.D. (G. Virtue.) We should like to see a few more numbers of this work before we give our opinion. At present we can only say that it appears written in an easy style, and that an interest is thrown upon the early martyrdoms and miracles of the Church, which seems to show Dr. Stebbing not at all a disciple of the Sceptical school. There is an approach to a dangerous theological view, however, in the remarks on Irenæus's doctrine of the Eucharist. Dr. Stebbing says, 'In the case of the pure Apostolic Creed, all is simple, clear, and authoritative; in that of the Father's speculative inferences, it is evident that the mind may, and must be left in doubt, if it cannot follow and admit his arguments. With the Articles of the Church's Creed it is altogether otherwise,—the few particulars of which it consists are so stated as to oppose speculation, instead of inviting it. Hence private opinion, though that of the holiest and most enlightened men, could not be set up in opposition to the common voice of Christ's people. And this supremacy of the Creed, as handed down from generation to generation, was a real protection to the purity and holiness of the Church; and as soon as the principle on which it rested was lost sight of, the flood of mere opinion flowed in—the barriers of primitive truth, if not broken down, were covered by the rampant waves of speculation,' &c. Now, we do not mean for a moment to say that Irenæus, as an individual Father, might not hold doctrines unwarranted by the Creed of the Church at large. But Dr. Stebbing does not attempt to show that Irenæus does

stand thus alone among the Fathers, or that, in fact, he at all differs from the other Fathers in this view of the Eucharist. This question is not entered into, and therefore Dr. Stebbing's suspicion of that Father's view of the Eucharist, resting as it does on a wholly independent ground to this, would stand just the same if the whole *consensus patrum* supported Irenæus. Now this is treading on dangerous ground. If a certain doctrine, whether on the Eucharist or any other article, appears in the whole body of patristic writings, and we are yet at liberty to put aside this doctrinal witness and appeal from the written Creed of the Fathers to some hypothetical contemporary Creed of the Church, from which it is a departure and a falling away, there is an end of all doctrinal certainty, and we are completely at sea. If the writings of the Fathers, as a body, do not represent the Creed of the Church, what does? What other evidence have we of what that Creed of the Church was? It is vain to say Scripture, and the three written Creeds, for the question is as to the sense and manner in which Scripture and those Creeds were held and interpreted. If the Church did not hold them as her great doctors did, in what way did she hold them? Dr. Stebbing should be prepared with definite and positive evidence of such a hypothetical counter Creed existing, if it did exist—evidence equal to that which the Patristic writings certainly, *primâ facie*, afford on the other side. The question is, Are we, or are we not, to take the Fathers as the exponents of Church doctrine, and witnesses of the Church Creed? To appeal from *their* system of doctrine to an unknown hypothetical Church standard which has never come down to us, and whenever we encounter the sublime, mystical, and dogmatic in them, to imagine a certain 'simplicity of the faith' in the Church body, which the Fathers do not represent, but distort and obscure,—is to abandon the acknowledged and established laws of evidence, and deliberately to reason from what we do not know, rather than from what we know.

A very remarkable book has appeared, which seems to be running through many editions, 'Vestiges of the Natural History of the Creation,' (Churchill). Its spreading mischief has been met by a seasonable and searching antidote from Mr. Bosanquet, 'Vestiges of the Natural History of the Creation exposed.' (Hatchard.) We trust to take up the subject shortly.

A Few Plain Observations upon the Right of Private Judgment, in a Letter to a Dissenter,' by an English Priest, (Edwards and Hughes,) is a forcible little tract; though the style might have been chastened here and there with advantage. In the Preface, the writer says, 'The term Protestantism has now come to take its proper value, and to signify something very little differing from Dissent.' There is much truth in this observation. We have been much struck ourselves with the rapidly deteriorating sense of that term, even in general society. Its artificial associations are withdrawing from it, and exposing a naked, unattractive reality to our view. The expression, look, and intonation, which accompany the word, betray a lurking opinion in the speaker, that it is not a lofty or inspiring symbol; and Protestantism, whatever other advantages it may be considered to offer, hardly appears any longer in the chivalrous, or poetical, or venerable

aspect to the educated public mind. Even among its friends, an unconscious, significant smile seems to apologize for the absence of these qualities, and to point to other advantages, of a more solid and matter-of-fact sort, in compensation.

We are glad to notice 'A Short Devotional Service for Family or Private use during Lent,' by the same Author.

A little compilation, called 'Devotions for the use of Young Persons,' (Burns), is a useful attempt to supply a great *desideratum*, and will, doubtless, suggest other efforts in the same line.

'Poems,' by Elizabeth Barrett, author of the *Seraphim* (Moxon). Those who like Miss Barrett's poetry, must like it exceedingly. We cannot imagine a moderate admiration of it. For ourselves, we do not like it; and we do not think it poetry. Poetry, to be cognizable as such by the mind, must have definite form and expression; Miss Barrett's has not. Her sea of ideas contains the elements of poetry, in the same sense in which a fine mass of sound contains the elements of music, and in no other.

'The Goldmaker's Village,' translated from the German of H. Zschokke (Burns). The story has run through seven editions in the German. It is written with a philanthropic object, and is the framework of a number of useful hints, moral and economical, addressed to the poorer classes chiefly.

'The Treasure-Keeper; or, the Cold Heart;' from the German of Hauff (Burns). A beautiful little story, and calculated, we think, to make a real impression on a child's mind.

'A Mirror of Faith. Lays and Legends of the Church in England;' by the Rev. J. M. Neale (Burns). 'It has been well observed,' says Mr. Neale, in his Preface, 'that, in relating the various contests between the Church and the world, historians have always sided with the latter against the former In direct distinction to this popular view, the object of the following Ballads is to set the principal events of the Church history of Britain before the reader in the light in which they appeared to the contemporary Church.' Mr. Neale has an easy spirited flow; but many of the poems are too much in the ballad style for the subjects they are upon. Martyrdoms and saintly deaths do not quite harmonize with the quick off-hand pace of ballad metre. Other subjects it suits very well; e.g. 'King Charles the Second's Public Entry on Blackheath,' which is very successful. There is grave feeling in the 'Martyrdom of St. Edmund;' also in 'L'Envoy,' at the end.

'British Blessings,' a Poem, in three parts, by a Layman (Nickisson). We ought, all of us, to be truly thankful for our national blessings; that is quite certain; and we cannot but commend the well-intentioned author of this poem for that strong sense of gratitude which has induced him to write a set of verses on the subject. He has obviously much religious and Church feeling. But what a mixture! He is grateful, sincerely and devoutly grateful, in one and the same breath, for Newton, Bacon, Milton, the British Saints, Shakspeare, and Charles the First, for our army and navy, the

Church, the Cotton trade, the East India Company, and all the shipping from London Bridge to Deptford. Our Catholicity and our traffic, our doctrinal purity and our enormous quantity of money, our freedom, Magna Charta, the British Lion, the Union Flag, the Gospel, the Reformation, the Duke of Wellington, Nelson and the Nile, and Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, are all equally holy, pious, wealthy, prosperous; equally religious, national, generous, festive, proud, belligerent, evangelical associations.

‘Hail to that Sceptred Isle, where freedom reigns,
Whilst the strong law strict public peace maintains,
Whence noble minds, of powers surpassing, rise,
And cast a splendour on her northern skies;
There Milton, Bacon, Newton, Shakspeare seen,

‘Whilst foreign commerce, inland trade, create
A peaceful toiling enterprising state,
High-favoured race! *What gifts divine unite
To form thee thus.*

Gifts divine! that is to say, ‘foreign commerce, and inland trade.’ What a religious nation we must be, to have such exports and imports! Rule Britannia!

‘Hail, English Church!—pure Catholic branch, star-bright,
With mild, calm radiance shines thy heavenly light.’

Lastly, the author, and we believe him to be quite sincere and earnest in his anticipation, looks forward to an epoch, when the religion and the budget of the country shall experience a most gratifying renovation; and when, the national debt being liquidated, the Isle of Saints shall once more come to view, in connexion with an improved education and Church-extension system.

‘Skilful Finance, and Education sound,
Form now the modern statesman’s firmest ground;
*Now, whilst we prosper, liquidate the Debt,
Should we decline, its weight must us upset.*

‘Right paths thus shown, and such example set,
Britain might hope continued blessings yet.

‘Isle of the Saints! resume that ancient name,
And train thy sons to vindicate the claim.’

Seriously, will the author, and many like him, take a hint? He is one of a class, and his poem is a type of a whole nationalizing line of thought, which prevails. Indeed, he is rather an improvement upon it; for he adds to the old mixture, some patches of the new Catholic movement. Will he and others make a common-sense, plain distinction between what we are as a nation, and what we are as a Church, and look at our religious and our secular character under their respective heads, and not mix up both in one jubilant idea of Britannia? Let people express what they mean correctly. It is really hardly an exaggeration to say, that a great many people who most sincerely think it self-evident that we are the most religious

nation upon earth, would, if examination were instituted into the real idea in their heads, be found, under the term religion, to mean simply and solely, that we gained the battle of Trafalgar. Why cannot they let spiritual be spiritual, and earthly earthly?

'Lays and Ballads, chiefly from English History,' by S. M. (Burns,) are dedicated 'To the seven dear children for whose amusement they were originally written.' They are extremely pretty and elegant; and their smooth swing makes them very well adapted for children's recitation. We will mention 'The English Merchant and the Saracen Lady;' 'The Lay of King James the First, in his Captivity;' the 'Lament of Eleanor of Bretagne;' 'The Death of Bruce.'

It is noticeable that Scottish History has supplied a similar series, 'Ballads and Lays,' by Norval Clyne, M.A., (Edinburgh, Shand;) in which the spirit and feeling of the old ballads is successfully reproduced, without any affectation of archaism in language. From our commendation we except the Union Song, which has a very decided twang of the Crown and Anchor. The preface is modestly written.

'A Prospectus and Specimen of the illuminated and illustrated edition of the Book of Common Prayer' (Murray), has reached us. Words fail us to express how unutterably paltry and bad it is in every possible way. To attempt to apply illumination to our common mean Roman types is absurd: the inks are not only those choice pigments used in play-bills, but are always misplaced, half the *rubrics* being *blue*; the details of the so-called illuminations are incorrect, and most of them utterly without authority, Mr. Owen Jones being perhaps *the* man in England who knows nothing of what is suitable to Service-books. And as to the wood-cuts, they are either so badly cut, or so badly printed, that there is literally not a single line perfect in them; while a yet graver fault remains. By a perverseness quite melancholy, a subject from the most divine pictures in the whole range of Christian art, the life of Christ by the blessed Fra Angelico, has been debased from its awful grandeur to a mean little block, which would be discreditable to a penny ballad. We feel so strongly the contingent, yet distant, value of illuminated books, that we trust the attempt will be altogether abandoned; at least, till we get types, books, paper, and artists fit for it, not one of which is at present in existence. Modern illustration, caricaturing mediæval art, is becoming a perfect nuisance. We should be thankful to Mr. Parker, of Oxford, if he would get rid of his little vignettes, which are not only poor, but hacknied.

A reprint of 'Walton's Lives' has been published (Washbourne). It is, with slight modifications, Major's very beautiful edition: that is, the notes, and very useful they are, have been brought from the appendix to the foot of the page; and the cuts have been reduced and copied, not always with success. On the whole, it is a creditable publication.

Mr. Frere, in the preface to his treatise on 'Confirmation' (Rivingtons), endeavours to obviate an objection which had been taken to it in its un-

published state, that it seemed to exalt Confirmation somewhat at the expense of Baptism. Although it may be quite true that the gift of the Holy Ghost in Confirmation is the especial outpouring of the seven-fold influence to those who rightly receive it, yet it by no means follows that the grace and life of Baptism is not also a gift of the same Spirit. Otherwise it would seem to follow that the remission of sins, and that strength which is sufficient to salvation, in the power of which dying infants are undoubtedly saved, the new birth, is not the gift of the life-giving Spirit. The dispute, if such it is, seems verbal; otherwise the present publication exhibits the learning and good feeling which Mr. Frere is known to possess.

For an inferior class we can highly recommend a letter on 'Confirmation,' by an English Priest. (Ashby of Newbury, and Burns).

'Bishop Andrewes' Latin Devotions' have appeared in an English translation. (Oxford: Parker).

'The History of Christian Altars' (Stevenson), is a paper read before the Cambridge Camden Society; and an extremely able one. Why Mr. Collison has suppressed his name we are not aware: we take the liberty to supply it.

A curious Correspondence between the Church Pastoral Aid Society, through its Secretary, and the Rev. Mr. Irvine of Leigh, has appeared. (Manchester: Simms and Dinham.) The former body withdrew their grant towards the support of a *Curate* in Leigh, because a *lay-assistant* employed by Mr. Irvine in that parish circulated a magazine which seems to prefer the Propagation of the Gospel Society to the Church Missionary Society. Mr. Irvine very properly defends the magazine in question, and its circulation; but with this High Churchmanship we cannot see how he could have felt 'a faithful and friendly spirit' towards the Church Pastoral Aid Society, whose principles and practices are pretty well known by this time. This spoiling the Egyptians by taking Puritan pence to preach Church doctrine we think hardly fair. With a Medusa-like tenacity Mr. Irvine still clings to the Society, and compels them to write him down Local Associate. This produces some very characteristic shuffling from Mr. Secretary.

Count Björnstjerna has published an extremely useful work, 'The Theogony of the Hindoos' (Murray). Not that we are quite satisfied with this very accomplished nobleman's principles: the fact that he does not at once scout Bailly's views of Indian chronology will sufficiently indicate the quarter in which our fears lie. The definition of the relation between Buddhism and Brahmaism as analogous to that between Protestantism and Catholicism, is as real as correct. In alluding to the Syrian Christians of St. Thomas still existing in India, what does the Count mean by saying that 'they do not recognise the sanctity of the Virgin?' p. 121.

'Notes on the New Testament,' by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener (Pickering), is too important to be dismissed with this brief notice; but as only the first volume is finished, in many respects an able one, we shall defer our opinion till the work has advanced farther.

The small Tracts giving separate accounts of our foreign Missions and Dioceses published by the Propagation Society, are a new, and promise to be a successful, feature in its management. Since it seems to be admitted that trying concessions must be made on every side for the sake of these Societies, we may well be thankful that, as things go, there is so little to find fault with in this quarter. The Quarterly Papers, however, want weighing now and then.

'The National Society's Report' is enriched by a remarkable letter on St. Mark's College, from Mr. Coleridge.

Mr. Rymer Jones' 'Natural History of Animals,' at present only embraces the invertebrate animals. The cuts are as well executed as those for which the publisher (Van Voorst) is so famous. His series of *Fonts* is succeeded by one of *Decorated Windows*, under the editorship of Mr. Sharpe. The first number promises well.

'The Church and the People. A Series of Tracts and Stories,' (Simpkin). These are productions of 'Arnoldite' genius; and they might be supposed to be written to illustrate his correspondence. They come out in defence of that newer, richer, and more poetical liberalism, that we have heard so much of lately; and they are in fact controversial works, under the form of stories. Their watchword seems to be 'REALIZATION.' 'The next era of Christianity must be neither that of Romanism, nor Protestantism, but REALIZATION.' The German philosophical language which often occurs is in keeping with this commencement, as when we are told that '*Christ comprehended the life of universal humanity, and published its laws*'—that 'perfect obedience can only flow from perfect liberty'—that 'the true purpose of authority is to preserve the *deep, necessary, and universal*, over the *superficial, the arbitrary, and the temporary* elements of human nature.' A clever amiable dreaminess is their chief characteristic. The style is rich and flowing, but wants spirit and point. A mixture of poetry, and the love of nature and the picturesque, are introduced, and mingle with the theology. The 'Widow of Mitton,' the first number of the series, is too scattered and rambling in its composition; and consequently, with all its cleverness, becomes heavy after a few pages.

'Poems, Sacred and Miscellaneous,' (Rivingtons) by R. Parkinson, B.D. Canon of Manchester. This is a kind of poetry which clever persons are able to write, from the fact that they are clever. It runs in a certain groove, and does credit to the author more as clever composition than as poetry. Mr. Parkinson's pleasing volume is rather an instance of this class.

'The Two Catechumens' (Burns), is an interesting, engaging little book, under a rather too theological title. The characters—two young ladies—are well drawn, the letters natural, and there is a refined tone throughout.

Mr. Barton's 'Abridgement of Scripture History for Parish Schools' (Hatchard and Rivingtons), appears to be a useful attempt, in this department. 'The intention of these Tracts,' says the Preface, 'is by no means to supersede the use of the Scriptures of the Old Testament in Parish Schools, but rather to point out the passages in those Scriptures which are more

‘immediately connected with Christian doctrine, to give children a general knowledge of the history of the Bible.’

We suppose that one of the reasons which makes us dissatisfied with Mr. Lathbury’s ‘History of the Nonjurors’ (Pickering), is, that we expected very great things from its announcement. In style and arrangement it is almost uncouth, and it conveys very few new facts; while of the real value of the principles held and not held respectively by the Nonjurors, Mr. Lathbury has but a loose grasp, perhaps, as it seems, because his own views on most important subjects are not at present quite clear. Mr. Lathbury is consolidating, and is a writer of considerable promise; but a subject so noble as that which he has now chosen, should have been reserved for something better than an empirical opportunity for acquiring information. The best part of the book is the correspondence of the Nonjurors with the Greek Church, now first published from Bp. Jolly’s MSS. In a work which might, and ought to have been a classic, how could Mr. Lathbury think of introducing *The Record* and *The Times*, and Mr. Walter and the Offertory at Hurst, and such trash?

Charlotte Elizabeth has written a ‘Letter to Miss Martineau’ (Seeley), in which she unequivocally connects this lady’s famous cure by Mesmerism with Satanic influence. Of course Christian prejudice, in the better sense of that word, would tend the same way; but we want more cautious observers of facts than Charlotte Elizabeth,—especially when the imputation is at once easy and awful.

‘The Mysteries opened,’ by Dr. Stone, of Brooklyn, United States (Harper, New York), must have been a very perplexing book to write. Knowing that it would not be quite safe to deny the Christian Sacraments altogether, Dr. Stone was put to it to invent words to define them which should sound well and mean nothing: and we are bound to say that this task has been discharged with a curious and annoying felicity. Baptism, p. 241, is defined as that which ‘embodies the *evidence of a moral monument* [sic] to the identity of the Church and to the truth of the Christian revelation, through ‘all ages.’ One baptism for the remission of sins an ‘embodiment of a ‘moral monument!’ This is ‘opening mysteries’ with a vengeance. Surely this writer’s own cold hard patronymic, *Stone*, must have helped him to this frigid metaphor, especially when he goes on to speak of the Holy Eucharist as the ‘solemn sister at the side of baptism, more unchangeably ‘enduring than the pyramids on the plains of Egypt.’

A new edition of Mr. Digby’s famous ‘Broad Stone of Honour’ is published by Lumley, and a re-issue in parts of that glorious dream, ‘*Mores Catholici*,’ by Dolman: the former is as neat and compact in form as the latter is ugly. For books of a kind like this in double columns we have the most unmitigated aversion: otherwise, the publication is most acceptable.

Mr. Burns’s series of cheap books, the ‘Fireside Library,’ being already in everybody’s hands, we shall do enough to acknowledge it. It is a bold, but, we think, successful experiment, and certainly presents a curious evi-

dence of the Church's plastic and flexible power to meet the tastes and requirements of a particular age. The re-issues are the works of Messrs. Gresley, Wilberforce, &c.; from the 'Englishman's Library;' some of the tales of Fouqué, Chamisso, &c. And among original works, there is a capital selection of 'Ballads,' and a delightful volume of 'Fables,' from Lessing and similar sources. In the extracts from the 'Gesta Romanorum,' we could have dispensed with the somewhat clumsy thread on which they are strung. 'Frank's First Trip to the Continent' is an admirable specimen of that clear English common-sense which distinguishes Mr. Gresley.

'Morning and Evening Exercises for Beginners' (Burns), is a practical manual of great reality. Amongst all our drawbacks, the genial flow of such works is most cheering: among them we are glad to mention 'A Form of Self-Examination' from the same publisher.

A second edition of Massinger's 'Virgin Martyr' (Burns), in which Pickersgill's beautiful illustrations are better displayed than in the former impression, has appeared.

A new and more accurate translation of 'Sintram,' with Vignettes, has appeared. It now ranges, in type and illustration, with the other 'Seasons' of Fouqué.

Dr. Stonard's 'Exposition of the Church Catechism' (Whittaker), seems on the whole sound and full. Perhaps the covenant is rather more strongly dwelt on than the gift of salvation: and we noticed an incorrect gloss on the words 'generally necessary to salvation.' Generally, *kata gévos*, not *plerumque*, is its sense.

We must assign to Mr. Strong, who has printed a volume of poetry, 'Sanctæ Vigiliæ, or, Devout Musings on the Heavens,' in verse (Pickering), the praise of considerable force in diction; but, at present, he has not displayed any invention. His subject is badly chosen, and leaving neither beginning, middle, nor end. Meditations on the material world can be but a series of projections. To be sure, a poet may say anything about anybody, when the whole universe is his theme; and we suppose that it is on such a principle that we find the following stanza. 'Here,' that is, in Hereford Cathedral:—

'Here lie entombed, each in bowery niche,
'The puissant lords of Pembridge and Bohun,
'Peter de Aqua Blancha, who did reach
'His Crozier from Savoy, Robertus de Betun,
'Guilliem de Vere, and Abbot Foliot,
'Who erst retiring to his couch did hear
'This voice, Dum tu revolvis tot et tot
'Deus tuus est Iscariot, unmoved with fear,
'He answered aptly, from the words of truth,
'Mentiris O Diabole, est mihi Deus Sabaoth.'

Though this is hardly fair upon Mr. Strong: if this were a specimen of the whole volume, it would be more curious than it is. Many of the

rhymes and words are very queer: such as 'nebulae' and 'obey,' 'peak' and 'stake,' 'out' and 'chariot;' and mintages, such as 'eterne,' 'effringing,' 'pave' (for pavement), 'atramental,' 'efflote.' We give Mr. Strong the benefit of a careless printer; but such words as *Asinoe*, *Cassiopea*, *Ursus major*, have an odd look.

'Christian Heroism' (Burns, Walters), by Mr. J. Mason Neale, is a collection of tales, inculcating the higher range of the Christian character, for the use of young people, told with that writer's well-known power.

The labours of the Oxford Architectural Society are very gratifying; but will they allow us to suggest that they might cull the public reports of their 'Proceedings' with advantage? The exhibition of the process of acquiring knowledge is not very useful: we allude to the debate on Romanesque.

Mr. Gresley's little work on the 'English Church' has reached a second edition, published in a cheap form for distribution.

'A Letter to the Pew-Renters of Stamford-hill Chapel,' by Mr. Heathcote, has just reached us. It deserves a very attentive reading, and indicates a much higher tone on the "Innovation" question than we have heard lately. The right ground is to prove that ritual and ceremonial are a privilege. If congregations claim from their pastors the abandonment of privilege, let them feel that with 'their heart's desire,' they receive 'leanness to their souls.'

It seems superfluous to do more than announce a volume from Arch-deacon Manning. (Parker, Rivingtons.) The conclusion of the 5th November Sermon gives a very favourable specimen of this author's style, which, if it has a tendency towards deterioration, seems slightly deficient in sinew. It is almost too graceful: the language flows on with so rich a melody, that we are almost detained from the solemn thoughts by the sweet music in which they float.

Of general Sermons, we have to acknowledge volumes by Mr. Armstrong of Exeter, on the 'Festivals' (Oxford, Parker), very sound. Six Sermons at the consecration of S. John's, Jedburgh, (Grant & Burns) in which one by Mr. Keble is singularly effective. Expository discourses by Mr. Berkeley Addison of Edinburgh. Also very earnest and seasonable single Sermons, by Mr. Oldknow, of Birmingham, on 'Sacerdotal Remission and Retaining Sins;' by Mr. Cecil Wray, of Liverpool, on 'Ritual Conformity;' by Mr. Browne, of Bawdsey, Suffolk, on 'Fasting;' by Mr. C. G. Perceval, 'Plain Lectures on the Gospel of St. Matthew;' the first of four volumes on the same subject.

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